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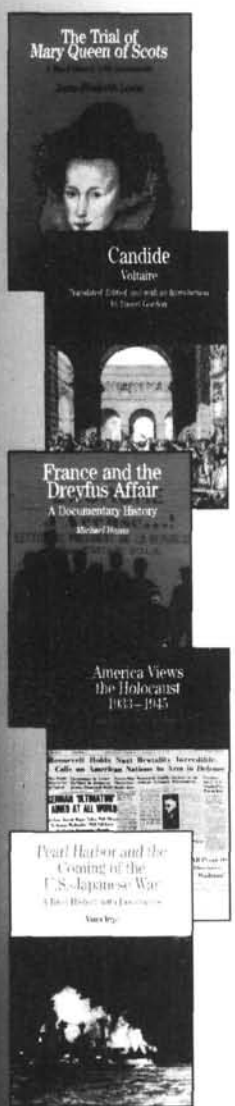
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In This Issue

This issue contains the AHA Presidential Address, three articles, and a review essay. The address explores the place of African history in the discipline as well as the nature of historical inquiry, and the articles examine scientific racism in colonial Spanish America, the transition to capitalism in early modern Europe, and ways of writing histories of nationalism. The article section concludes with a wide-ranging review essay that analyzes studies of prostitution around the globe. This issue also contains our usual array of book and film reviews, however the book reviews are organized in a new way.

The February issue inaugurates a new book review classification system. The most significant change is the replacement of the "General" category with two new categories: Methods/Theory and Comparative/World. In addition, geographic fields have been reorganized and arrayed in a different manner. There will continue to be a Topical Table of Contents of the book reviews in each issue. The goal of the reclassification is to increase the effectiveness of the book review section by making it more logical and comprehensive. The editors hope as well that the new system, particularly the two new categories, will help achieve the *AHR*'s larger mission of speaking across the specialties of history by encouraging historians to read outside traditional boundaries and by contributing to discussions about how to organize historical scholarship.

Presidential Address

Joseph C. Miller begins his essay by noting that G. W. F. Hegel and the late nineteenth-century founders of the historical discipline considered Africans to be a "people without history" and excluded Africa from the moral, scientific, and progressive methodology they developed. Miller then reflects on the intellectual pathways along which Africanist scholars since the 1950s have created a history for people who were thought to have none. In doing so, he highlights those aspects of history's art and craft that have evolved in response to the times in which these practitioners lived and in accordance with an inherent logic of historical inquiry. Through a humanistic analysis of history's epistemology, he also examines how agency produces change and the manner in which contexts of time and place motivate action and give it meaning. Miller argues that the experience of generating a history for Africa out of sources left by a seemingly timeless, abstracted, and racially defined Other illuminates critical aspects of historical inquiry. Most significantly, he asserts that recent work in African history suggests how the impetus toward generalization provides contexts for historical particularity. He also discusses how historical understanding tests the historian's imagination with empirical data, balances self-centered subjectivity against sympathetic engagement with subjects, and compels explanations that forthrightly contextualize evidence in terms of intuitive plausibility. Miller's thoughtful and compelling assessment of the

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discipline concludes by asserting that, as an Africanist, he has grown to understand how the American Historical Association provides a distinctive and inclusive forum for historians' necessary engagement with others unlike themselves—colleagues as well as subjects.

Articles

Jorge Cañizares Esguerra argues that the science of race was first articulated in colonial Spanish America in the seventeenth century, not in Europe during the nineteenth century. He explains that, by the late sixteenth century, Spanish America had come to be perceived in Europe as a degenerating land. It was thought to have a draining, emasculating effect on both natives and colonists. Europeans attributed some of the negative effects to the powers of new constellations recently discovered and charted in the Southern Hemisphere. Cañizares contends that such representations prompted Creoles to defend themselves with patriotic forms of science. However, a full-fledged defense of the colonial environment as a paradise would have undermined colonial presentations of Indians as idlers and mentally inferior. Faced with the dilemma of having to defend a land that produced such people, Cañizares asserts, the colonists used the sciences of the day, astrology and Hippocratic-Galenic physiology, to articulate a form of scientific racism postulating different bodies for Indians and white Europeans. His critical assessment of scientific racism thus reinforces the call of postcolonialists to understand European colonies as "laboratories of modernity." In doing so, Cañizares' essay makes a significant contribution to the literature on cultural representations of the body and of European views of the tropics.

Philip T. Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal challenge the common assumption among historians that a transition to capitalism occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and involved the creation of modern, impersonal financial markets. They contend that this assumption exercises considerable influence over the historians' methods and choices of subject matter. Thus European historians, for instance, focus their attention on the institutions that became important after the transition such as banks and stock exchanges while discounting the utility of economics to describe the pre-transition world. The authors argue that the belief in such a transition is misleading. They contend it obscures the workings of pre-modern economies and discourages historians from borrowing useful tools from economics. They base their argument on evidence from eighteenth-century Paris that reveals how Parisians saved and went into debt and how borrowers and lenders met. The tale they tell of financial dealings demonstrates that financial intermediaries—the city's notaries—had succeeded in mobilizing a mighty tide of capital long before the establishment of modern banks or other undeniable signs of a capitalist transition. The intermediaries had the information that was essential for the capital market to function, and, thanks to them, men and women alike could pursue investment strategies that seem surprisingly familiar to modern eyes. This well-crafted argument makes a persuasive case for the conclusion that older theoretical constructs must be jettisoned and replaced by newer ideas drawn from historical studies of how information and capital flowed in past societies. Their essay demonstrates quite clearly how such an approach can open up a fruitful dialogue between microeconomics and social history, a dialogue that could yield new insights into the process of social change.

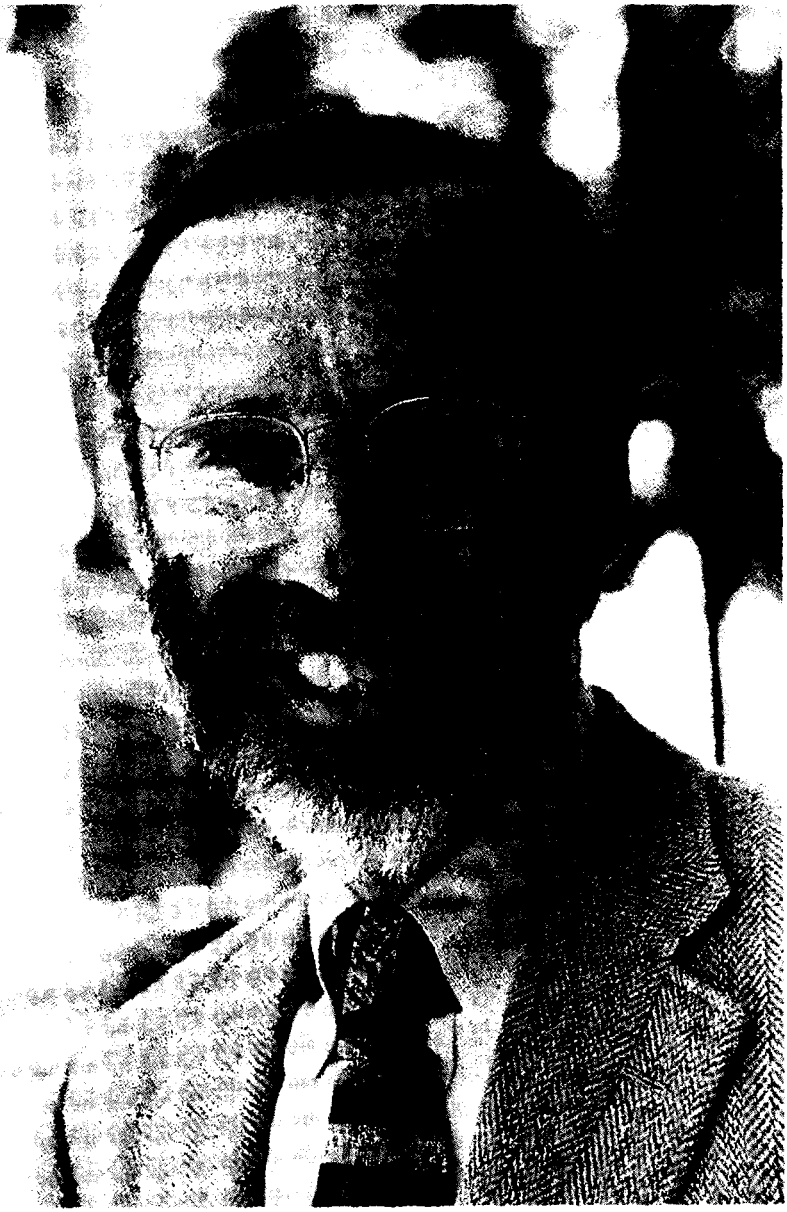
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Sanjay Seth looks at the way histories of nationalism are written and finds that the historiography of nationalism is characterized by a circularity of reasoning. Nationalism is identified, necessarily, in terms of consciousness and ideas: the history of nationalism is the history of a will-to-nationhood. This consciousness must be embodied in parties and movements to be socially significant, and thus this social embodiment is also a critical aspect of any nationalism. Too often, he argues, the social or material, though obviously critical to any characterization of nationalism, comes to function as the primary explanation or even cause of nationalist consciousness. Seth challenges the assumption that the social or material features of nationalism double as the "causes" of an ideological or discursive "consequence." He does so through an examination of the early period of Indian nationalism. The era is designated in the historiography as a period of "moderate" nationalism, when the demands of nationalist organizations and leaders were modest and pursued from within the framework of the colonial political order. This moderation, he notes, is usually explained with references to the middle-class origins or Anglicized character of the nationalist leadership. Seth offers an alternative reading of the era by arguing that the material and discursive cannot be distinguished in ways that allow the former to function as a cause of the latter. Furthermore, he contends that, in the case of moderate nationalism, the gap between the elite leadership and the masses did not operate as an external limit on the radicalism of the nationalist imagination. Instead, it was very much present in that imagination as an important and structuring element of moderate nationalist discourse. Seth concludes with the arresting assertion that since the variety of nationalist imaginings cannot legitimately be explained with reference to a small number of social causes, there will be many ways of narrating the nation.

Review Essay

Timothy J. Gilfoyle launches his review essay with the observation that before 1980 the prostitute was "pornographic." Few historians considered prostitution an important topic, and studies of the subject commonly played to the sensational and salacious. The small body of significant scholarship concentrated on ideas, social movements, and campaigns to control or abolish prostitution. Additional investigations were buried monographs and theses devoted to crime, deviancy, hospitals, and public hygiene. Gilfoyle argues that an unprecedented explosion of research in the past two decades has complicated the subject in ways unanticipated a generation ago. He explains that historians have addressed prostitution according to two broad paradigms. On the one hand, the bulk of research examines the social structure and organization of commercial sex. More recently, historians influenced by cultural and literary studies have systematically delineated the symbolic and discursive meanings of prostitution. Most significant, he points out, is that integration has replaced marginalization, as historians now include prostitutes in larger historical and national narratives. Various textbooks not only incorporate studies of prostitution but illustrate how such examinations of gender and sexuality call for a wider, more encompassing conception of political, economic, and cultural history. Gilfoyle's provocative analysis is thus not only a survey of historical studies of prostitution, it is also a compelling argument about the nature and meaning of historiographical change.

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Presidential Address

History and Africa/Africa and History

JOSEPH C. MILLER

FEB 2 6

HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN AFRICA is—of course—quite literally as old as time, but in Europe and the Americas awareness of Africa's past has dawned only more recently. In the United States, African Americans during the nineteenth century first attended to Africans' pasts in the face of the racialized skepticism of the era. Writing more than a hundred years later as an Africanist historian here in the journal of the American Historical Association for colleagues in all fields, I want to suggest some of the intellectual pathways along which they and their successors have brought Africa within the practice of professional history at the end of the twentieth century and thus what learning to do history in a place as remote—affectively, culturally, geographically, and intellectually—as Africa was for the founders of the historical discipline may reveal about history itself as process and as epistemology. It will become clear that I write of history in a humanistic vein that has become meaningful to me as I have matured—or perhaps merely aged—in our profession, speaking personally with what seems to be an executive privilege that the American Historical Association accords to presidents on this occasion.[1] I do so without intent, thereby, to excommunicate colleagues who may balance in other ways the complex combinations of personal insight, techniques of inquiry, research data, engagement with popular memory, and practical application through which historians discern and disseminate meanings in evidence from the past.

No one can account for all the inspiration that has contributed to reflections drawn from an entire professional life devoted to Africa and history—at first in that order, but increasingly over the years also to history and Africa. As an Africanist, my enduring debts to mentors—Jan Vansina and Philip D. Curtin—and colleagues at, and subsequently from, the University of Wisconsin will be evident in the notes that follow. As a historian, I acknowledge colleagues at the University of Virginia. Those who have spontaneously, sometimes unwittingly, influenced these remarks in the course of their preparation include members of the Southeastern Regional Seminar in African Studies and of the University of Virginia Department of History, and especially Amy Birge, Bryan Callahan, Hunt Davis, Matthew Engelke, Jeff Fleischer, John Holloran, Adria LaViolette, Adell Patton, Jr., Ed Steinhart, and Phillip Troutman. Steven Feierman, John Mason, Emmanuel Akyeampong, and the editors of the *AHR* provided insights critical—in both senses of the word—to the final revisions.

[1] In this essayistic spirit, I limit references in these notes to recent works illustrative of the steps along the way to writing history in Africa; those will orient the reader in turn to the many other authors, not all historians by any means, who historicized Africa's past. I regret my inability to acknowledge by name the legions of important contributions to the substantive historiography of Africa. For an introduction to the literature, see the still reasonably current "Africa" section (Margaret Jean Hay and Joseph C. Miller, eds.) in Mary Beth Norton, ed., *American Historical Association Guide to Historical Literature*, 2 vols. (New York, 1995), sect. 19, 1: 560–616. It is also necessary here to omit references to relevant works in other regional fields, familiarity with which I trust to the expertise of my intended readers.

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The story that follows begins against the familiar background of the birth of the modern discipline of history at the end of the nineteenth century, torn as it was then between theological-philosophical speculation and faith in empirical data as evidence that would satisfy lingering cravings for certainties about the past, confirmed scientifically; both tendencies specifically excluded most of Africa from the human progress that they celebrated. Those whose own lives confirmed that Africans belonged within universal history had to circumvent the exclusionary particularity of the discipline by adapting aspects of other more comprehensive—though also abstract, static, less humanistic—generalizing epistemologies to bring Africa within the realm of academic respectability. From such academically alien beginnings, they only slowly and haltingly restored the humanism, the sense for change, and the sensitivity to contexts of time and place that distinguish history's way of knowing. But in relying, *faute de mieux*, on mythological oral traditions, reified languages, mute archaeological artifacts, and presentist ethnographic descriptions, they tested multiple limits of how they thought as historians. Looking back, their struggles highlight complex balances among several epistemological aspects of historians' craft: between particularity and generality, theory and data, sequence and chronology, internal subjectivities and unavoidable (whether or not "real") externalities, and empathetic similarity and curiosity-stimulating (or fear-provoking) differentiation in the relationship between historians and their subjects. I hope to suggest here how bringing Africans within the orbit of historical discipline may remind historians in any field of what is most historical about how we all have come to think.

AFRICANS AND AFRICAN AMERICANS ADAPTED the progressive historiographies current at the end of the nineteenth century to write about Africa, while historians in Europe and the United States were laying out standards of the modern discipline.[2] The problem they faced was that, following Hegel, the meta-narrative of the emerging discipline excluded Africa's past as morally unedifying and methodologically unverifiable, leaving Africans outside its exultation in European superiority as "people without history."[3] The search for an African past sculpted in these progressive terms meant highly selective emphasis on monumental achievements comparable in antiquity, size, and military power to what Europeans then cele-

[2] I employ the term "progressive," not capitalized, in a sense broader than Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988), who capitalizes the phrase as "Progressive Historians," to explore the senses it acquired among historians in the United States after World War I. I include the nineteenth-century German rigorous critics of documentary sources whom Novick characterizes as "scientific historians." "Progressive" here connotes, above all, a teleological orientation of the story of the world's past to culminate in modern Europe and, in its American extension, the United States. This style of history was confident in the value of progress and modernity, optimistic, positivistic in its certainty that critical rigor might establish scientifically verifiable "truths" about the past, but also romantic, nationalistically centered on political identities, idealist. An Africanist can only be all too aware of the caricatured effect of compressing the many distinctions and controversies among those in Europe who claimed the mantle of such history into a single phrase. The way I use the label, largely for contrastive purposes, in particular blurs the "idealist"-empiricist/positivist distinction that animated many of these debates; the conclusion to this essay will, I hope, make clear why that blurring is deliberate.

[3] Eric Wolf's now-classic phrase, in *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), with acknowledged inspiration from Hegel.

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brated about their own past.[4] They drew, first, on their contemporaries' appreciation for ancient Egypt and the mysterious lands to the south, some of them biblical—Punt, Nubia, Kush, and Ethiopia or Abyssinia—and sought monumental ruins comparable to what they knew of the "glory that was Rome" and the Egyptian antiquities publicized in the wake of Napoleon's 1798 invasion of the lower Nile.[5] They limited research to written texts, which in Europe's experience conveyed direct impressions from remote times in relatively unchanged, or reconstructible, forms that met the demanding standards of verifiability emergent in scientific history. But writing also testified to the intelligence of its authors, otherwise suspect as illiterate "natives" living out mindless lives of changeless, endless barbarity. They accepted durable archaeological evidence as also providing similarly irrefutable credibility against the currents of racist skepticism then flowing. In retrospect, the prestige that progressive historians accorded continuities from ancient origins seems a singularly contradictory way to validate the recent advances on which they prided themselves, while in Africa the same perpetuation of ancient custom explained only contemporary primitiveness. The implicit accent on continuity undermined the progressives' insistence that devotion to change as a centrally revelatory element in human experience distinguished their discipline from theology and other competing epistemologies of their era. The roots of the paradox lay, of course, in the premises of biological racism on which its logic rested: priority in achievement demonstrated inherent racial superiority, and subsequent continuity in culture reassuringly paralleled transmission of the knack for civilization by genetic means.

The only possible source of evidence from the other side, turn-of-the-century anthropology, redoubled the challenge to those who would discover a meaningful past in Africa by validating its moral distance from the modern West. The first phases of anthropological investigation in Africa grew out of German idealism and received no small romantic impetus from European self-exiles disillusioned by the failing promise of industrialized capitalist society at the *fin de siècle*.[6] Broadly inspired by Hegel's "universal history" of the development of the human spirit, one historically oriented group of German ethnologists derived "advanced" cultural traits from primal centers of civilization in the ancient Middle East and explained apparently "civilized" achievements reported from other parts of the world as products of a quasi-historical dynamic of "diffusion" of their unique inspiration. Diffusionist theories linked what people had done indissolubly to who they were, and so they accounted for historical change only in terms of "migrating" groups,

[4] Europeans did not take seriously the efforts by mission-trained Africans in the 1890s to frame local histories in European historical models; see Paul Jenkins, ed., *The Recovery of the West African Past: African Pastors and African History in the Nineteenth Century; C. C. Reindorf and Samuel Johnson* (Basel, 1998); also Toyin Falola, ed., *Yoruba Historiography* (Madison, Wis., 1991).

[5] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979); "Orientalism Reconsidered," in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen, and Diana Loxley, eds., *Europe and Its Others*, 2 vols. (Colchester, 1985), 1: 14–27.

[6] French sociology, primarily Emile Durkheim, influenced the African anthropology read in the U.S. mainly through its British adaptations. Early French interest in Africa had drawn a pejorative distinction in *mentalités* between rational Europeans and "pre-logical" savages, like Africans; see Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (Paris, 1910). Although later French anthropologists emphasized sophisticated cosmological thought in Africa, this crude distinction continued to confine historians' understanding of African thought within typologically contrasted "mental structures" much later.

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mysterious conquerors who had spread "civilized" culture into remote corners of the world, or by imitative natives "borrowing" from them.[7] To construct a "history" for Africa meaningful by these high and ancient standards, but independent of presumed origins in southwestern Asia, meant positing an independent font of inspiration south of the Sahara, primary either because it was older than Egypt or because it possessed virtues more estimable than modern Europe's mechanized military power.

The German ethnologist Leo Frobenius became an erratic champion of Africa in these errantly historical terms.[8] Frobenius shared his contemporaries' disdain for the "degenerate" colonial Africans of his own time, but he nonetheless found them fascinating "because he thought them to be living documents of an otherwise unrecoverable universal human past."[9] In the course of repeated research trips to Europe's new African colonies around the turn of the century, he sensed traces of a creative, simple, and unspoiled local form of civilization higher than his embittered assessment of modern Europe. To account for the anomaly, he hypothesized an ancient, since-vanished civilization in West Africa known to its Mediterranean contemporaries, the Etruscans, hence anterior to Rome, and remembered later in the European myth of a lost Atlantis.[10]

Frobenius's "African Atlantis" reversed the diffusionist "Hamitic hypothesis" dominant in progressive history's vision of Africa. This pseudo-historical Hamitic theory reconciled older faith in the Christian Bible with newer, scientifically styled studies of language, physical type, and political economy to account for what Europeans could recognize in Africa as vestiges of "civilization" understood in modern terms. From the moment that self-styled European "explorers" and colonial armies had set foot in Africa, they encountered formidable opponents, leaving the would-be "civilizers" with considerable and perplexed respect for African military power, political leadership, and even monumental architecture, the litmus tests of progress. All of these contradicted the low rankings that the racial classification schemes of the time accorded dark-skinned people. Only a "white" residue in Africans' cultures could explain so unanticipated a suggestion of competence among "Negroes." By the convenient logic of diffusionist inference, such "Caucasian" influence could have reached sub-Saharan Africa through historical contact with emigrant "whites" of Mediterranean origin, long enough ago to match the presumed antiquity of authentic originators and to leave time for their salutary influence to have degenerated to the faint traces still evident in the otherwise universal genetic and cultural gloom.[11] In the United States, where

[7] Such trait tracing, of course, still resonates in American history in studies of African "survivals" in the New World.

[8] Suzanne Marchand, "Leo Frobenius and the Revolt against the West," *Journal of Contemporary History* 32 (1997): 153–70.

[9] Marchand, "Frobenius and the Revolt against the West," 161.

[10] Based on prodigious, if also random and even unscrupulous, collecting of artifacts and verbal arts; for example, Leo Frobenius, *Und Afrika Sprach*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1912–13), culminating in the huge *Atlantis: Volksmärchen und Volksdichtungen Afrikas*, 12 vols. (Jena, 1921–28). Marchand characterizes these works as "mix[ing] highly insightful ethnological analyses with wildly conjectural global histories"; "Frobenius and the Revolt against the West," 159. For a rehabilitation of Frobenius as ethnographer, see J. M. Ita, "Frobenius in West African History," *Journal of African History* 13 (1972): 673–88.

[11] Wyatt MacGaffey, "Concepts of Race in the Historiography of North Africa," *Journal of African History* 7 (1966): 1–17; Edith B. Sanders, "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective," *Journal of African History* 10 (1969): 521–32.

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God-fearing Southerners justified the violent racism of the "Jim Crow" era on their faith "that God had shaped the Negro's physical and emotional makeup at the beginning of existence and rendered him forever inferior to whites,"[12] these biblical, evolutionary, environmental, and racial determinisms hung heavily in the immediate background to nineteenth-century thinking about the past in Africa.

The scholarly W. E. B. Du Bois led several African-American colleagues at the beginning of this century in creating a professional history for Africa against the backdrop of American racism. As an undergraduate at Fisk University, where the "natural inferiority [of people of African descent was] strenuously denied," it had been Bismarck who struck Du Bois as a model of the "strength and determination under trained leadership" that would "foreshadow . . . the kind of thing that American Negroes must do" for themselves. But as Du Bois entered Harvard's graduate history program in 1888, he found "Africa . . . left without culture and without history."[13] With no alternative, Du Bois concentrated his studies on American history and politics but oriented his thesis research toward Africa by taking up the "suppression of the African slave-trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870." He read his first academic paper on the subject to the annual meeting of this Association in 1891, in Washington, D.C.[14] Realizing "what in my education had been suppressed concerning Asiatic and African culture," Du Bois followed the German pilgrimage of the time among historians in America for two years' study at the University of Berlin (1892–94).[15] There, he must have heard metropolitan echoes of Germany's wars of colonial conquest, seen the published reports of nineteenth-century German scientific expeditions in Africa, and drawn on contact with German ethnology to frame the first continental-scale history of Africa in his sweeping, racially unified history, *The Negro*.[16]

In *The Negro*, Du Bois described ancient African kingdoms comparable to Europe in civilization. But the glories of such earlier accomplishment cast an unavoidable dark shadow over a contemporary Africa recently subjugated to

[12] Daniel Joseph Singal, "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: The Old South as the New," in John David Smith and John C. Inscoe, eds., *Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: A Southern Historian and His Critics* (Westport, Conn., 1990), 223.

[13] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (New York, 1940), 32, 41, 49, 55, 97–98. On this, as with all succeeding comments on Du Bois, see the lively, insightful, and suitably appreciative life story by David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York, 1993).

[14] Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 44; Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 155–61. The dissertation, of course, became *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (New York, 1896).

[15] Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 99.

[16] W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The Negro* (New York, 1915), 244, citing Frobenius's eulogies of an African "Atlantis" with approbation. Also see Werner J. Lange, "W. E. B. DuBois and Leo Frobenius on Africa: Scholarship for What?" *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde* (Dresden) 41 (1984): 262–77. The work of the West African historians (note 4), which was appearing by the later 1890s, seems not to have attracted Du Bois' attention. Had it done so, it is not clear how these historians' uncritical presentation of local oral materials would have struck the scientifically trained Du Bois. For African-American public writing and lecturing transitional from oral performance of community memory during the second half of the nineteenth century, see Dennis Hickey and Kenneth C. Wylie, *An Enchanting Darkness: The American Vision of Africa in the Twentieth Century* (East Lansing, Mich., 1993), chap. 7. George Shepperson's introduction to the 1970 edition of *The Negro* (London) frames the intellectual context in which Du Bois wrote in terms of existing studies of Africa, citing as his source Dorothy B. Porter, "A Bibliographical Checklist of American Negro Writers about Africa," in John A. Davis, ed., *Africa from the Point of View of American Scholars* (Paris, 1959), 379–99.

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European colonial rule. Du Bois found an explanation for this painful realization in historical reasoning: he attributed contemporary Africans' apparent degradation to damage done by subsequent European and Muslim slaving, a theme prominent in the writings of eighteenth-century opponents of the slave trade that he must have encountered in researching his doctoral dissertation. Du Bois' horror at the loss of "100,000,000 souls,[17] . . . the rape of a continent to an extent never paralleled in ancient or modern times," led to his tragic concession, by the standards of progressive historiography, "of the stagnation of culture in that land since 1600!"[18] Without personal experience on the continent, not even Du Bois could escape the European and American judgment of contemporary Africans' backwardness by contemporary standards. But asserting a retrogressive narrative of damage and decline by historical agents, albeit external ones, at least allowed him to avoid the eternal burden of inferiority by reason of race.

"Progressive" history early in this century thus confined even this brilliant defender of the "Negro" to a salvage operation, a search for racial respect by interpreting specifics from ancient Africa to support modern, European valuation of the national state, military power, and monument building. The result corresponded to historical thinking at the end of the twentieth century only in its contemplation of times past. It lacked African contexts of time and place independent of presentist projections, or inversions, of European racial presumption. Du Bois could attribute recent initiative only to outsiders, European (and Muslim) slavers, and thus left Africans in roles perilously close to passive victims, without agency of their own. Du Bois', and Frobenius's, concessions of the recent stagnation of Africa's cultures—or of a singularized "African culture," as the rubric of racism usually homogenized them—all but excluded current ethnographic

[17] Heated references to this figure in ongoing debates about the numerical dimensions of the Atlantic slave trade may merit a digressive comment on what Du Bois employed so large a number to denote. He offered 100,000,000 as an inclusive estimate of all losses "[t]hat the slave trade cost Negro Africa," including exports to Muslim lands estimated at two-thirds the size of the European trade (that is, 40/60), multiplied by six to reflect his assumption that "every slave imported represented on the average five corpses in Africa or on the high seas"; Du Bois, *The Negro*, 155. Du Bois acknowledged that the "total number of slaves imported" to the Americas through the Atlantic portion of the several trades in slaves from Africa "is not known." He went on to summarize others' estimates to speculate that "perhaps 15,000,000 in all" might have arrived, and that "at least 10,000,000 Negroes were expatriated" across the Atlantic from Africa. In *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969), Philip D. Curtin made sophisticated inferences from reports of arrivals in the Americas and from reports of New World slave populations to estimate imports at 9.566 million people, with a confidence interval of +/- 20 percent, essentially confirming Du Bois' minimal estimate; Curtin then used evidence on shipboard mortality to estimate the numbers of people taken on board in Africa at 11.2 million. Thirty years of subsequent archival research have yielded details on more than 27,000 Atlantic slaving voyages, perhaps two-thirds to three-quarters of all the ships leaving Europe or ports in the Americas with the intent of taking on slaves in Africa. On the basis of this massively expanded primary documentation of the trade—in significant part, data on European origins and on departures from Africa independent of Curtin's import-based research strategy, the compilers of these data at Harvard's W. E. B. Du Bois Institute estimate that 9.683 million people reached the Americas alive, the survivors of 11.349 million exported, once again confirming the minimum range that Du Bois suggested in 1915. See David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen D. Behrendt, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM Set and Guidebook* (New York, 1999, forthcoming); for the most current estimate, see David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, and David Richardson, "The Volume of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment with Particular Reference to the Portuguese Contribution" (unpublished paper, conference on "Rethinking the African Diaspora: The Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benin and Brazil," Emory University, Atlanta, April 17–18, 1998).

[18] Du Bois, *The Negro*, 156. The exclamation point is Du Bois'.

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description of Africans since their fall into backwardness as a source of insight into the earlier but vanished glories. Without human, African context to stimulate motive and action, even Du Bois' prodigious reading in published writings left his story of triumphal political leadership in Ghana, Mali, and Songhai—the empires of Africa's medieval Sudan, cut down at the threshold of modernity—a fable not of tragedy but rather of failure.

AFRICAN TEACHERS AND SCHOLARS, and the Europeans and Americans who worked in Africa with them after World War II, gradually distinguished modern African history from the liberalizing intellectual currents that swept Europe and the United States during the waning years of colonial rule. They did so by adding empirical evidence focused on issues arising from circumstances particular to Africa.[19] This postwar generation of academics, intent on preparing colonies in Africa for political independence and African youth for future civic responsibility, lived amid intense preoccupation with politics. African politicians, several of them trained in the United States in Du Bois' vision of African history under Leo Hansberry, who had introduced the first academic courses in African history at Howard University in the early 1920s, capitalized on its nationalist spirit to justify Africans' political accountability.[20] These pioneering historians of Africa overwhelmed the regional historical traditions of the colonial era and adapted basic progressive assumptions to African purposes, demonstrating political centralization and expansion in political scale in Africa of European proportions.[21]

The academic institutions in the colonial metropoles in Europe, which held authority to validate these teachers' efforts as professional "history," expressed fewer reservations than previously about Africans' inherent eligibility for history, but they showed strong hesitation about the lack of evidence from Africa that

[19] Particularly in the relatively prosperous British colonies of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Uganda. These were also sites of considerable African production of written works that employed oral traditions about the past as precedent to defend the prerogatives of various political interests in the "native authorities" created under Indirect Rule. A recently studied example is Jacob U. Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin* (Benin, 1934, originally in Edo); see Uyilawa Usuanlele and Toyin Falola, "The Scholarship of Jacob Egharevba of Benin," *History in Africa* 21 (1994): 308–18.

Graduates of Britain's colonial schools in Africa found less opportunity to study African history in the United Kingdom. The principal academic degree relevant to Africa there was in anthropology, and its most prominent holder Jomo Kenyatta; see *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu* (London, 1938). No similar Africa-oriented history took shape in the educational systems in the colonies of France, where training was in geography and other "human sciences"; rev. edn. (London, 1956); M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* (Paris, 1912); R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'ouest africain au moyen âge* (Dakar, 1961). Belgium and Portugal, which viewed their colonies as continuing under European control for many years into the future, focused resolutely on the Europeans' "civilizing mission."

[20] Hansberry's African history derived directly from Du Bois' inspiration and inspired a number of young African students, including Kwame Nkrumah (future president of Ghana) and Nnamdi Azikiwe (nationalist leader in Nigeria); William Leo Hansberry, "W. E. B. DuBois' Influence on African History," *Freedomways* 5 (1965): 73–87; Joseph Harris, ed., *Pillars in Ethiopian History* (Washington, D.C., 1974), 18–22.

[21] African historians now look back on this formative phase of historicized study of Africa's past as its "nationalist" era, since its neo-progressive themes not only demonstrated Africans' sophistication in governing themselves but also gave Africa's nascent "nations," often led by former students of history turned politicians, the deep, popular historical roots that the theory of nationalism prescribed.

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seemed to meet the historical discipline's positivist standards.[22] As in all history, only disciplined recourse to voices independent of the present, to primary evidence understood in terms of its originators in the past, could convey Africans' agency and the contexts to which they reacted. Research strategies that might historicize Africa's past had to start in Africa, draw on African sources, and array the new information around historical hypotheses focused on concerns of Africans. Objections on such technical grounds presented challenges that the first Africa-based generation of professional historians welcomed with enthusiastic inventiveness.

They regarded the prized documentary sources of the progressives as highly suspect for these purposes in Africa. Europeans had written about Africans since they had arrived in the fifteenth century, but documents became sufficiently comprehensive to bear the weight of historical interpretation alone only much later, since about the 1880s, with the advent of government records accompanying the establishment of colonial authority. However, these writings of modern Europeans were alien and self-interested, as well as tainted by the use made of them in colonial and imperial history to lionize Europe's civilizing political mission around the globe. Nationalist historiography rejected them as very nearly polar opposites of the Africans' history that they sought.

What little research drew on colonial government files, even though it reached monumental proportions in isolated instances, was administrative and sociological, not historical.[23] Narratives of the colonial governments' economic "development" programs, or, alternatively, the success of nationalist politicians at mobilizing popular opposition to them, since the nineteenth century, were "case studies" in a social-science mode, with primarily comparative and theoretical implications. They tended to extract "variables" relevant to the "models" and theories they tested from their full historical contexts. The enabling generation of post–World War II historians had little choice but to appropriate these other disciplines for their own historical purposes, even—as was repeatedly the case—when their sociological accents tempted them to phrase arguments in terms of aggregated behavior and abstractions.

Social-science "models" tempted historians also because they offered the alluring logical coherence of theory to paper over the initial lack of enough empirical evidence from the African past to make sense on its own terms, and to distract from the dubious standing, by conventional historical standards, of what there was. Still more seductive of historical epistemology were the equilibrium assumptions of much mid-twentieth-century sociology, with its stable institutions and equilibrium models. In terms of change, these amounted to social-scientific analogs of the

[22] A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, ed., *The Emergence of African History at British Universities* (Oxford, 1995); Roland Oliver, *In the Realms of Gold: Pioneering in African History* (Madison, Wis., 1998); and for a revealing incident in 1947, John D. Hargreaves, "African History: The First University Examination," *History in Africa* 23 (1996): 467–68, with support from Aberdeen and Oxford examiners, in 1947. The founding generation of Africans earning British doctorates in history—Kenneth O. Dike, Saburi Biobaku, B. A. Ogot, Jacob Ajayi, Adu Boahen, and many others shortly thereafter—have not published memoirs that would reveal their experiences of those years or of their subsequent academic leadership in Africa. For the principal African-directed synthesis, see UNESCO, *General History of Africa* (Los Angeles, 1981–93), 8 vols. Bogumil Jewsiewicki and David Newbury, eds., *African Historiographies: What History for Which Africa?* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1986), took up the distinctions between Africans' histories and the developing international historiography of Africa.

[23] For example, William Malcolm (Lord) Hailey, *An African Survey of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara* (London, 1938).

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timeless "primitive" African cultures that they sought to replace. Structural logic thus diverted historians' attention from their own discipline's reliance on change as a primary mode of explaining, observing transience as a fundamental aspect of human existence.

Yet, out of this initial reliance on methods, conceptualization, and narratives distinctly ahistorical in logic and alien to Africa, historians gradually added context, change, and African agency, the three epistemological elements that together distinguish history from other disciplines, to create a more historicized African past.[24] Driven back in time by the unacceptability of colonial-era documents and by progressive history's respect for ancient origins, aspirant historians of Africa had to confront the technical challenges of making responsible use of unwritten sources. As historians, they sought to identify properties in these novel forms of evidence familiar from documentary records. Their need to justify themselves by disciplinary standards alien to Africa distracted them from these sources' distinctively African characteristics, and thus from their historicity.

Narrative oral traditions—recountings of events attributed to a past beyond the experience of living witnesses and presumed to have passed down to the present through multiple tellers and hearers[25]—seemed particularly authentic voices from Africans' pasts. Their narrative form made them seem subject to critical methodologies developed for reconstructing primary versions of the similarly discursive written sources familiar to historians elsewhere.[26] However, application of this documentary analogy to "traditional" narratives revealed that Africans told their tales so creatively, at least in the politically charged circumstances of talking to the powerful European outsiders who recorded them, that the scenes they portrayed amounted to outright fabrications.[27] They structured their accounts by aesthetic, rhetorical, and interpretive strategies more than by chronological sequence, and they tended to account for change by radical, magical-appearing transformations rather than by detailing the incremental sequences plausible as change to historians.

Once historians recognized that they could not read oral narratives as histories or reconstitute them as wholes, they reexamined their elements to see how they might offer valid pointers to circumstances—if not the actors or events narrated—in the past. But historians prepared to extract evidence from traditions by dissecting them faced a cross-disciplinary challenge from anthropologists eager to claim the same

[24] The substantive themes by which historians have interpreted Africans and the intellectual resources on which they drew are familiar enough to specialists, and the theoretical perspectives of African historiography would present few surprises to historians familiar with the conceptual trajectories of the field in other parts of the world. Arnold Temu and Bonaventure Swai, *Historians and Africanists: A Critique* (London, 1981), and Caroline Neale, *Writing "Independent" History: African Historiography, 1960–1980* (Westport, Conn., 1985), present contrasting general outlines. Several contributors, many of them African, test that structure against national and other "African" perspectives in Jewsiewicki and Newbury, *African Historiographies*. The dominant figure in the intellectual history of African studies is V. Y. Mudimbe; see *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988), edited with Bogumil Jewsiewicki; *History Making in Africa* (Middletown, Conn., 1993); and *The Idea of Africa* (Bloomington, 1994).

[25] And thus distinct from the "oral history," or interviews drawing on living memory with which historians sometimes supplement inaccessible written evidence for recent periods.

[26] Jan Vansina, *De la tradition orale: Essai de méthode historique* (Tervuren, 1961), trans. as *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (Chicago, 1965).

[27] For an early critique of practices attained, see David P. Henige, "The Problem of Feedback in Oral Tradition: Four Examples from the Fante Coastlands," *Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 223–35.

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oral representations for theoretical purposes of their own as social, conceptual, and performative entities.[28] British structural-functional anthropologists, authors of much of the ethnography on which the first generation of historians drew in their search for African historical context, emphasized the presentist aspects of narratives constructed to legitimate privilege and power, often by deploying metaphors of antiquity to assert the inalterability of current inequalities.[29] Structuralist anthropologists influenced by French symbolic anthropology joined the cause against traditions' historicity by interpreting the logic and language of the same materials as cosmological speculation, even as expressing fundamental structures of mind untouched by any specific experience or conscious reflection, present or past.[30] Historians responded that narratives need not directly describe times gone by to contain elements bearing marks of origins in times past, even without the performers' awareness of the antiquity on which they drew. Anthropologists exaggerated the presentist aspects of oral performances only by selectively emphasizing the tales' narrative meanings and aesthetic strategies, or the political and intellectual reasons why performers might displace into former times narratives fabricated in—or even deliberately constructed as metaphors for—the present.

In the oblique and mutually stimulating way in which divergent disciplines interact, historians historicized their use of oral traditions by converting the anthropologists' emphasis on compositional strategies to understand how Africans selected, preserved, and shared collectively important knowledge through time in mnemonic environments.[31] Mnemonic techniques of preserving knowledge, for example, distributed vital information among several individuals, all responsible together for mutual verification of essential points, however made.[32] Individual performers engaged existentially with their auditors around the immediate occasion, against backgrounds of current power, rank, and privilege, but arguments for the exclusively presentist idiosyncrasy of oral performances could be sustained only by isolating them from their distinctive communal context, by restricting analysis to a single performer along lines that presumed individual artistry comparable to performance in literate cultures.[33] By analyzing the compositional strategies of oral performers as group processes, historians replaced abstracted oral traditions with intellectual history contextualized in African environments.[34]

[28] Sally Falk Moore, *Anthropology and Africa: Changing Perspectives on a Changing Scene* (Charlottesville, Va., 1994).

[29] A prominent example from Bantu-speaking regions of Africa was T. O. Beidelman, "Myth, Legend, and Oral History: A Kaguru Traditional Text," *Anthropos* 65 (1965): 74–97.

[30] Luc de Heusch, *Le roi ivre: ou, L'origine de l'Etat; Mythes et rites bantous* (Paris, 1972), trans. by Roy Willis as *The Drunken King* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982). The historian's critique is found in Jan Vansina, "Is Elegance Proof? Structuralism and African History," *History in Africa* 10 (1983): 307–48.

[31] "Mnemonic" rather than "oral," because the relevant focus is on how people preserved knowledge, by devising ways of remembering it, rather than the contrast in the form of transmission—"oral"—against written sources, thus retained as the implicit standard.

[32] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wis., 1985). This work integrated Vansina's revisions of his own *Tradition orale* over two decades in an essentially new synthesis covering many aspects of oral tradition beyond the point accented here.

[33] For an example of a strong statement of this neo-presentist case, see Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History* (New York, 1992).

[34] For exemplary insight along these lines, see Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, Wis., 1990); compare Feierman's earlier presentation of related materials in *The Shambaa Kingdom: A History* (Madison, 1974), to sense the shift in emphasis away

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The centrality of precise chronology to progressive methods of inferring (possible) cause and consequence from contemporaneity and sequence led the first generation of professional historians at work in Africa down obscure paths in search of proxies for calendrical dates that would bring African evidence up to accepted standards. Lists of kings common in the royal traditions of African political systems seemed convertible to calendrical years on the supposition that succession in royal lineages exhibited demographic regularities. Historians might then count the rulers named and multiply assumed average lengths of reigns back from recent monarchs of known date to estimate dates of earlier rulers.[35] That African dynasties might have exhibited greater order, and hence more regular sequences, than unpredictable struggles over power elsewhere in the world proved a vain hope, nurtured in part by the illusion conveyed by colonial-era social anthropology of mechanistic, functionally integrated political institutions in Africa.[36] But in following Africans' ways of speaking about the past, historians gradually abandoned such artificial and abstracted chronologies in favor of contextualizing pastness as people in mnemonic cultures experienced it: as absence, as broad contrasts between what is proximate and what is remote, mixing space with time accordingly.[37]

Historians looked also to Africans' 1,500 different languages for the aspects of linguistic change that might yield calendrical dates.[38] The resulting chronologies were, of course, similarly mechanistic artifices and proved imprecise as historians'

from structure toward historians and their intellectual strategies. Also Isabel Hofmeyr, *"We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told": Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom* [an Ndebele state in the Northern Transvaal] (Portsmouth, N.H., 1994). E. J. Alagoa, "An African Philosophy of History in the Oral Tradition," in Robert W. Harms, Joseph C. Miller, David S. Newbury, and Michele D. Wagner, eds., *Paths toward the Past: African Historical Essays in Honor of Jan Vansina* (Atlanta, Ga., 1994), 15–25; Ralph A. Austen, ed., *In Search of Sunjata: The Mande Oral Epic as History, Literature, and Performance* (Bloomington, Ind., 1998).

[35] The first volume of the *Journal of African History* anticipated most of these lines of subsequent inquiry: G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, "East African Coin Finds and Their Historical Significance," 1 (1960): 31–43; Margaret Priestley and Ivor Wilks, "The Ashanti Kings in the Eighteenth Century: A Revised Chronology," 1 (1960): 83–96; Roger Summers, "The Southern Rhodesian Iron Age," 1 (1960): 1–13, concluding with an "Appendix on Chronology"; and the first of a long series of "Radiocarbon Dates for Sub-Saharan Africa—I," 2 (1960): 137–39.

[36] None convertible to precise chronology, though sometimes reliable with regard to sequence; *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* was, as David P. Henige wondered rhetorically, a *Quest for a Chimera?* (New York, 1974). For a sequence broadly confirmed by dated documents back to the early seventeenth century, see Joseph C. Miller, "Kings, Lists, and History in Kasanje," *History in Africa* 6 (1979): 51–96. For the classic effort to correlate the king lists of several neighboring, interacting—and hence presumably mutually verifying—dynasties, see the summary by David W. Cohen, "A Survey of Interlacustrine Chronology," *Journal of African History* 11 (1970): 177–201; response by David P. Henige, "Reflections on Early Interlacustrine Chronology: An Essay in Source Criticism," *Journal of African History* 15 (1974): 27–46. Recent extensions of discussion in this style include David Newbury, "Trick Cyclists? Recontextualizing Rwandan Dynastic Chronology," *History in Africa* 21 (1994): 191–217.

[37] For example, Tamara Giles-Vernick, *Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Sangha River Basin in Equatorial Africa* (forthcoming).

[38] Derek Nurse, "The Contributions of Linguistics to the Study of History in Africa," *Journal of African History* 38 (1997): 359–91, figure given on p. 362. Allowing for the subtleties of distinguishing languages from dialects, a figure in the range of 1,500 represents a surprising degree of consensus; compare Paul Newman, "Language Families: Overview," in *Encyclopedia of Africa South of the Sahara*, John Middleton, ed., 4 vols. (New York, 1997), 2: 501; Christopher Ehret, "African Languages: A Historical Survey," in *Encyclopedia of Precolonial Africa*, Joseph O. Vogel, ed. (Walnut Creek, Calif., 1997), 159.

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needs grew more refined. They also riveted historians' attention on classifications of abstracted *Languages of Africa* rather than on the people who created them.[39] But other historical aspects of Africans' linguistic behavior—"language communities always in contact and constantly evolving"—spoke more directly about their experiences in the past.[40] The marked contrasts among Africa's five major language families gave sharp definition and multiple dimensions to the discrete, specific linguistic innovations that produced Africa's diverse linguistic heritage. Phonetic shifts in the way that people pronounced old words, or mispronounced words they appropriated from neighbors, are key markers of historical experience, and changes for many areas of collective life can be reliably sequenced by reconstructing them. Sets of novel words that clustered in conceptual fields within this phonetic framework pointed to specific technology, political institutions, fashions in apparel, or moments of enduring human inventiveness in the past, including the kinds of people who might have changed the ways they talked and the reasons why their descendants preserved their linguistic habits down to the languages of the present.[41] This historicizing transition from statistical analysis of abstracted vocabularies to historical inferences from reconstructed past linguistic behavior paralleled historians' abandonment of the formal properties of oral narratives in favor of sensing how narrators drew on inherited memories to compose them.

The preoccupations and enthusiasms, circumstantial worries and collective accomplishments of ancient parents literally echo in the present through the speech habits they taught their children. Moreover, their accents express historical experience without conscious intent and hence, unlike the ideological distortions characteristic of oral narratives, are unfalsifiable. Historical inference from linguistic reconstruction is attaining degrees of detail, depths in time, and regional comprehensiveness that outline a coherent narrative—though with increasing selectivity as the focus lengthens to more remote eras—of who in Africa experienced what in times past as long as 20,000 years ago.[42] Historical inferences from linguistic evidence thus approach the threshold of intentionality as a significant determinant of human experience, the dawn of dependence on communication for collective welfare, and reliance on self-conscious creativity through cultural consensus, all marking the beginnings of history understood as deliberate, effective agency. In another ironic interplay of disciplines, historians' failure to extract chronologies from languages useful for history in the progressive style left them

[39] The classic is Joseph H. Greenberg, *The Languages of Africa* (The Hague, 1963).

[40] For a recent, comprehensive introduction to historical linguistics in Africa, written for historians, see Nurse, "Contributions of Linguistics," 360.

[41] Jan Vansina, "New Linguistic Evidence and 'The Bantu Expansion,'" *Journal of African History* 36 (1995): 173–95.

[42] Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1990), is a tour-de-force application of this technique to 4,000 years of the past in a vast region all but inaccessible through any other source. Christopher Ehret and several former students at UCLA are now consolidating two decades of working from similarly humanistic and historical premises in other parts of Africa; see David Lee Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, a Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1998). Most generally and suggestively, Christopher Ehret, *An African Classical Age: Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 B.C. to A.D. 400* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998); *The Civilizations of Tropical Africa: A History* (forthcoming).

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with powerful linguistic techniques for hearing about the past as Africans experienced it.

Chronology-dependent historians also embraced archaeology in significant part because it produced datable stratigraphy and artifacts. In Africa's predominantly rural areas, that hope rested on the physical dating of radioactive isotopes of carbonized organic materials, such as wood charcoal, and then inferring likely relationships of these material remains to human issues of interest to historians.[43] Beyond the imprecision of the dates calculable from these radiocarbon techniques, the uncertain associations of materials thus dated to specific human activities left their conclusions far from historical in style.[44] The search for hard evidence to civilize Africans by European standards also turned historians of Africa to archaeology for traces of early metallurgy, a technology of undeniable accomplishment by modern industrial standards. This line of investigation gained momentum when iron smelting turned up in Africa earlier than anticipated, five centuries or more before the Common Era in several regions. Africans had thus smelted iron—as was nearly always emphasized in the lingering competitive spirit of the quest—before much of western Europe replaced bronze with ferrous metals. African smelting techniques also arguably derived from local inspiration, and iron workers there primarily fabricated agricultural implements. This last purposive nuance rescued Africa—it was hinted—from the retardation implied by the still more ancient dating of iron in Anatolia, but there for less reputable use as weapons. Subsequently, study of the African contexts of iron production, with emphasis on culture and environment, has replaced "early enthusiasms" about iron artifacts in Africa with historicized comprehension of African metal workers and their metal-working strategies.[45]

The progressive impulse to unearth African evidence of antique monuments respectable in European terms showed little promise south of the Nile corridor and Ethiopia, with the exception of massive thirteenth and fourteenth-century stone walling in southern Africa centered at "Great Zimbabwe,"[46] in towns that dotted Africa's Indian Ocean coastline since at least the eighth century, and such famed

[43] So-called "radiocarbon, or ^{14}C, dating," with the laboratory "dates" it produced, was recorded faithfully in the *Journal of African History* for more than three decades. Other chemical and nuclear traces were put to similar use, though mostly at time-depths before human intentionality, and therefore historical methods, become central to explaining change.

[44] See the critique of older styles of archaeology in Jan Vansina, "Historians, Are Archeologists Your Siblings?" *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 369–408.

[45] Duncan E. Miller and Nikolaas J. van der Merwe, "Early Metal Working in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of Recent Research," *Journal of African History* 35 (1994): 1–36. The most adventurous integration of archaeology with ethnography, linguistics, and other disciplines toward a humanistic history is that of Peter R. Schmidt, most recently *Iron Technology in East Africa: Symbolism, Science, and Archaeology* (Bloomington, Ind., 1997); also, but less historically, Eugenia W. Herbert, *Iron, Gender and Power: Rituals of Transformation in African Societies* (Bloomington, 1993). And for iron workers rather than iron working (the title notwithstanding), see Colleen E. Kriger, *Pride of Men: Ironworking in 19th-Century West Central Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1998).

[46] In the modern country taking its name from its leading national monument. See Peter Garlake, *The Kingdoms of Africa*, rev. edn. (New York, 1990); and Thomas N. Huffman, *Snakes and Crocodiles: Power and Symbolism in Ancient Zimbabwe* (Johannesburg, 1996). A recent overview of the debates that swirled early in this century over whether Africans might have built these striking stone constructions is Henrika Kuklick, "Contested Monuments: The Politics of Archaeology in Southern Africa," in George W. Stocking, Jr., *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge* (Madison, Wis., 1991), 135–69. Graham Connah, *African Civilizations: Precolonial Cities and States in*

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thirteenth to sixteenth-century West African cities as Timbuktu, along the southern fringes of the Sahara Desert. These town centers had attracted attention as sub-Saharan prototypes of modern, Western-style urbanity since Du Bois' initial attempt at African historiography. However, the classic archaeological research at these sites focused on the imported wares found in their ruins, on Muslim building in Arab and Persian styles, and on other evidence of datable foreign contacts. Because archaeologists then contemplated their findings in terms of abstract typological contrasts rather than as historical products of human creativity, few remarked on the faint aroma of the discredited "Hamitic hypothesis" that emanated from attempting to give Africans credit only for taking up the good ideas of immigrants from southwest Asia.[47]

Archaeologists, like linguists, have learned to interpret their findings according to the mental maps of the Africans who built these towns.[48] The West African cities, once treated as isolated outposts of North African Muslim traders in search of sub-Saharan gold valuable in Mediterranean markets, have been revealed as late elaborations on African patterns of urbanization that arose from desiccation and local exchanges across the region's increasingly sharp environmental gradients two millennia before they attracted foreign merchants.[49] All these centers expressed distinctively African communal strategies of production, distribution, and provisioning necessary to support dense settlement.[50]

IN THE BEGINNING, HISTORIANS HAD TURNED TO ETHNOGRAPHY for data distinguishable as "African" among the prevailing written Europeans' impressions of Africa. They accepted the theorized social structures, mental worlds, and cultures in which anthropologists phrased these descriptions as enduring determinants of African

Tropical Africa: An Archaeological Perspective (New York, 1987), extends this classical analysis of "civilizations" throughout sub-Saharan Africa in thoughtful, enlightened tones.

[47] Until Derek Nurse and Thomas T. Spear, *The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800–1500* (Philadelphia, 1985).

[48] Recent examples along the Indian Ocean coast are Mark Horton, *Shanga: The Archaeology of a Muslim Trading Community on the Coast of East Africa* (Nairobi, 1996); and John Sutton, "The African Lords of the Intercontinental Gold Trade before the Black Death: Al-Hasan bin Sulaiman of Kilwa and Mansa Musa of Mali," *Antiquaries Journal* 77 (1997): 221–42. The title of the latter conveys Sutton's humanizing and historicizing strategy, in this case moving beyond the ruins to the contexts in which the original structures were built, and to the men who built them. A conference on "The Growth of Farming Communities in Africa from the Equator Southwards," Cambridge University, 1994, marked the shift in archaeologists' attention to priorities of rural Africans; see (partial) proceedings published in *Azania* 29–30 (1994–95).

[49] For an early, accessible statement of this approach, see Susan Keech and Roderick J. McIntosh, "Finding West Africa's Oldest City," *National Geographic* 162 (September 1982): 396–418; for an accessible short survey, see "Cities of the Plain," in Oliver, *African Experience*, 90–101. The leading interpreters are Susan K. McIntosh and Roderick J. McIntosh, "The Early City in West Africa: Towards an Understanding," *African Archaeological Review* 2 (1984): 73–98; and "Cities without Citadels: Understanding Urban Origins along the Middle Niger," in Thurstan Shaw, Paul Sinclair, B. Andah, and A. Okpoko, eds., *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns* (London, 1993), 622–41.

[50] A single example is abandonment of the modern, European assumption that dense settlements, particularly political capitals, need be permanent; David Conrad, "A Town Called Dakajalan: The Sunjata Tradition and the Question of Ancient Mali's Capital," *Journal of African History* 35 (1994): 355–77.

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behavior rather than as modern, Western constructs about them. Moreover, the urgency of their search for evidence from the past predisposed them to overlook the contemporaneity of the mid-twentieth-century circumstances that ethnography in fact described. Ethnographers' assertions that they abstracted aspects of Africans' lives as they had existed before European modernity intruded gave an illusion of pastness—however static—that dulled the sense of change critical to history. In particular, the hoary colonial fallacy that Africans could usefully be understood as belonging to enduring, homogeneous ethnic aggregates—the "tribes" still current in popular discourse—further distracted historians from positioning ethnographic evidence firmly in its historical present. Although historians rejected the connotations of backwardness conveyed by the colonial idea of "tribes," the functional integrity of African "societies" rendered every element of the contexts in which people "must have" lived so essential to all others that reference in a conventional dated source to one of them seemed to allow historians to assume the connected presence of most, or surely some, of the rest in the otherwise undocumented past.[51] Functional "tribal" integration of this sort allowed historians, further, simply to bundle the conclusions of all the other disciplines they had engaged, assuming that conclusions from one could verify inferences from others without considering the specific contexts that might have generated each.

This rationalization, however well-intended and cautiously applied, placed even the scattered direct evidence then available for earlier times squarely within the timeless vision of Africa's past that historians meant to refute. The few options for accommodating change that such "tribes" offered were familiar from progressive history: like "civilizations" and "races," they had "origins" locatable in time and space, subsequently acted primarily as groups by "migrating" to wherever their members currently lived, "conquered" anyone they encountered along the way, and reliably passed "traditional" behavior through the generations. African sources offered few ways out of this time trap of "tribal" logic, since traditions everywhere expressed the inviolable integrity of current groups as enduring ethnic antiquity. To historians working in the pressure cooker of trying to confirm scattered information by the rules of a doubting discipline, the documented presence of a few elements of a current ethnographic "society" or "culture" appealed seductively as the visible tip of a likely ethnic iceberg of associated (even if unremarked) behavior and institutions in the past.

Even now, in an era that emphasizes the contingent and constructed character of groups of any sort, anywhere in the world, a lingering reliance on "tribes," though long rejected among Africanists,[52] still sometimes substitutes for historicized context among nonspecialists drawn to consider Africa's past. As appreciation of Africa's relevance to history beyond its own shores has grown, historians of other world regions have necessarily approached so unfamiliar a subject through simplifying assumptions that they reject in areas they know better. "Tribes" now usually lie concealed behind polite euphemisms—"cultures," "ethnic groups," and neo-

[51] Historians' use of linguistic evidence in terms of holistic languages, classified in single-dimensioned arrays of standardized, and hence inherently ahistorical, vocabulary, further selected for its assumed stability, created no cognitive dissonance against this background.

[52] Led by anthropologists; Aidan Southall, "The Illusion of Tribe," *Journal of African and Asian Studies* 5 (1970): 28–50.

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logistical "ethnicities," even "communities"—but politesse does not eliminate the time-defying, history-denying static logic of the notion: stereotyped Africans confined within abiding structures, individuals submerged in depersonalized, abstracted aggregates, who act mostly by realizing social (or cultural) norms, that is, by preserving unchanged what colonial-era language reified as "tradition."[53]

Definitive historicization of ethnography came not only from situating ethnographic descriptions in time and context[54] but also from seeing the African strategies colonial ethnography had reified as institutions as Africans' ways of achieving specific historical objectives.[55] Africans compose "traditions," for example, by adapting popular memories about the past to apply the ideological force of claimed antiquity and stability for discernible purposes of the moment.[56] Historicization has transmogrified such ethnographic staples as African "kinship," and its common expression as "lineages," from functional frameworks within which Africans thought into collective entities that they created and adapted to secure valued resources in land, in political standing, or in people themselves. Anthropologists and historians together have sensed that "witchcraft" in Africa was a historical reaction against the danger that individuals grown wealthy, powerful, and independent posed not only to their relatives and neighbors but also to the ethos of collective responsibility itself; commercialized exchanges with the Atlantic economy since 1600 or so and the colonial-era introduction of a monetary economy raised public alarm about abuses of private accumulation to haunting intensity.[57]

[53] For the limited kinds of change conceivable within this paradigm—homeostatic cyclical deviations followed by self-regulating restoration of equilibrium conditions, see Max Gluckman, "Some Processes of Social Change, Illustrated with Zululand Data," *African Studies* 1 (1942): 243–60. African ethnicity begs specific comment on uses of the concept in American and African-American history, which is only beginning to historicize the concept; beyond Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), which does so more thoroughly for the Americas than for Africa, see Robin Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: 'Lucumi' and 'Nago' as Ethnonyms in West Africa," *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 205–19. Forthcoming work in this and other regions will further demonstrate the complex and dynamic sources of collective identities attributed to, and sometimes claimed by, Africans in the slaving era.

[54] Jan Vansina, *The Tio Kingdom of the Middle Congo, 1880–1892* (London, 1973), applied ethnographic method to historical sources from a single decade, the 1880s, to one African region, in a "historical ethnography" that emphasized the historicity of the moment thus describable. Also see Vansina's *Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples* (Madison, Wis., 1978). More recently, Sharon E. Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), won the 1997 Amaury Talbot prize of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for setting E. E. Evans-Pritchard's classic Nuer ethnography in the context of the Sudan in the 1930s.

[55] That ethnography and anthropology in Africa have also become more historical since the 1950s forms a major theme of Moore, *Anthropology and Africa*.

[56] E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York, 1983). Subsequently, Martin Chanock, *Law, Custom, and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (New York, 1985); Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*; and many recent works, notably Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995). Historians have historicized continuity as uses that Africans make of remembered experience and inherited wisdom in trying to take advantage of their existential experience; see Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*.

[57] For example, Jean and John Comaroff, eds., *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago, 1993); Rosalind Shaw, "The Production of Witchcraft/Witchcraft as Production: Memory, Modernity, and the Slave Trade in Sierra Leone," *American Ethnologist* 24 (1997): 856–67; Ralph Austen, "The Slave Trade as History and Memory: Mutual Confrontations of Slaving Voyage Documents and African/African-American Traditions" (unpublished paper, conference on "Transatlantic Slaving and the African Diaspora," Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, September 11–13, 1998); Elizabeth Isichei, *The Moral Imagination*

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African politicians and intellectuals created ethnicity itself by manipulating supple collective identities to meet historical circumstances.[58] A capsule history of ethnicity in Africa would trace the oldest of the collective identities that colonial ethnographers froze in time as "tribes" to ancient adaptations of basic agricultural and other productive technologies to local environments, wherever these were so successful that whoever later lived in those areas carried on in terms of the community arrangements that the first settlers worked out. Others derive from a wave of political consolidation that swept through Africa from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, wherever people continued to rely on political solutions derived from the early states that had attracted Du Bois' admiration. Still others date from seventeenth and eighteenth-century conflicts and population movements, as people fled slave-raiding and reorganized their collective lives around the straitened circumstances it created. Others again formed as communities gathered around commercial, agricultural, and extractive enterprises of the nineteenth century. Colonial conquest once more challenged men and women in Africa to transform the group identities dominant at the opening of the twentieth century, to resurrect some that had drifted into latency, and to invent others out of momentary conjunctures to exploit cash economies and European political power. Where nominal continuity is evident,[59] new personnel frequently (one suspects always!) adapted "tradition" to dramatically shifting circumstances, if only to preserve viable aspects of shared heritages and wrap themselves in the legitimacy of the ages. Even the stereotypically unchanged hunters in the Kalahari (so-called "Bushmen") have survived by adapting,[60] and Africa's nomadic forest people turn out to have maintained their strategic flexibility only by innovating against heavy odds.[61]

in Africa: A History and Ethnography; Or Explorations in the History of Popular Sensibility (forthcoming). For a dramatic historical interpretation of a so-called "millenarian" anti-witchcraft movement in the Cape colony, see Jeffrey B. Peires, *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856–7* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989). This understanding of witchcraft extends to the greed and accumulation of contemporary African politics: Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville, Va., 1997). Also see Luise White, "Vampire Priests of Central Africa: African Debates about Labor and Religion in Colonial Northern Rhodesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1993): 744–70; or "Tsetse Visions: Narratives of Blood and Bugs in Colonial Northern Rhodesia, 1931–9," *Journal of African History* 36 (1995): 219–45, among several other studies, for the historical sense of other African supernatural idioms.

[58] And often as much through missionary and other European interests as by African ones. Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London, 1989). For recent examples, see Thomas T. Spear and Richard Waller, eds., *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa* (London, 1993); Justin Willis, *Mombasa, the Swahili, and the Making of the Mijikenda* (Oxford, 1993).

[59] Some recent names do in fact appear in the earliest European reports from the African coast: Paul Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast," *Journal of African History* 8 (1967): 247–68, but the contribution of Europeans to such apparently stable denomination has not been assessed. For the constantly updated contemporaneity of "tradition," see Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*.

[60] Ed Wilmsen and James Denbow, "Paradigmatic History of San-Speaking Peoples and Current Attempts at Revision," *Current Anthropology* 31 (1990): 489–525; Richard B. Lee and Mathias Guenther, "Problems in Kalahari Historical Ethnography and the Tolerance of Error," *History in Africa* 20 (1993): 185–235. Also see Peter S. Garlake, *The Hunter's Vision: The Prehistoric Art of Zimbabwe* (London, 1995).

[61] On the "pygmies": Vansina's emphasis on "autochthones" in *Paths in the Rainforests*, "New Linguistic Evidence," and elsewhere; most recently, Kairn A. Klieman, "Hunters and Farmers of the Western Equatorial Rainforest: Society and Economy from c. 3000 B.C. to 1880 A.D." (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1997).

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In no small irony, the methodological distractions of using the blueprints of other disciplines,[62] not yet historicized, to construct a past for Africa left historians vulnerable to haste in handling evidence in familiar written forms. The founding generation's intense commitment to an autonomous African history—led by inexperienced research students, sometimes by faculty of necessity trained in other fields,[63] nearly always institutionally isolated from their historical colleagues in area-studies programs—insulated them from the discipline in the rest of the world, and from the methodological caution that prevailed in departments of history.[64] This liberal generation of aspirant historians acquired too easy a sense of having met their professional responsibility for source criticism by exposing the racist biases of European writings about Africa. Although fighting racism was an unavoidable component of constructing a history of Africa, even the passing racist ambiance of the time still distracted historians of Africa from the critical methods of their discipline.

The limits of well-intended innocence as historical method appeared as soon as the initially high yields of plowing virgin documents for superficially accessible content about Africans' interactions with their European authors began to decline. The second generation of Africanist historians—or, often, in fact, the first generation, wiser with experience—took up positions in departments of history where they encountered the questions of historical methodology that underlay their search for answers in Africa. With tenure and with the outline of an African past becoming clearer in their minds, more of them found time to follow through on doubts raised, but not resolved, by their uses of documentary sources in their early research.[65] By the 1970s, their students had to reinterpret the same limited corpus of written sources more closely for their implications for new, more subtle questions that an increasingly complex history of Africa was raising. The increased awareness of African contexts at the same time enabled them to read the written sources—and not only "European" documents—against the grain of their authors' ignorance for the shadows that Africans' activities cast over what they reported.[66] Unsurprisingly

[62] The tone in African history of the 1960s that Wyatt MacGaffey once, acutely, characterized as "the decathlon of social science"; in "African History, Anthropology, and the Rationality of Natives," *History in Africa* 5 (1978): 103.

[63] Without slighting the steady, disciplined leadership of others rigorously trained in conventional fields of history.

[64] With some justification, given styles of European history not then as profoundly engaged as they have since become with issues relevant to Africa or African history.

[65] The journal *History in Africa* ("a journal of method" edited by David Henige at the University of Wisconsin and published by the African Studies Association) formalized this agenda in 1974; it remains the starting point for systematic critical study of written as well as many other types of sources.

[66] For the Muslim intellectual background of the Arabic-language documentation, see J. F. P. Hopkins and Nehemiah Levtzion, eds., *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (New York, 1981). John O. Hunwick's many initiatives have been critical to the historical contextualization of Arabic texts; see his newsletters and journals, including *Sudanic Africa* and *Saharan Studies Newsletter*, as well as numerous publications. And, recently, from the African context: Ralph A. Austen and Jan Jansen, "History, Oral Transmission and Structure in Ibn Khaldun's Chronology of Mali Rulers," *History in Africa* 23 (1996): 17–28. Even this extensive list does not begin to mention the many projects started in recent years to develop critical standards for written materials from Africa. David Robinson and several collaborators have edited publications of African materials of several sorts and are pursuing these efforts under the sponsorship of a West Africa Research Association. Critical editions form a central element in the strategy of the large "Nigerian Hinterland Project" directed by Paul E. Lovejoy. Ethiopian writings offer the same critical opportunity, which has been led in the

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to historians of the ancient Mediterranean and medieval Europe,[67] even the authorship and chronology of seemingly familiar publications of known dates have proved very uncertain without thorough *explication du texte*.[68]

As historians of Africa re-engaged their discipline's text-based methodologies, they also incorporated the content of early modern and modern European (and American) history as context for Africa's past.[69] At the birth of modern history in Africa, when ignorance of what had happened there left historians little alternative, they cited the relative isolation of one continent from the other, intercommunicating regions of an Old World "ecumene" to explain Africa's apparent failure to share in the advances under way elsewhere.[70] Stimulating contact with ideas different from one's own, as this liberal meta-history of diversity ran, accounted for progress throughout Eurasia. Africa's presumed historical isolation saved its inhabitants from the racist condemnation of "Hamitic" contact but only at the cost of once again conceding backwardness and exclusion from the world of progress. Further, by limiting stimulating interactions to Europe and its Asian partners, this history imposed a pan-African homogeneity, at least congruent with the racial stereotype it tried to avoid, that ignored intense, animating communication across many cultural borders within Africa.[71] The assumption of isolation also underestimated Africans' intercontinental contacts and missed the creativity with which they had appropriated from outsiders what made sense in the contexts in which they lived, not least their adaptations of Islam since the eighth century and of Judaism and Christianity in the millennium before then.[72]

United States by Harold G. Marcus as editor of *Northeast African Studies*; for a recent summary with emphasis on Ethiopian scholarship, see Donald Crummey, "Society, State and Nationality in the Recent Historiography of Ethiopia," *Journal of African History* 31 (1990): 103–19.

[67] Where there must exist more productive parallels for specialists in both fields than either has yet exploited. An initial assertion of the point underlies John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*, 2d edn., expanded (New York, 1998).

[68] A cause sustained by Robin Law, Paul Hair, and others in *History in Africa*, and notably furthered by Adam Jones, *Raw, Medium, Well Done: A Critical Review of Editorial and Quasi-Editorial Work on Pre-1885 European Sources for Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960–1986* (Madison, Wis., 1987), and subsequent publications.

[69] A key strategy of the enormously influential work on missionary engagement with southern African peoples in Jean and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution:* Vol. 1, *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991); *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, Colo., 1992); *Of Revelation and Revolution:* Vol. 2, *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, 1997).

[70] For example, William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, 1963).

[71] A premise congruent with the unproductive interaction among the "tribal" groups recognized, which were not only static but also isolating and interacted with outsiders only as enemies, for example the "warring tribes" in international media coverage of Africa. The current premise that Africans constructed communal identities around interactive complementarities (and also used them on occasion for competitive, hostile purposes) received early effective statements in John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge, 1979); and Richard Waller, "Ecology, Migration and Expansion in East Africa," *African Affairs* 84 (1985): 347–70.

[72] Immanuel Wallerstein theorizes only the European side of structured, unequal exchange among the elements of *The Modern World-System*, 3 vols. (New York, 1974, 1980, 1989) (through the 1840s), and thus excludes Africa for much of its history as beyond its "peripheries." Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London, 1972; rev. edn., Washington, D.C., 1982), attempted to reconcile external with internal differentiation in terms of political economy; Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*, extends this style of integration.

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HISTORY NONETHELESS EMERGED, even from research that had strained so hard against the distractions of alien disciplines during the 1960s to meet the standards of historical method that inspired it. Historians gradually discerned sufficiently probable patterns of past African actions that their successors could place imported artifacts, world religions, and international capital in historical contexts independent of modern values. A breakthrough of sorts came in the 1970s, when French neo-Marxist anthropology highlighted dysfunctional tensions within structural functionalists' harmonious ethnographic families, distinguished the diverse actors formerly homogenized within "tribes"—communities with and without lands of their own,[73] elders and youth,[74] slaves,[75] richer and poorer,[76] even ambitious and successful individuals[77]—and positioned them in dynamic, historicized tensions.[78] Systematic neo-Marxist emphasis on material differentiation within Africa broke through the racialist homogenization lingering from earlier formulation of the subject as "the Negro" and moved beyond conflicts stereotyped as "tribal." Differentiation by gender, after first missing its full potential by celebrating African women who excelled in normatively male power roles, focused on sex-specific inequalities of colonial rule and gradually explored the distinctive experiences of the larger half of the African population to add a pervasive, vivifying dialectical tension to the context of Africa's recent past.[79] With these frustrations and other motivations in view, Africans emerged as active historical agents, in ways recognizable to historians practiced in the politics and processes of European and American history, where struggles over sharply differentiated ambitions are axiomatic.

But Africans also acted on intellectual premises and constructed historical contexts with salient aspects very different from those of progressive Europeans and maximizing materialists: prominently among many such contrasts, behind and against all of the practical tensions, was an ethos of collective responsibility rather

[73] Robin Horton, "Stateless Societies in the History of West Africa," in J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa*, 2d edn., 2 vols. (New York, 1976), 1: 72–113.

[74] For example, Claude Meillassoux, *Femmes, greniers et capitaux* (Paris, 1975), and in English, *Maidens, Meal and Money: Capitalism and the Domestic Economy* (New York, 1981).

[75] In a mature, fully theorized extension, Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie de l'esclavage: Le ventre de fer et d'argent* (Paris, 1986), trans. as *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*, Alide Dasnois, trans. (Chicago, 1991). And extended again to issues of gender: Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1983).

[76] John Iliffe, *The African Poor: A History* (New York, 1987).

[77] For example, the "big men" featured in Vansina's *Paths in the Rainforests*.

[78] And in sometimes-heated opposition to "underdevelopment" theories that treated distinctions between the capitalist world and (implicitly noncapitalist) Africa in neo-Marxist language; the classic formulation is Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.

[79] Gender has not featured prominently in this discussion, since it has remained difficult to develop from the sources for earlier periods; one suspects that greater potential lies in linguistic reconstruction than has yet been exploited. For now, see Iris Berger, "'Beasts of Burden' Revisited: Interpretations of Women and Gender in Southern African Societies," in Harms, *et al.*, eds., *Paths toward the Past*, 123–41; Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998); Herbert, *Iron, Gender, and Power*. Revealingly, but for a relatively recent period, see Helen Bradford, "Women, Gender and Colonialism: Rethinking the History of the British Cape Colony and Its Frontier Zone, *ca.* 1806–1870," *Journal of African History* 37 (1996): 351–70. For now-aging surveys on work on recent periods, and often from perspectives other than historical, see Claire C. Robertson, "Developing Economic Awareness: Changing Perspectives in Studies of African Women, 1976–1985," *Feminist Studies* 13 (1987): 96–135; Nancy Rose Hunt, "Placing African Women's History and Locating Gender," *Social History* 14 (1989): 359–79.

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than modern individualistic autonomy.[80] The community values of Africans' histories constitute a kind of moral historiography[81] that exhibits precisely the "ideological" qualities social anthropologists cited as evidence of ahistoricity in oral narratives. The sense in which historical "agency" may be attributed to Africans is prominently—though never exclusively—a collective one, especially during centuries before the nineteenth. Archaeological data are nearly always anonymous and interpreted generically, and words are by definition standardized products of recurrent collective practice.[82] Africans recollect their experiences communally, and performers of oral traditions publicly address shared concerns. Although oral performers characteristically build their narratives around figures of dramatically distinctive character—culture heroes, monarchs, and others, these apparent personages are in fact stock figures who reflect subsequent consensus about them more than particular persons in the past, even the individuals who may in fact have inspired such commemoration. Beginning in the sixteenth century, documents mention individually some of the Africans who met Europeans or at least characterize the specific roles they assumed in approaching literate outsiders, and from the seventeenth century onward they allow increasingly nuanced interpretations of personality in African contexts.[83] But the collective aspect of the people otherwise detectable in the more remote epochs of Africa's past means that individual agency must often be understood in terms of its effects rather than its motivations, and that the effects remembered are public rather than private.

The anonymity of individuals in much of the evidence available thus becomes less a deficiency of the sources than a window opening onto Africans' collective ways of thinking. Even though individuals pursued personal ambition in Africa no less than elsewhere, they did so by subtly evoking responses from those around them rather than by asserting their autonomy too obviously. Autonomous success invited suspicion of "witchcraft" rather than admiration. This African emphasis on collective responsibility also had its own history, with individualism becoming more effective and more acknowledged since about the eighth century, when a few Africans took advantage of outsiders—mostly Muslim and then later Christian merchants from commercial, literate backgrounds—who were prepared to deal with them on a personal basis. More than coincidentally, these foreign visitors also left the documentary records from which historians may now derive evidence of African agency as individual.

[80] Among many other qualities illustrative of difference but marginal to advancing the central argument on historical epistemology.

[81] I borrow this felicitous phrase from Austen, "Slave Trade as History and Memory."

[82] For a promising exception, see Sutton, "African Lords of the Intercontinental Gold Trade."

[83] Two of the best documented people were women who attracted the attention of missionary writers in the Portuguese Catholic-influenced regions of Kongo and Angola. For the famous early seventeenth-century "Queen Nzinga," see Joseph C. Miller, "Nzinga of Matamba in a New Perspective," *Journal of African History* 16 (1975): 201–16; and John K. Thornton, "Legitimacy and Political Power: Queen Njinga, 1624–1663," *Journal of African History* 32 (1991): 25–40. For a Kongo prophetess at the turn of the eighteenth century, see Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706* (New York, 1998). Also for political women in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Dahomey, see Bay, *Wives of the Leopard*. The intricate interplay between a prominent, even dominant, personality, African constructions of it, and multiple European images deriving from those is elegantly evoked in Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

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From recognizing Africans' distinctive mental worlds, historians could also appreciate their experiences of change itself as more abrupt and discontinuous than their own notions of processual incrementalism. The smaller the alterations modern historians can note, the more individuated and specific the changes, and—as a logical complement—the greater the multiplicity of their aspects, the more plausible and historical they find the process thus defined. Perception of change in such nuanced form relies on dense and continuous runs of documentary records and, beyond them, on habits of writing that preserve momentary impressions of every step along the way.[84] Mnemonic notions of change in Africa more resembled what nominally literate historians in Europe before the seventeenth century accepted as "miracles"; both elided progressive history's processual stages of modification into sudden transitions between preceding and succeeding (but other than that timeless) states, sequenced but not otherwise connected.[85] Both depersonalized the human-scale agency of processual change by displacing causation into extra-human realms, usually taken seriously in Europe as "religious" but in Africa for many years dismissed, with connotations of superstitious irrationality, as "magical." Subsequent liberal revision of this pejorative characterization rationalized causation of this African sort as "cosmological" or as respectably "spiritual" but did not interpret its implications for historical thought.

Within these frameworks of causation and historical agency, Africans' strategies of action focused on ends rather than means, which they left mysterious though not beyond human access. Africans acted on the premise that humans did not themselves possess transformative power, but they might nonetheless convert existing states into desired ones by gaining personal access to a limitless pool of potentiality inherent in the world around them, a force personalized to varying degrees as "spirits."[86] Europeans, who restricted the idea of historical efficacy to human initiative, misconstrued individual action conducted in these terms as "sorcery." But African action was in fact efficacious socially as intended, that is, to the often-considerable extent that people feared the ability of individuals to tap the imagined pool of natural potency and acted on their apprehensions. Once historians accepted Africans' strategies of acting, they recognized that the ways in

[84] The reference here is to literacy as cognitive technique, not as a state of mind. Intensely diverse perspectives on the degree to which mnemonic and literate thinking reflected, or created, distinct mental styles, narrative genres, and much else have, as might be expected, emerged from the multiple disciplines that have sensed its importance, from the range of historical contexts where these distinctions have been applied around the world, and from confusion with various modern reformulations of the old distinction between "civilized" and "savage" minds. Jack Goody and Ian Watt initially combined the skills of a classicist with those of an anthropologist to emphasize literacy as mental technology in "The Consequences of Literacy," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5 (1962–63): 304–45; for a recent, clear summary of the thinking deriving from this seminal essay and its implications for African historiography, see Hofmeyr, *"We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told,"* intro.

[85] In Africa, structuralist anthropologists (or structural historians of several sorts) drew implicit support for their predilections toward static institutions from this African epistemology of similarly transformative, revolutionary change. A modern notion of historical change of this contrastive sort underlies the revolutionary transformations that are logically necessary in theoretical Marxism to move from one typologically contrasted "mode of production" to another, and more abstractly still in dialectical logic.

[86] A cliché since the publication of Placide Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy* (Paris, 1952; orig. *Bantoe-filosofie, oorspronkelijke tekst* [Antwerp, 1946]), but recently rendered more historically in Emmanuel Akyeampong and Pashington Obeng, "Spirituality, Gender and Power in Asante History," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 19 (1995): 481–508.

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which they applied reasoned inquiry, calculated experimentation, and close observation of effect to transform their situations paralleled—though within the limits of detection imposed by their reliance on only the human senses—the microscopic, chemical, and eventually nuclear and electronic techniques of observation that seventeenth-century Europeans elaborated as "science."[87]

IT WOULD BE MISLEADING TO OVERDRAW these subtle distinctions in emphasis between European and African historical ways of thinking. Modern general theories of human behavior and abstracted processual models of causation are hardly less naturalizing and impersonal than Africans' metaphors of change. They internalize the power Africans see inherent in nature as inalienable human "rights" and as "sociological" or "psychological" constants; they understand agency to include manipulating "human nature" by influencing consciousness and belief. Nor do Africans' attributions of agency to collective culture heroes and founding kings in oral narratives differ in their implicit dynamics of causation from charismatic "great man" theories in Western philosophies of history. The collective solidarities that Africans represent as "ancestors," or the kings they view as embodying entire polities, produced historical effects, just as people everywhere change their worlds by acting together in groups of similar proportions. Strict rationalist observers dismissed African behavior as timeless "ritual" or "religion," hence unreflective, inexplicable, and pointless "traditional" failed attempts at agency. But contexualizing efficacy, change, and causation in these non-modern—and also postmodern, and only incidentally African—terms makes it plausible by historicizing it. The postmodern embrace of cultural history, social constructivism, memory, and collective consciousness throughout the historical profession has now brought these universal aspects of human existence clearly into view in other parts of the world.

The implications of Africa's past for history as a discipline do not, of course, arise only from the earlier eras on which nearly all of the present discussion has concentrated. The bulk of historical research in Africa has in fact shifted during the last twenty years to modern times, roughly since the mid-nineteenth century, but early Africa exemplifies the process of historicizing its study more dramatically than does the colonial era.[88] Its historiography reaches back more than a century, long enough to reveal the dynamics of the process, while modern Africa has been subject to historical study for barely more than two decades. Further, the formidable technical challenges of eliciting evidence from Africa's more remote eras reveal more sharply the challenges of maintaining disciplinary integrity while drawing on other academic epistemologies than do the interviews, colonial documents, and other relatively familiar sources employed for the twentieth century. In addition, distinctively African historical processes visible only over spans of time reaching

[87] An insight developed, for example, in Randall M. Packard, *Chiefship and Cosmology: An Historical Study of Political Competition* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981); more recently, Herbert, *Iron, Gender, and Power*.

[88] Although this commonsense observation should not be overstated: Jan Vansina, "The Doom of Early African History?" *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 337–43.

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back to ancient eras frame all interpretations of recent periods.[89] These processes decidedly do not constitute a static, "pre-colonial" past, defined only negatively by contrast to European political authority, but rather the centuries when Africans developed solutions to problems of their own times, some of which their descendants have struggled to adapt to contemporary challenges.[90] Without early history to give African context to recent experience, Africans' appropriation of current opportunities falls by default into projections of Europe's dreams of "modernization," or lapses into pessimistic resurrections of meta-histories of terminal decline—as predictions for the future![91]—to explain their failure. Whatever the ethical and political overtones of distorting modern Africa to fit into these alien terms, they fail as history because they perpetuate the teleological and ahistorical premises of the racist progressivism and liberal structuralism from which they grew.

Frictions in Africa, however effective they may have been in generating historical dynamics in Africa's past, exacted a considerable price by separating African from African-American history, making two fields from the one that Du Bois had presented generically and genetically as the history of the "Negro." African history now appeals to other professionals in terms of the discipline and methodology that characterize the academy, more than it reflects the memories of its popular audience in the African-American community. Ambiguities arising from tensions in Africa, formerly concealed behind the American racial mask of "the Negro," seem to expose disharmonies inappropriate for public discussion in Western societies still redolent of the intolerance that Du Bois wrote to refute, to compromise commitment, to reduce the vigilant solidarity necessary for community survival in an unwelcoming world. But since Africa looms integrally in the background of African-American history as a unified ancestry reflecting the racial sense of community forced by American prejudice on African Americans,[92] for many professionalization of the subject leaves a distinct sense of loss.

History reinvented from African circumstances resonates throughout the profession, perhaps even revealingly because of the distinctive intensity with which Africa challenged the exclusionary premises of the classic, progressive form of the discipline at the end of World War II. The ahistoricity, even anti-historicity, of the social-science disciplines with which aspirant Africanist historians had to begin forced them to look deep into their own professional souls as well. Their experience of inventing a history for Africa, not by rejecting established standards but by embracing and extending them to integrate the unconventional forms in which the world's "people without history" had remembered their pasts, exposed inner logics

[89] Examples that draw revealingly on historical context include Elias C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1859–1960* (Madison, Wis., 1990); and B. Marie Perinbam, *Family Identity and the State in the Bamako Kafu, c. 1800–c. 1900* (Boulder, Colo., 1997).

[90] J. F. Ade Ajayi put historical brackets around "Colonialism: An Episode in African History" (in Peter Duignan and Louis H. Gann, *Colonialism in Africa* [Cambridge, 1969], 497–509) to emphasize European rule as a superficial interlude in longer-term, deep-rooted African processes.

[91] Most widely noted: Robert D. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *Atlantic Monthly* (February 1994): 44–76.

[92] Also the major axis of change in Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*; and Colin Palmer, *Passageways: An Interpretive History of Black America*: Vol. 1, 1619–1863 (Fort Worth, Tex., 1998).

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of historical reasoning.[93] Inclusive liberalism brought "others" formerly segregated in the separate spheres of "ethnohistory" within a single, comprehensive, and seamless history of humanity. It also replaced the artificial barrier between "history" and "pre-history" set by limiting evidence to its documentary form with a processual threshold for history defined in terms germane to how historical inquiry proceeds, that is, in terms of human agency: historical method gradually becomes productive of understanding ancient women and men as calculation supplemented biological evolution, animal instinct, and random accident as a coherent, significant source of intended—and unintended—change in the affairs of those thereby rendered human.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY—and historians are, above all, questioners—requires the challenge of the unknown to spark the curious imagination. History derives its essential energy from explaining difference, from the tension of the distance that separates historian and subject. All knowledge gains clarity and coherence from the elementary binary mental function of discriminating like from unlike, of course, and history is distinctive primarily in focusing on distance across time, between then and now, between the historian's and subjects' eras. The centrality of difference to the wellspring of history's epistemology underlies the reflexive appreciation, recently prominent in all historical fields, of the complexity of relations between historian-observer and observed subject, between selves and others. Progressive Europe's and America's praise of their own ways of doing things prevented historical inquiry from drawing fully on this core potential, by coding cultural behavior as biological absolutes, by limiting its subjects to the relatively familiar, by celebrating selves rather than exploring others.

Such exclusion distracts attention from the equally important, countervailing premise of historical inquiry: the shared humanity that links otherwise distanced, but not alienated, historians and their subjects. History is fundamentally humanistic in the sense that its way of knowing depends on an intuitive sense of commonality, of sheer comprehensibility, beyond the differentiation by which it defines in order to explain. This connective aspect of history's method binds historians to their subjects in multiple ways. Affectively, it appears in the emotionally engaged fascination that attracts scholars—or the horror and dismay that repel them no less engagingly—to the parts of the past that they choose to investigate. Cognitively, it sustains their inquiring interest to the point of inspiring them to impose order on chaotic evidence. Historians convey this sense of understanding by presenting their subjects as people like themselves and their audience, by touching readers and hearers intuitively, evoking contradictions, paradoxes, and ironies of life that they understand because they share them. All history is thus ethnic, part of the creation of group identities by authors who claim affinity with the subjects about whom, and

[93] Though not only in Africa, but also in the several other thriving regional fields outside Europe and North America: Steve J. Stern, "Africa, Latin America, and the Splintering of Historical Knowledge: From Fragmentation to Reverberation," in Frederick Cooper, Allen F. Isaacman, Florencia E. Mallon, William Roseberry, and Steve J. Stern, *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America* (Madison, Wis., 1993), 3–20.

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for whom, they write.[94] The prominence of the past in the rhetorics of nationalism, racism, "culture wars," and chauvinisms of every sort amply confirms the extent to which history is inherently about "us."

But never exclusively so. Historical curiosity and understanding start together, from the tension of holding the opposing sensations of difference and similarity, distance and intimacy in the precarious, productive balance that makes inquiry conducted in this spirit productive. The delicate equilibrium of historical thinking makes its practice dependent on the training, poise, and control of professionals. But clarifying contrasts is so basic to human thought that carrying the same mental process to extremes allows nonprofessionals to imitate history by emphasizing either of the two tendencies of its dialectic, claiming its appeal while violating its dynamic epistemological equilibrium. Since both parts are always present and hence available to employ one-sidedly, imitators' claims may be difficult to distinguish from those of historians balanced on the tightrope of professionalism. History's humanism is so intuitive, and its legitimating intimacy so powerful, that it gives enormous popular appeal to versions of the past that draw only on commonalities, distorting the evidence in response to what the community, or the historian, wants to believe, ideologically proclaiming their obviousness as truth or more openly acknowledging them as entertaining fiction. When historians differentiate excessively by projecting onto "others" their own envy, fears, or hopes, they betray the integrity of the discipline no less than when they proclaim similarities beyond those that in fact exist. They then merely generate obscurantism, stereotyping "others" to stress difference, as Africans—who have lived with alienating histories—and African Americans—who have been excluded by racist association—know all too well.

Recent critical examination of this reflexivity—enriched by literary, hermeneutic, or psychoanalytic theories (but not by theory from the empirical social sciences)—offers productive ways to examine these inevitable, and essential, subjectivities. Taken alone, however, even informed self-awareness loses touch with the discipline's equally essential focus on others, on people in the past understood as unlike themselves. The epistemological function of empirical data for historians is to draw them outside their own imaginations. No objective reality may lurk out there, awaiting "discovery," but externalities inevitably intrude on consciousness sufficiently to differentiate and provoke curiosity. The subtle distinction that places history among the humanities rather than the sciences turns on its use of induction to test insight rather than its deploying intuition to interpret data.[95] The empirical aspect of this subtle interplay may be similarly intensified to extremes, and in the positivist phase of the discipline documents attained a sanctity that had nightmarish

[94] With grateful acknowledgment to Jan Vansina, who emphasized this aspect of history's logic in an elegant lecture, "The Unity of History" (unpublished, 1998), and an unpublished paper, "Historical Traditions Today" (also 1998), which helped focus the ruminations that preceded the present essay.

[95] Closer to Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, Md., 1973), as characterized by J. D. Y. Peel, "Two Pastors and Their *Histories*: Samuel Johnson and C. C. Reindorf," in Jenkins, *Recovery of the West African Past*, 69: "a historian's intention, formed from his experiences and his existing notions of what an account of the past might look like and be useful for, must always be *prior to* [my emphasis] his use of the evidence, even though it may be modified by working on it," than to Ranke's ordering of the balance, as quoted in Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 27–28: "*After* [my emphasis] the labor of criticism, intuition is required."

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consequences for Africa. Novelty and sheer abundance on the empirical side of historical scrutiny have repeatedly tempted the leaders of advances into new ranges of evidence, from the written documents of the founding "scientific" generation to the unwritten sources that beguiled historians of Africa. The social historians of the 1960s struggled to comprehend data in quantities incomprehensible to unaided human cognitive faculties, and some limited themselves to conclusions in the forms in which electronic technologies and statistical techniques—necessary to detect patterns hidden within these sources—delivered them. Quantitative methods framed critical aspects of historical context by describing aggregate tendencies in human behavior, but by themselves they seldom generated historical insight into the human experience.

History turns data into evidence not by pursuing the technical attributes of data but by substituting a distinctively intuitive, humanistic, holistic strategy for the experimental method of science. It assesses meaning by qualitatively contextualizing evidence in the complex, multivariant circumstances of the past in which people created it. History ultimately fails as "science," since historians can assemble only random evidence from the debris of the past that reaches them through processes far beyond their control. They cannot replicate the closely regulated conditions of laboratories, in which their scientific counterparts precisely measure varying outcomes of exact, determining circumstances. Rather, they can compare only approximately, among the few aspects of past conditions known to them, of only general similarity, and seldom in instances numerous enough to establish levels of statistical probability beyond the plausibility inferable from intuition alone. Auras of ambiguity hover over all bits of evidence considered out of context, removed from the human creativity from which they come. Even the apparent precision of timing establishes only correlations based on chronologies, not cause or effect. History's holistic methodology thus makes sense of the data at hand by setting all information available, considered simultaneously together, in the context of the human moment from which it originated. The more information at hand, the richer the context it creates and the greater its potential thus to explain. The more intuitive the historian, the more contradictions and paradoxes in the assemblage she or he is able to reconcile.

Contemplating history without calendrical chronologies in Africa generalizes the discipline's sense of time beyond sequence according to numbered dates. History's fundamental sense of change emphasizes not dates but rather the ephemerality of the human experience and the processual aspects of historical contexts, the becomingness, the remembered absences. No human being can escape the imposing imponderability of change itself: everyone orients himself or herself to the inaccessibly fleeting present in which they live by trying to apply perceptions of past experience, to prepare for an impending future foreseeable only as projections from the here and now, which events will render irrelevant before the limited "lessons of the past" can be applied. Sequential narrative modes of exposition render these settings coherent in the flow of time, but only by invoking irony, actions with consequences unintended, tragic fates for those who cling to efforts after they have failed, uncertainty and fear, and causes arising from circumstances far beyond human control replace ineluctable progress and all the comforting regularities of

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theory: all very unlike the uncomplicated sense of progress that gave birth to the modern discipline.

History is thus neither empirical nor imaginative but rather a continual dialectical confrontation of insight with evidence, of intuition and empirical induction, of past and present, of mutually challenging awarenesses of the self and of the world. The meanings that historians seek are similarly multiple and distinct, simultaneously those of their subjects, those of their audience, and private ones, unconscious as well as conscious. Professional history must constantly, exhaustively, test its intuitive aspect against evidence and awareness external to both historians and their publics, in order to keep the actions of the others that it is held to reveal at safe, respected distances from their interpreters. Once historians acknowledged Africans' human accessibility and plunged into the uncertain contexts of alien disciplines and of data in half-understood forms from unfamiliar cultures, they encountered contrasts, less absolute than race, that energized their inquiries. The cultural originality that challenged anthropologists to understand Africans as exotic "others" whom time—understood only as progress toward modernity—seemed to have forgotten became a source of revealing contrasts when historians recognized it as products of the creativity of people like themselves. Scholars with personal backgrounds in the cultures of Africa gained a parallel sense of understanding from their mastery of Western historical method and often led colleagues from Western backgrounds in understanding Africans' histories that were their own.[96]

Historians achieved a similarly subtle, biased balance between history and its sister disciplines as they generated historical ways of contemplating Africa's past out of anthropology, political science, archaeology, linguistics, and other ways of knowing characterized by the primacy of theory. In sharp contrast to history, theory achieves coherence largely by abstracting selected elements from their historical contexts, to expose the logical relationships among them. Because history's core subject is the human experience, that of the historian as well as those of the historian's subjects, because all human situations exhibit multiple facets, and because historical actors shift their attention selectively among them and act momentarily in relation to many different ones, historians therefore must appropriate theories and models in eclectic multiples, not to test any one of them on its own terms but rather to apply the relevant insights of all, pragmatically, to the compound ambiguity of past experience—in combinations that are historical because each is unique to its moment. Because the external rationality of any single theory may explain behavioral tendencies of large aggregates of people over long periods of time, the theorized disciplines—philosophical as well as social and psychological sciences—reveal the *longue durée* tendencies, cultural assumptions, and general human inclinations that are vital aspects of historical context.

The disciplinary distractions of historians' early efforts in Africa thus derived not from inherent limits of the social-science theory and structure they employed but rather from their having to substitute conclusions from them for evidence from the past. Historians simply lacked sufficient data independent of their own imaginations

[96] For a convenient collection of these perspectives (among others), see the internationally authored and edited UNESCO *General History of Africa*. Volumes 3 and 4 contain some of the few accessible syntheses from Islamic perspectives, vital for many parts of Africa.

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to hold generalizing disciplines in heuristically secondary positions, supportive of their primary project of particularizing moments. In pursuit of the illusion of "tribes," they also attempted to blur distinctions among the distinct epistemologies by treating them as if they focused on the same elements of past historical contexts. For example, historians hoped that momentous subjects consciously remembered in oral tradition might directly confirm evidence of the thoroughly unremarkable aspects of life retrieved through archaeological methods; or, historians and anthropologists—in efforts recurrent as both disciplinary camps confronted their need for the other—thought it possible to synthesize a "historical anthropology" or an "anthropological history." But they learned that the dialectic of thinking interdisciplinarily does not resolve on the plane of method. Rather, Africanists of all academic persuasions maintained their academic composures separate from others and applied the insights of all simultaneously or, as they became relevant, to complex historical contexts. There, each contextualized and thereby rendered plausible conclusions reached independently through others. Engaged historically through intuitive application to human contexts, scrupulous respect for inherent differences among academic disciplines preserved the integrity of each and enriched the productivity of all. The balance among them paralleled history's differentiated affect of scholar and subject and its mutual testing of intuition and induction.

Once historians learned enough about African local and regional dynamics to juxtapose them against Europe's experience, they engaged perhaps the most dynamic differential contrast of all. Africans seen as living in coherent "worlds of their own," fully integral but not isolated, stood in fertile tension with broader currents of world history. Africans had in fact lived in broader historical contexts long before colonial rule in the twentieth century, and before their contact with the Atlantic economy over the preceding three hundred years. They had interacted with the Islamic world in transformative degrees for nearly a millennium before that, and they had drawn significantly on contacts with the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean in the classical eras of both neighboring regions. Saharans fleeing a growing desert had entered the Nile Valley during the millennia preceding the consolidation of classical Egyptian civilization there. The interpretation of these historical interactions as Africans borrowing "traits" abstracted from their historical contexts had generated no fruitful dynamic, nor had the effort to endow Africans with agency by isolating them within separated spheres of autonomy. Equally, single-sided "domination" by European colonialism, "modernization" by industrial civilization, or feminized "penetration" by world capitalism had left Africans passive, reactive subordinates. But balanced tension between regional and global rhythms of change in African contexts summoned up the proximate differences, distanced intimacies, of active historical inquiry.[97]

[97] As emphasized with a rich array of examples from recent African history and anthropology in Steven Feierman, "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History," in Robert H. Bates, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Jean O'Barr, eds., *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and the Humanities* (Chicago, 1993), 167–212. In Feierman's phrase (p. 175), "tension between the new African evidence, showing autonomous processes, and the older vision of world history in which progress radiated from a few historical civilizations" also "changed our understanding of general history, and of Europe's place, in the world in profound ways" (p. 182). For

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The differences exploited by contemplating Europeans' experiences in Africa together with Africans' experience of global historical processes[98] suggest that change in the large, persisting "civilizations" favored by progressive history in fact originates on their fringes, not in their relatively stable centers. Just as the Kuhnian process in science operates at the margins of awareness and intelligibility and as the unknown stimulates historical curiosity, it is at the edges of what is familiar that people in history encounter others different enough from themselves to appear baffling, where strangers pose challenges they are not prepared to meet, and to which they may respond with innovation.[99] The alternative reaction—hatred, denial, incomprehension—leads only to the loss of perspective from which unduly ethnic history—African as well as European—suffers. But history's humanistic premise of commonality, of intelligibility, turns dread of the unknown into a quest for explanation. In the case of Africa, differences had exceptional power to challenge the historical discipline, since they assumed extreme forms, wrapped in the emotional garb of race that lurked at the core of progressive history, appeared to transgress its apotheosis of evidence in documentary form, confronted modernists with present practices like witchcraft presumed left behind by the advance of civilization in Europe, and—far beyond what Africans in fact were doing—represented fanciful projections of private subjectivities that progressive historians' insistence on rational objectivity most obscured from themselves. Explanation of anomalies as multiple and sensitive as these that Africa seemed to present could not but deepen professional historical sensibilities and broaden historians' skills.[100]

Finally, historians turn to the past to implement their tragic sensibility to transitoriness only in part because ephemerality and contingency appear there in demonstrable ways. The past matters equally to the epistemology of history because evidence rooted firmly and inalterably in times gone by remains inaccessibly impervious to the inquirer's imagination in the present. Strict respect for the pastness of evidence renders it inaccessible and thus immunizes historians against the constant temptation to manipulate it in the service of concerns of their own, created by history's contravening metaphors of continuity and contiguity. It thus preserves the distance that makes historians of those who engage the lives of others, back then. Time, or—as Africans see it—absence within communities of empathy, makes the difference from which the vitality of historical inquiry flows.

a rich contemplation of the challenges of decentering "World History in a Global Age," see Michael Geyer and Charles Bright under this title in the centennial volume of the *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1034–60.

[98] Whether centered on the northern Atlantic: Wallerstein, *Modern World-System*. Or the Indian Ocean: K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (New York, 1985). Or southwestern Asia: Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250–1350* (New York, 1989).

[99] A contemplation of the historical dynamics of "frontier" hypotheses; for theorization, see Igor Kopytoff, ed., *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies* (Bloomington, Ind., 1987). The stimulating contacts among world civilizations across McNeill's "ecumene" in *The Rise of the West* utilize the underlying concept of confronted differences as energizing historical change but concentrate on effects at their centers rather than focusing on the process at the fringes. All, of course, realize the underlying Hegelian concept of dialectic in geographical metaphors.

[100] And vice versa: as Feierman puts the complementing process, "The need for historians to hear African voices originates with the same impulse as the need to hear the voices that had been silent within European history"; "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History," 182.

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AFRICANS THUS HISTORICIZED AS PEOPLE with pasts of their own, with autonomous contributions distinguishable from the passivity assigned them by slavery, and with identities no longer rendered invisible by its racial sequels, are poised to enter the world's longer-established historical regions. More Africans than Europeans reached the Americas until sometime early in the nineteenth century, as we have known for long enough to think more carefully than most have done about the implications of the fact, and recent evidence confirms that 80 percent of the women and 90 percent of the children coming before 1800 to the New World from the Old traveled in the holds of slaving vessels.[101] Historical insights are now passing in both directions between Africa and Europe and the Americas, no less than Europeans and Africans have long interacted across the Mediterranean and all around the Atlantic.[102] The regional fields that once confined action within contexts distortingly narrow are becoming "globalized." Once historians recognize Africans as people with stories of their own, they expand their vision of large parts of mainland North American colonies to take account of the Africans who helped, however involuntarily, to make those places what they became. The significant presence of their African-American descendants, whatever their nominal exclusion by reason of race, then follows ineluctably. With Africans brought in from the cold beyond the periphery, Atlantic history stands solidly on three legs,[103] and Africans join others around the world as intelligible participants in themes central to European history,[104] beyond their former bit parts as foils for European follies overseas. By the maxim of history's enrichment by diverse and comprehensive context—"research locally, but think globally"—all need all the others, and to equal degrees.

I am not the first president of this Association to acknowledge—at least implicitly through my confidence that lessons learned from doing history in Africa matter to historians specialized in fields once considered remote—the opportunity that the American Historical Association presents, distinctively among our many other, more specialized professional societies, to deepen understanding by providing a forum for cultivating awareness of the full historical context in which all whom we study in fact lived.[105] The AHA has taken fruitful steps in recent years to "globalize regional histories," in the phrase of one recent initiative, in the pages of this *Review*, and in supporting development of sophisticated historical thinking on a world

[101] The valuable sort of context that quantitative data set, and the questions they thereby raise; statistics cited by Eltis, Richardson, and Behrendt in various essays based on the Du Bois Institute database of slaving voyages.

[102] As "Atlantic" historians are now exploring. From North America, Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 53 (1996): 251–88; and *Many Thousand Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (New York, 1998). From the African side, Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*. Blending the two: Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*.

[103] Bernard Bailyn, "The Idea of Atlantic History," *Itinerario* 20 (1996): 19–44. I anticipate the theme of the millennial program of the Organization of American Historians (to be offered in the year 2000): "The U.S. and the Wider World."

[104] In its modern context, in a field familiar to me, see Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London, 1997). For the year 2000, the theme of the conference of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies is "The Eighteenth Century Seen around the World"; Harvard University's Program for the Study of German and Europe has announced a workshop (1999) on "Western Europe in an Age of Globalization."

[105] For example, Curtin, "Depth, Span, and Relevance"; Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Voyages," *AHR* 98 (February 1993): 1–17.

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scale.[106] The "Atlantic context" of North American history and the global aspects of modern European history, not to mention the position of Christian Europe for a millennium before on the periphery of the Islamic world, and the Indo-centric and Afro-Eur-Asian dynamics around the Mediterranean long before the age of Philip V of Spain, all thrive on the stimulus of balancing, without abandoning, perspectives inherent in each against pulses of change in the others. The subjectivity essential to history comes alive in this interplay; we realize ourselves most fully when we engage with others unlike ourselves. Historians have achieved productive diversity as the discipline has matured, but—as progressive history showed—stark differentiation without compensating engagement is sterile. As the inclusive arena in which historians can avoid disintegrating into isolated, inert fragments, the American Historical Association keeps newer styles of history from taking older ones for granted and exposes older ones to resonances of the new that animate what they have already accomplished. Africa offers historians a rich challenge as part of this process, a place not fundamentally opposed to "ourselves," as progressive history once constructed it, but one stimulatingly distinct in modulated ways from which all historians gain by including, just as Africanists thrive on being included.

[106] One of the AHA's most active affiliates, the World History Association, with its *Journal of World History*.

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New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600–1650

JORGE CAÑIZARES ESGUERRA

In 1646, angered by attempts of certain sectors of the Spanish clergy to bar him from a recent appointment as procurator general in Rome of the Franciscan province of New Spain, Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova wrote a *memorial* to the king requesting the emperor's support. Facing the criticism of his opponents, who assumed that the New World had turned Spanish-American colonists into degenerate Indians, Salinas presented America as a biblical Paradise. The benign astral influences of the New World were demonstrated not only in the fact that the Indies were a veritable microcosm in which everything in the world could be found but, more important, in the character of its peoples. Indians, Salinas averred, were gentle, meek, and generous, ideal material for creating communities of saints all over America. Spaniards born in the Indies, also known as Creoles, on the other hand, enjoyed outstanding minds, which, once trained in colonial universities, gave them the right (divine and natural) to occupy the highest bureaucratic posts in the land.[1] Yet, for all his praise of Indians and Creoles, Salinas also made a clear differentiation among those living in America. He reminded the king that Creoles were the heirs "not of the Indians" but "of the valor and blood of Spain."[2] In fact, in a previous *memorial* to the king published in Lima in 1630, Salinas had argued that skin color and behavioral differences among nations could not be explained by environmental factors. Taking issue with many "learned authors" (*varones doctos*) who had maintained that the physical features of Indians and blacks stemmed from the temperament of the land and/or heavenly influences (for example, warmth and

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[1] Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial, informe, y manifiesto al rey* ([Rome], 1646), fols. 18v–19r (on America as microcosm); 17v (America as location of Paradise due to its climate and peoples); 22v–23r (on Indians and Creoles); 37 (on Indians suited to create ideal Christian communities).

[2] Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial, informe*, 11v, 106v.

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sunny climates produced black skins), Salinas insisted that Indians and blacks owed their color and servile demeanor to Noah's curse on the descendants of Ham.[3]

There is, to be sure, no novelty in maintaining that European colonists sought to differentiate themselves racially from Indians. Spanish America was, after all, a society built on corporate privileges and social estates that overlapped with additional racial hierarchies. Although *castas* (mixed bloods) grew in the interstices of the original three-tier system of Spaniards, Indians, and Africans, and therefore blurred the colonial boundaries of class and race, Spanish America was a society obsessed with identifying and enforcing racial hierarchies.[4] But Salinas y Córdova's treatises reveal much more than a quaint exercise in white European self-identity. About the time Salinas wrote his *memorial* of 1646 to the king, Antonio León Pinelo was seeking to prove that Paradise lay hidden somewhere in the eastern slopes of the Peruvian Andes. After building a successful career as a magistrate in Lima, the expatriate León Pinelo was recalled to serve in the Council of Indies in Madrid, where he set out to defend the Indies from Europe's negative characterizations. León Pinelo maintained that Peru was so bountiful and temperate that it was home to the Garden of Eden and that the Amazon, Magdalena, La Plata, and Orinoco were the four rivers of Paradise mentioned in Genesis. To prove that the Amazon was the biblical river Gehon that ran through the lands of Ethiopia, León Pinelo insisted that the torrid zone of the Indies and Africa were one and the same. To clinch his argument, León Pinelo argued that the Indians were like the Ethiopians, "black" and slavish, the cursed descendants of Ham.[5]

León Pinelo was well aware of the contradictory nature of his argument. How could Paradise be the original home of the Indians, idle, meek, "black," and cursed members of humankind? If judged by the quality of its people, Peru clearly was not Paradise. After accepting the thesis of the French humanist Julius Caesar Scaliger that if judged by the merit and intelligence of its peoples Paradise should be somewhere in Europe, León Pinelo insisted that the location of Paradise should be determined solely on the quality of lands, not peoples: nations moved around (which made it impossible to determine whether the Indians were truly the original inhabitants of America), they also had set mental and physical differences acquired from creation that could not be changed by astral or climatic influences.[6] Like Salinas y Córdova, León Pinelo introduced the notion that the environment affected only slightly the character of peoples, which otherwise was innate. Both authors posited that the bodies of European and Indians were radically different.

In this article, I argue that Salinas y Córdova and León Pinelo belong in a larger

[3] Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del Nuevo Mundo Piru: Méritos y excelencias de la ciudad de Lima, cabeza de sus ricos y estendidos reynos y el estado presente en el que se hallan* (Lima, 1630), chap. 1. See also the edition by the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos (Lima, 1957), 11–12.

[4] Magnus Morner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967); Jonathan Irvine Israel, *Race, Class, and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610–1670* (London, 1975); Patricia Seed, "Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62 (1982): 569–606; David Cahill, "Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1532–1824," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26 (1994): 325–46.

[5] Antonio de León Pinelo, *El paraiso en el Nuevo Mundo: Comentario apologético, historia natural y peregrina de las Indias Occidentales*, Raul Porras Barrenechea, ed., 2 vols. (Lima, 1943), 2: 524–29.

[6] León Pinelo, *El paraiso en el Nuevo Mundo*, 2: 4–6.

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movement of seventeenth-century learned colonists who, as they sought to defend Spanish America from negative European characterizations, invented modern forms of racism that scholars have wrongly attributed to the rise of modern science in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I contend that the science of race, with its emphasis on biological determinism, its focus on the body as the site of behavioral-cultural variations, and its obsession with creating homogenizing and essentializing categories, was first articulated in colonial Spanish America in the seventeenth century, not in nineteenth-century Europe. Using the European sciences of the day, astrology and Hippocratic-Galenic physiology, learned colonists articulated a form of scientific racism that claimed there were innate bodily and mental differences separating peoples from one another. They maintained that although constellations and climate could in fact render white colonists more intelligent than the Europeans, bodies remained impervious to environmental and/or cultural influences: the climate and stars of the Indies could not transform white Europeans into Indians anymore than the cold air of Europe could turn a black person white.

Intellectuals in the colonies showed little interest in theories of "generation" or heredity. Such interest could clearly have had the potential of turning their argument of innate racial differences into a heretical one by denying a common ancestry from Adam to both Indians and Europeans.[7] Yet they never threatened the authority of the Bible. Creole and European émigré scholars avoided the contemporaneous rancorous debates in Europe, where Isaac La Peyrère and the so-called sect of Pre-Adamites maintained that most nations had originated in separate creations.[8] Creole scholars found the roots of innate racial differences not in polygenism but in the events that followed the Great Flood. They maintained that Indian and black physical and mental traits had originated as a result of Noah's curse on Ham.[9]

In a thesis now widely accepted, John H. Elliott has argued that, during the early modern period, what was "new" about America was easily incorporated into ancient classical and biblical paradigms and therefore had only a blunted impact on European consciousness.[10] The story I am about to tell both confirms and

[7] Joyce E. Chaplin has made a similar argument in "Natural Philosophy and Early Racial Idiom in North America: Comparing English and Indian Bodies," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 64 (1997): 229–52. Although the English colonists articulated a view of their bodies as better adapted to the American climate than those of the Indians, who were dying by the thousands due to exposure to new European diseases, it appears that the colonists were unable to turn their new-found bodily exceptional identity into a full-fledged racialist discourse. According to Chaplin, they remained bound to the assumption that environment was the ultimate cause of bodily transformations. My argument is that the Spanish-American Creoles were far more successful at transforming a racial "idiom" into a full-fledged racialist discourse than their English counterparts.

[8] Richard H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère (1596–1676): His Life, Work, and Influence* (Leiden, 1987). On sixteenth and seventeenth-century debates on the origins of American Indians, see Lee Eldrige Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians: European Concepts, 1492–1729* (Austin, Tex., 1967).

[9] Their arguments paralleled those medieval discourses that through the doctrine of the curse of Noah sought to separate the bodies of peasant commoners from the nobility's. On this, see Paul Freedman, *The Image of the Medieval Peasant as Alien and Exemplary* (forthcoming). Thanks to Professor Paul Freedman for letting me read the manuscript before publication.

[10] John H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge, 1970). See also Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1986); Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the*

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undermines Elliott's thesis. Spanish-American intellectuals held that the body was immune to environmental influences and therefore went against ancient Mediterranean paradigms of behavior and skin color being determined by the close interactions of the individual with the stars and the climate. But this challenge to ancient views, inadvertently developed by colonial intellectuals, did not influence, and was not even acknowledged in, later European discourses of scientific racism. Postcolonial theorists have called for a more nuanced and global understanding of the history of processes and institutions that to this day have been narrowly construed as European.[11] Ann Laura Stoler, for example, has used such postcolonial approaches to shed light on the deep colonial roots of nineteenth-century Victorian sexuality and has offered a new, more provocative reading of Michel Foucault's Europe-bound *History of Sexuality*. Stoler has forcefully maintained that colonies were "laboratories of modernity" where "key symbols of modern western societies [such as] liberalism, nationalism, state citizenship, culture, and Europeanness were first clarified among Europe's colonial exiles and by those colonized classes caught in their pedagogic net in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and only then brought home."[12] The present study shows that the seventeenth-century Spanish-American colonies were indeed laboratories of modernity. But my story, unlike Stoler's, cannot be used to demonstrate continuities in the colonial roots of European modernity, because none of the ideas created in Spanish America later proved influential in Europe.

Precisely at the time that the European core was articulating a racialized modern view of the body, a new rhetoric of rigor and objectivity in science declared useless and unreliable the ideas that had once been created in Europe's colonial peripheries.[13] It is not surprising therefore that the sixteenth and seventeenth-century origins of modern views of the racialized body have long been forgotten. To rediscover these deep colonial roots, we need to restore some of the credibility that early modern science once enjoyed.[14] The science used by Spanish-American intellectuals came wrapped in the ancient Mediterranean idioms of Hippocratic-Galenic physiology and astrology. Astrology was considered a very serious science that studied the processes through which planets and fixed stars controlled "generation and corruption" in the sublunary world by eliciting change among the four elements (water, earth, fire, and air) and therefore over human temperaments

Shock of Discovery (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); and the articles in Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *America in European Consciousness 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995). On the classical tradition of environmental determinism, see Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967).

[11] Stuart Hall, "When Was 'The Post-Colonial'? Thinking at the Limit," in *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti, eds. (London, 1996), 242–60.

[12] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's "History of Sexuality" and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995), 16.

[13] Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, "Spanish America in Eighteenth-Century European Travel Compilations: A New 'Art of Reading' and the Transition to Modernity," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, no. 4 (1998): 329–49, and more generally Cañizares Esguerra, *Historical Criticism and the Reconstruction of the Amerindian Past in Europe and Spanish America, 1750–1800* (Stanford, forthcoming).

[14] For recent good syntheses of the nature and complexity of early modern science, see the articles in David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman, eds., *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990).

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and complexions, that is, over the bodily balance of elements and humors as described in the Hippocratic and Galenic corpus. Astrology was part of the obvious mental landscape of every learned individual in the early modern world, regardless of religion or country of origin. Although prognostication was itself a contentious issue that raised all sorts of theological and political questions, the understanding that the stars affected behavior in the sublunary world was something everybody took for granted.[15]

Hippocratic-Galenic physiology and astrology were two important early modern scientific idioms that helped Europeans to make sense of their puzzling encounter with the New World. Paradoxically, however, this has not been properly recognized. A generation ago, Antonello Gerbi showed that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the New World came to be seen as a degenerating tropical environment. Gerbi studied the patriotic responses in the Americas, including the United States, triggered by these views.[16] Yet little is known of European characterizations of the Indies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the late sixteenth century, America came to be perceived as a degenerating land; it was thought to be overly "humid" and thus emasculating, but, more important, it was assumed to be ruled by those new, negative constellations that Europeans had recently discovered and charted in the Southern Hemisphere. Such representations prompted Creole and émigré European scholars to react, creating forms of patriotic astrology. A full-fledged, consistent defense of the environment, however, could only undermine tenets most colonials assumed to be true, namely that Indians were slow-witted phlegmatics who needed to be forced to work. How to defend a land from European innuendo that had created nations of inferior, mentally challenged Indians? I argue that the reaction of the colonists was to postulate clear-cut racial distinctions and to construct separate bodies for Indians and Creoles (and, to a lesser degree, blacks).

In the first section of this article, I explore Europe's negative climatological and astrological characterizations of the New World as well as the views of the European body in the Indies these engendered. In the second section, I study the reaction of colonists in Spanish America, including the rise of a genre of patriotic astrology and the invention of separate bodies for Indians and white European colonists. In the third and final section, I discuss the historiographical import of understanding these views.

[15] Don Cameron Allen, *The Star-Crossed Renaissance: The Quarrel about Astrology and Its Influence in England* (New York, 1966); Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth-Century Mind: William Lilly and the Language of the Stars* (Manchester, 1995); Laura Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly 1350–1420* (Princeton, N.J., 1994). Nancy G. Siraisi, *The Clock and the Mirror: Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine* (Princeton, 1997), and Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Work of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge, Mass, forthcoming), both make perfectly clear that the principle of astral effects on the human body was one of the pillars of early modern medicine. (Many thanks to Professor Grafton for letting me read his book before publication). On medieval and Renaissance theories of temperaments and complexions, see Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* (Chicago, 1990), 97–114.

[16] Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750–1900*, Jeremy Moyle, trans., rev. and enl. edn. (Pittsburgh, 1973).

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FROM THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY, learned Europeans felt the need to explain why a land that ancient cosmographers had predicted to be uninhabited was in fact temperate. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo was perhaps the first European to offer, in 1526, a list of meteorological mechanisms to explain why Spanish America, a region largely located in the Torrid Zone, was temperate and bountiful and not barren, despite being under the influence of the scorching equatorial sun. Oviedo suggested several cooling mechanisms: nights and days had the same length year-round, and thus, unlike summer in Europe, tropical earth had longer nights to cool off; high mountain ranges and vast oceans encircling an elongated continent contributed to chill the land; and large rivers and wet soils dampened the heat.[17] As conquistadors discovered large river basins, lakes, and tropical forests, a sense that America was a temperate yet humid continent came to dominate the imagination of European scholars.[18] In 1555, Girolamo Cardano, a distinguished Italian humanist, argued that climate was determined by the height of land relative to the sea. The Torrid Zone was temperate because it lay below sea level and attracted waters from the poles, which were the highest continental masses over the globe. This polar-equatorial flow of water, Cardano maintained, made Torrid America temperate and moist.[19] In 1589, the Jesuit José de Acosta offered the first detailed account of the meteorological mechanisms that kept Torrid America temperate and contended that the continent, although the closest thing on earth to Paradise, was humid.[20] The abundance of water made large sections of the Indies uninhabitable; humidity was also partially responsible for its numerous earthquakes.[21]

Oviedo, Cardano, and Acosta did not draw any negative conclusions from the humidity of the land. However, in 1579, the Franciscan Diego Valadés argued in Italy that the Indians "are stupid because they are born in crass air."[22] In 1591, the émigré Spanish physician Juan de Cárdenas maintained that humidity in the Indies was not only the cause of frequent earthquakes (for vapors were trapped in America's cavernous subsoil) but also sapped the strength of the population (humidity caused chronic illnesses that weakened, dried, and consumed the human body).[23] By the early seventeenth century, it had become a truism that the humidity of the Indies debilitated organisms, made roots shallow, and caused food to lack nourishing value.[24] Colonial physicians in Mexico told Thomas Gage, an English

[17] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes, *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias*, Manuel Ballesteros, ed. (Madrid, 1986), 77–78.

[18] As early as 1519, the Spanish cosmographer Martin Fernández de Enciso attributed the great frequency of lightning storms in the Caribbean to the greater humidity of the Indies; see *Suma de geographia que trata de todas las partidas y provincias del mundo* (1519; rpt. edn., Seville, 1530), fols. 18v–19r.

[19] Cardano quoted in Richard Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West Indiea* (London, 1555), fol. 184r–v. On Cardano, see note 15.

[20] José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las indias en que se tratan cosas notables del cielo y elementos, metales, plantas y animales dellas* (1589; rpt. edn., Barcelona, 1591), bk. 2, chap. 6, fols. 58v–59r.

[21] Acosta, *Historia natural y moral*, bk. 3, chap. 28, fol. 123v.

[22] Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica christiana*, facs. of the 1579 Latin edn. with a parallel Spanish translation (Mexico City, 1989), part 2, chap. 27, 94 [235] "sint stupidi taq' in crasso aëre nati."

[23] Juan de Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias* (1591; rpt. edn., Madrid, 1988), 37–42, 231–32. As Cárdenas explained it, humidity sapped vital heat from the body and paradoxically caused the body to dry and to age sooner.

[24] Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia indiana*, 3 vols. (Seville, 1615), bk. 14, chap. 19, p. 613 (the

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apostate who traveled in New Spain during the early seventeenth century, that the reason he felt always hungry in America even after having huge meals was because the humidity of the land made meat to be fair looking yet short in "substance and nourishment," the fruits to be nice and sweet tasting but with "little inward virtue," and the people, just as the meat and the fruits, good looking on the outside but "false and hollow hearted" inside.[25]

The purported humidity of America was a claim with heavy ideological baggage. Scholarship had associated masculinity with warm and dry environments and femininity with moist and cold ones. America posed the threat of impending sexual transformations for colonists.[26] In fact, some Spanish authors argued in the course of the sixteenth century that America was a land where women urinated standing while men did so seated.[27] But the threat of emasculation associated with humid environments was offset by the insistence of those who showed why the land was

climate of the New World made food less nourishing and weakened the body). The first reference to the non-nutritious quality of the American food was voiced by Pedro Mártir de Anglería in *De orbe novo* (Alcala de Henares, 1516), década 1, chap. 10, dvi (verso). In the seventeenth century, these misgivings continued. About 1650, a Spanish naturalist long resident in the Indies, the Jesuit Bernabé Cobo, argued that the humidity of the Indies was a compensating mechanism to keep the continent temperate but also the reason why fruits were cold, humid, non-nutritive and even insalubrious; see Francisco Mateos, ed., *Obras del Padre Cobo*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1956), 1: 55–56, 237. In 1698, the Franciscan Creole Augustín de Vetancurt maintained that the temperate climate of the Indies caused the roots to be shallow (in cold climates, roots went deeper) and, therefore, caused fruits and staples to be non-nutritive. According to Vetancurt, the non-nutritive quality of food, however, had an advantage for European colonists because the less substantial the meal, the fewer the internal vapors created inside the body and the brain. Since colonists, therefore, had fewer vapors clouding perceptions, it could be argued that they were more intelligent than Europeans. See Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano: Descripción breve de los sucessos exemplares, históricos, políticos, militares y religiosos del nuevo mundo occidental* (Mexico, 1698), tratado primero, chap. 6, pp. 10–11. The assumption that American food lacked substance lasted well into the eighteenth century. In 1751, the Creole doctor Joseph Francisco de Malpica Diosdado wrote a treatise encouraging fasting. In the New World, he argued, doctors had long excused the population from fasting because they assumed that the climate made the local population weaker and the food less nutritious. Malpica Diosdado maintained that such views gave ammunition to the Pre-Adamites by emphasizing the radical difference of the organic productions of the Old and New Worlds. See *Alexipharmaco de la salud, antídoto de la enfermedad, favorable dietético instrumento de la vida* (Mexico City, 1751), esp. 151–65.

[25] Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West-India's: or, The English American, his Travail by Sea and Land*, 2d enl. edn. (London, 1655), 42–43.

[26] On this tradition, see Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge, 1980), chap. 3; Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); and Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), chap. 3. Laqueur and Schiebinger argue that until the late eighteenth century European scholars did not see men's and women's bodies as radically different. Female bodies were thought to be *manqué*, male bodies whose sexual organs had been inverted due to the lack of vital heat and excess humidity. Thus it was common to think that spontaneous sexual transformations were not only possible but happened often. Peter Brown has argued that male Roman elites educated in the Galenic classical medical tradition saw their bodies constantly threatened by physiological processes that led to the depletion of vital bodily heat (sexual intercourse) and thus to emasculation; Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 10–11.

[27] Juan Suárez de Peralta, *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias (Noticias históricas de Nueva España)* [1589] (Mexico City, 1949), 5–6; and Conquistador Anónimo, *Relación de algunas cosas de la Nueva España y de la gran ciudad de Temistan Mexico*, Federico Gómez de Orozco, ed. (Mexico City, 1961), 68. Views of "savages" and racial inferiors as feminized others have enjoyed widespread popularity in the West; see Nancy Leys Stepan, "Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science," *Isis* 77 (1986): 261–77.

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bountiful and paradisaic: compensating meteorological mechanisms made Torrid America temperate.[28]

More challenging for colonial intellectuals proved to be the writings of Europeans on the negative effects of the stars of the New World. The notion that the stars did not merely influence the body but gave societies unique and distinct characteristics was an ancient paradigm widely influential in early modern Europe.[29] Despite the fact that the Portuguese had inched their way down the coast of Africa during the fifteenth century, European audiences had no knowledge of most stars south of the equator until 1502, when Amerigo Vespucci offered the first drawings of southern constellations.[30] Vespucci introduced learned Europeans to some twenty new stars and marvelous new heavenly phenomena.[31] It is fair to argue that Vespucci assigned to the Indies the name of "New World" largely because the skies of the Indies were populated by "stars and signs" unknown to the ancients. Vespucci was so fascinated by being witness to so many new heavenly marvels that he claimed to have written a treatise on the constellations of the New World (it did not, to my knowledge, survive him). Vespucci found the stars of the New World to be brighter and bigger than those over Europe and related them to those mechanisms that made the Torrid Zone wonderfully temperate.[32] True to his view of the Indies as a paradise enjoying benign astral influences, Vespucci found the land to be inhabited by peoples who, although they ate each other and went naked without shame, were physically perfect and enjoyed extraordinary longevity, without wrinkles, sagging breasts, or stretch marks.[33] In 1517, Andrea Corsali, an Italian navigator who sailed to the East Indies under the flag of the king of Portugal, published a letter addressed to the duke of Medici with a map of stars of the Southern Hemisphere. He waxed eloquent about the beauty of the Southern Cross, so bright "that no other heavenly sign may be compared to it" (Figure 1).[34]

Fendández de Oviedo was the first learned European to cast doubts on such positive characterizations of the new constellations. In 1526, Oviedo argued that animals in America that look like tigers were in fact "tigers," even though they were

[28] On perceptions of the American climate in British America, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period," *AHR* 87 (December 1982): 1262–89; Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates in the Anglo-American Colonial Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 41 (1984): 215–40; Kupperman, "Climate and Mastery of the Wilderness in Seventeenth-Century New England," *Seventeenth-Century New England: A Conference*, David D. Hall and David Grayson Allen, eds. (Boston, 1984), 3–37. Thanks to Professor Karen Kupperman for making copies of these three articles available to me.

[29] Marian J. Tooley, "Bodin and the Medieval Theory of Climate," *Speculum* 28 (1953): 64–83; and Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*.

[30] Although the fifteenth-century Portuguese expansion to Africa was predicated on exquisite astronomical knowledge of the "new stars and skies" of the Southern Hemisphere, this new knowledge was not readily available. See Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge, 1995), 100–48. According to Seed, Master John, a Portuguese pilot, was the first to offer an accurate drawing of the Southern Cross in 1500. It is not clear, however, when this report reached the crown and whether it was made public (104–05).

[31] Amerigo Vespucci, *Letters from a New World: Amerigo Vespucci's Discovery of America*, Luciano Formisano, ed., David Jacobson, trans. (New York, 1992), 52–53.

[32] Vespucci, *Letters from a New World*, 35, 40, 90.

[33] Vespucci, *Letters from a New World*, 66.

[34] Quoted in Eden, *Decades*, fols. 247v–248r.

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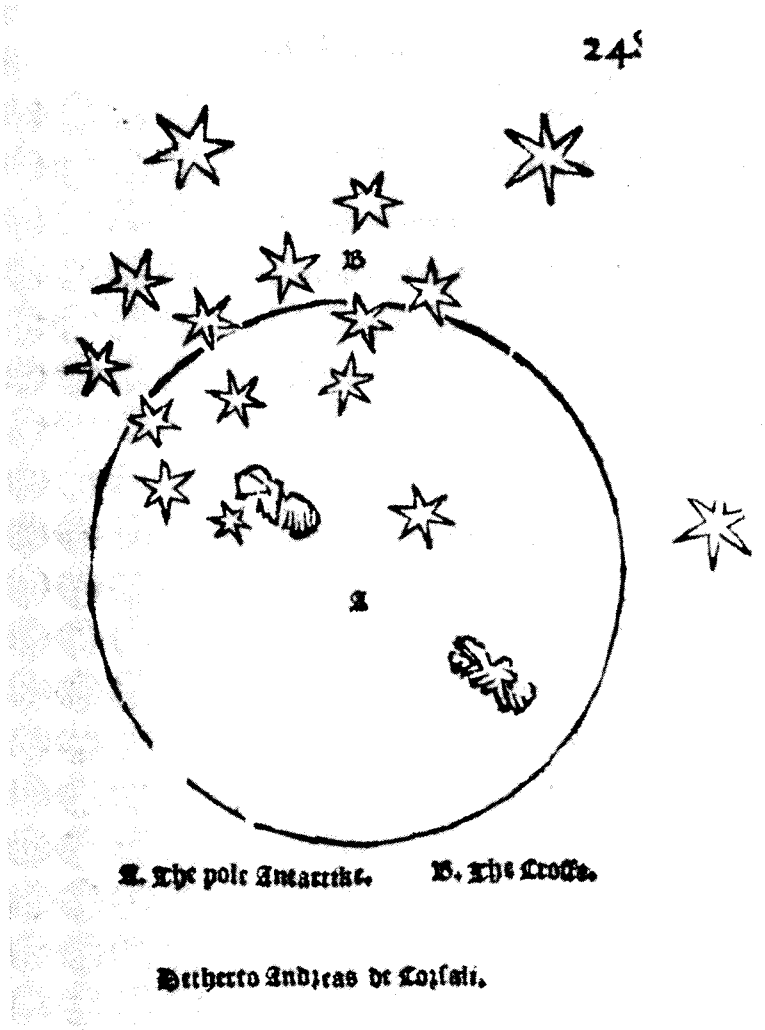


FIGURE 1: Star chart of the Southern Hemisphere by Andrea de Corsali (1517). From Richard Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West Indiea* (London, 1555). It includes the Southern Cross and two Magellanic Clouds. Reproduced with permission of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

uncharacteristically slow. Oviedo maintained that the phlegmatic character of American tigers could be accounted for by the climate and constellations that ruled the land, the same stars that made the people "shy and cowards."[35] Oviedo's description of heavenly influences over America, however, was ambiguous. In 1535, in his much awaited *Natural History of the Indies*, Oviedo offered an illustration of the Southern Cross and declared that those who, like himself, had lived under the influence of this constellation were condemned to toil and suffer. Yet he also presented the *Cruzero* as his own, for Charles V had made a representation of the Southern Cross the main emblem of the coat of arms granted to Oviedo for having written on the marvels and natural history of the New World. In the imagination of

[35] Oviedo, *Sumario*, 94.

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the emperor and Oviedo, the metonym of the Southern Cross, a new constellation, stood for the whole of America (Figures 2 and 3).[36]

Oviedo's misgivings about the effects of the constellations of the New World only fueled the curiosity of European scholars. Richard Eden organized his selection of travel narratives published in London in 1555 to reveal the singularities of the land, sea, and more important for the purpose of this article, the skies of the New World. The long title page of the book whetted the appetite of potential buyers by warning them that "[in this book] the diligent reader may not only consider what commodities may hereby chance to the whole Christian world in time to come, but also learn many secretes touching the land, the sea, and the stars."[37] Eden, who was convinced that the "miraculous mouinges of the Planets, Starres, and heauens [caused . . .] the varietie of times and the dyversitie of all natural things . . . [particularly] the varietie of divers complexions, formes and dispositions of all creatures under the face of heaven," also believed that the New World was a singular land whose new stars merited as much attention as did descriptions of its already better known fauna and flora.[38] True to his offer, Eden introduced illustrations of southern constellations and passages from Vespucci, Antonio Pigafetta (who traveled with Magellan), and Corsali, all of whom had agreed that the stars of the New World were beautiful, bright, and benign.[39] Eden, however, also included Oviedo's *Sumario*, with its negative comments regarding the degenerating effect of American constellations on "tigers" and people.[40]

Julius Caesar Scaliger, himself a renowned humanist and the father of Joseph Scaliger, one of the greatest polymaths ever to appear in Europe, may have helped consolidate the party of those who had misgivings about effects of America's heavenly constellations. In a work written in 1557 aimed at debunking the views of Cardano on a variety of issues, Scaliger took issue with the theories of the Italian humanist on the origin of metals. Cardano had argued that the sun was responsible for the generation of gold and precious stones, and that therefore an eastern equatorial position on the globe was enough to make a land rich. Scaliger dismissed Cardano out of hand because among other things "wealth" and "East" were relative categories. Europe, Scaliger argued, although it may have indeed been poorer in gold was in fact richer than "Eastern" tropical lands because it was rich in iron mines. It was also a land, unlike any other, rich in brilliant minds. Using Brazil as

[36] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes, *La historia general de las Indias* (Seville, 1535), bk. 2, chap. 11. In 1530, Pedro Mártir de Anglería referred to the testimony of the two Pinzón brothers who in an expedition to the New World in 1499 found the southern skies unfamiliar with many unknown constellations. See Anglería, *De orbe novo*, década 1, chap. 9. It seems curious that the Spanish Habsburg appear not to have incorporated the new constellations of the Southern Hemisphere into courtly rituals of legitimization as Mario Biagioli has described for the Medicis' use of Galileo's new celestial discoveries (the "Medicean Stars"); see Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago, 1993). On Spain's distinct early modern court culture, see J. H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World 1500–1700* (New Haven, Conn., 1989), pt. 3.

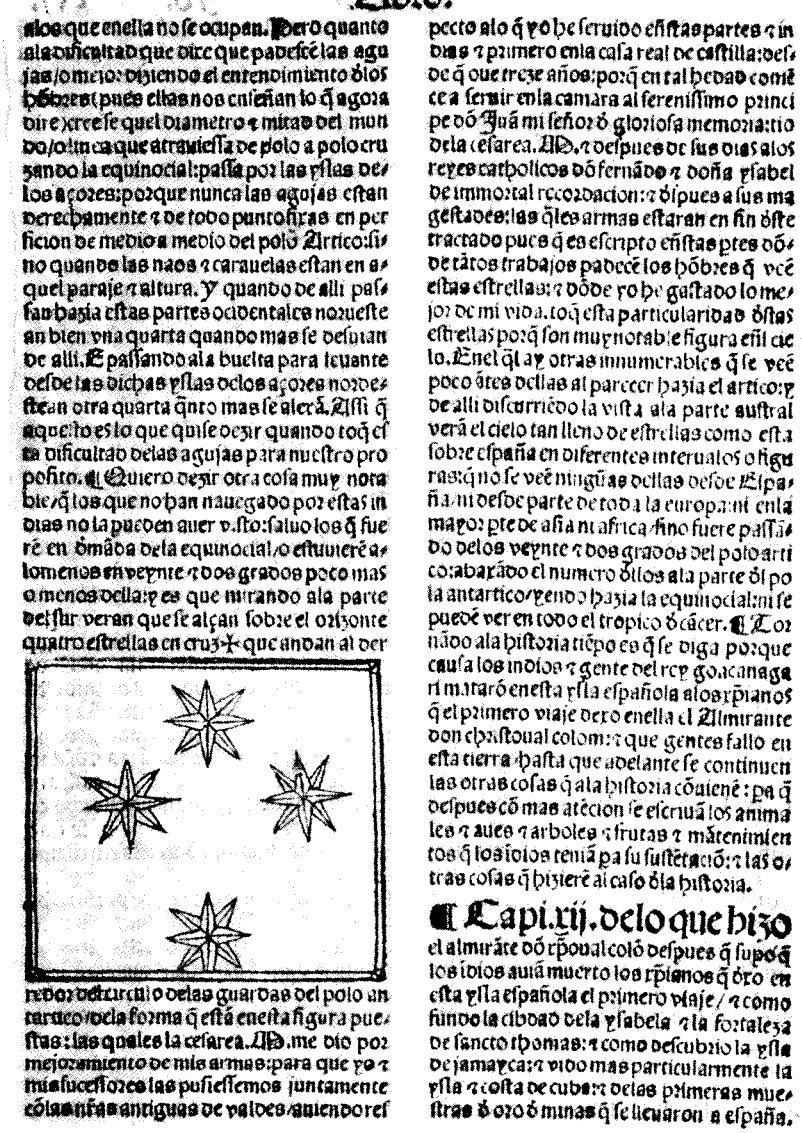
[37] Eden, *Decades*, title page.

[38] Eden in the preface to his translation of Martin Cortés, *El arte de navegar* [1561], reproduced in Edward Arber, "The Life and Labours of Richard Eden," in Arber, ed., *The First Three English Books on America* (Birmingham, 1885), xlii.

[39] Eden, *Decades*, fols. 221r, 244v–248r, 321v–322r.

[40] Eden, *Decades*, fol. 206r–v.

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alos que enella no se ocupan. Pero quanto
a la dificultad que dize que padesce las agu
jas o melor: diziendo el entendimiento dellos
hõbres (pues ellas nos enseñan lo q̃ agora
dire) creese que el diametro e mitad del mun
do/o linea que atraviesa de polo a polo cru
sando la equinocial: passa por las yslas de
los açores: porque nunca las agujas estan
derechamente e de todo punto firas en per
ficion de medio a medio del polo Artico: si
no quando las naos e caruelas estan en a
quel paraje e altura. Y quando de alli pas
san hazia estas partes occidentales noroeste
an bien vna quarta quando mas se desuian
de alli. E passando a la buelta para leuante
desde las dichas yslas delos açores nordes
tean otra quarta q̃nto mas se alexã. Assi q̃
aquesto es lo que quise dezir quando toq̃ es
ta dificultad delas agujas para nuestro pro
posito. ¶ Quiero dezir otra cosa muy nota
ble q̃ los que no han nauegado por estas in
dias no la pueden auer visto: saluo los q̃ fue
rẽ en õmãda dela equinocial/o estuuierẽ a
lomenos en veynte e dos grados poco mas
o menos della: y es que mirando ala parte
del sur veran que se alçan sobre el orizonte
quatro estrellas en cruz ✠ que andan al der

redor: del circulo delas guardas del polo an
tartico: dela forma q̃ está en esta figura pue
stas: las quales la cesarea. Mag. me dio por
mejoramiento de mis armas: para que yo e
mis sucessores las pusiessemos juntamente
cõlas mias antiguas de valdes/auiendo ref
pecto alo q̃ yo he seruido estas partes e in
dias e primero en la casa real de castilla: des
de q̃ oue treze años: porq̃ en tal hedad comẽ
ce a seruir en la camara al serenissimo princi
pe dõ Juã mi señor d̃ gloriosa memoria: tio
dela cesarea. Mag. e despues de sus dias alos
reyes catholicos dõ fernãdo e doña ysabel
de immortal recordacion: e dispues a sus ma
gestades: las q̃les armas estaran en fin deste
tractado puestas q̃ es escripto en estas ptes dõ
de tãtos trabajos padesce los hõbres q̃ vee
estas estrellas: e dõde yo he gustado lo me
jor de mi vida. toq̃ esta particularidad de estas
estrellas porq̃ son muy notable figura en el cie
lo. En el q̃l ay otras innumerables q̃ se vee
poco ãtes dellas al parescer hazia el artico: y
de alli discurriẽdo la vista ala parte austral
verá el cielo tan lleno de estrellas como esta
sobre españa en diferentes interualos o figu
ras: q̃ no se veẽ ningũas dellas desde España
ni desde parte de toda la europa: ni en la
mayor pte de asia ni africa/sino fuere pas
sando delos veynte e dos grados del polo arti
co: abarãdo el numero dellos ala parte del po
lo antartico/yendo hazia la equinocial: ni se
puede ver en todo el tropico d̃ cãcer. ¶ Tor
nãdo ala hystoria tiẽpo es q̃ se diga porque
causa los indios e gente del rey goacanagua
ri matarõ en esta ysla española a los xpianos
q̃ el primero viaje dexo en ella el Almirante
don christoual colom: e que gentes fallo en
esta tierra/hasta que adelante se continuen
las otras cosas q̃ ala hystoria cõuiene: pa q̃
despues cõ mas atẽcion se escriuã los anima
les e aues e arboles e frutas e mãtenimien
tos q̃ los indios tenã pa su sustẽtacion: e las o
tras cosas q̃ dixierẽ al caso dela hystoria.

¶ Capi. xij. delo que hizo

el almirãte dõ xpoual colõ despues q̃ supo q̃
los indios auiã muerto los xpianos q̃ dxo en
esta ysla española el primero viaje/e como
fundo la ciudad dela ysabela e la fortaleza
de sancto thomas: e como descubrio la ysla
de jamayca: e vido mas particularmente la
ysla e costa de cuba: e delas primeras mue
stras d̃ oro d̃ minas q̃ se leuaron a españa.

FIGURE 2: Representation of the Southern Cross in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *La historia general de las Indias* (Seville, 1535).

typifying tropical countries, Scaliger maintained that, for all its proximity to the sun, Brazil was a land without gold and precious stones, a land of spices that were "scarce, ignoble, and bad," and a place where the way of life was wild and bestial.[41] Clearly, neither the sun nor the constellations over the New World had done much to help this land and its peoples.

[41] "Ibi tamen auri parum. Pauciores gemmae. Victus ferinus belluinus. Aromatum species, not multa, non nobiles, non optimae." Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus: De subtilitate ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (Lutetiae, 1557), 141v. On Cardano, see note 15.

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FIGURE 3: Oviedo's coat of arms that includes the Southern Cross, in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *La historia general de las Indias*. Reproduced with permission of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

Scaliger's misgivings about America's astral influences were part of a larger scholarly environment. In the 1570s, the first extended analyses of the corrupting effects of America's stars and heavenly signs were penned in Mexico. The Franciscan friar Bernardino Sahagún, whose encyclopedic studies helped preserve Nahua lore of the indigenous peoples of central Mexico, believed that the demographic, moral, and economic crisis affecting Mexico in the second half of the

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sixteenth century, which shattered Franciscan hopes for a millenarian church in the Indies, had been caused by evil astral influences. Sahagún argued that the Franciscan failure to create an indigenous priesthood at the College of Santa Cruz at Tlatelolco typified the origins of Mexico's larger national crisis. The Franciscans, unable to understand that heavenly constellations had caused Indians to be lascivious and idle and that only strict corporal and labor discipline could offset such negative astral influences, had relaxed their original high monastic standards, causing Indians to slip back into promiscuity and idleness. According to Sahagún, Aztec lords had long understood the dangers of the constellations and had therefore punished drunkards, vagrants, adulterers, and liars harshly. Only a reversion to traditional high standards of Aztec discipline, Sahagún suggested, could save Santa Cruz and Mexico from total collapse. To clinch his argument, he presented the Creoles as examples of the malignant and degenerating effects that the stars of the New World had on its peoples.[42] The physician Francisco Hernández was sent to the Indies by Philip II in the 1570s solely to identify medicinal plants to enrich the royal pharmacy. Hernández nevertheless also wrote a book on Mexican antiquities because he thought that human conduct, just as much as the virtues of plants, was conditioned by the stars.[43] Like Sahagún, Hernández believed that the stars limited free will, and he explored the negative effects that the constellations of the New World had over the Indians. He found them idle, docile, untrustworthy, and obedient only by force, and therefore to be disciplined according to ancient Aztec lore through harsh, regimented labor. Hernández also worried that Creoles "obedient to astral influences" were adopting "the [idle] habits of the Indians."[44]

Sahagún's and Hernández's views were shared by many and were part of a larger scholarly discussion concerned with the debilitating effects of the new constellations and heavenly phenomena of America.[45] In 1589, José de Acosta openly denounced those who had argued that the stars of the New World were brighter and more numerous than those in Europe. He found the stars of America to be in fact smaller and much dimmer. Although Acosta praised the rest of America's nature, the only "positive" thing he was able to say about heavenly phenomena in the Indies was that the skies were "singular," for numerous dark holes in the Milky Way unobservable from Europe could be spotted, adding therefore to his message that

[42] Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [*ca.* 1570], Angel María Garibay K., ed., 4 vols. (Mexico City, 1956), 3: 157–68. On Franciscan millenarianism in sixteenth-century Mexico, see John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta, 1525–1604* (Berkeley, Calif., 1956).

[43] Francisco Hernández, *Antiguedades de la Nueva España* [*ca.* 1570], Ascension H. de León-Portilla, ed. (Madrid, 1986), 46.

[44] Hernández, *Antiguedades de la Nueva España*, 97, 101. To claim that ancient Indian legislators understood the environment and the nature of the Indians and that therefore they knew how to rule their vassals was a rather common tenet of Spanish colonialism. The learned often prompted authorities to imitate those Indian rulers who, to be sure, understood that Indians needed to be put to work by force. See, for example, Tomás López Medel a los Reyes de Bohemia, Guatemala, March 25, 1555, Archivo General de Indias, Guatemala, 9A.

[45] Sahagún's thesis did not reach the European public until the nineteenth century. Parts of Hernández's work on Indian antiquities were published by the Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg in *Historia naturae, maxime peregrinae, libris XVI distincta* (Antuerpiae, 1635). On the fate of Hernández's manuscripts, see Nettie Lee Benson, "The Ill-Fated Manuscripts of Francisco Hernández," *Library Chronicle of the University of Texas* 5 (Winter 1954): 17–27.

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the skies of America were lacking in stars and brightness.[46] In a passage destined to become canonical largely because Antonio de Herrera, the royal chronicler of the Indies and author of the influential *Historia de los hechos de los castellanos en las Indias*, copied it verbatim in 1601,[47] the Italian humanist Giovanni Botero, like Acosta, concluded in 1596 that the stars and constellations of America were "inferior." Botero readily drew very negative conclusions from this "fact" (along with others such as that the Indies lacked large quadrupeds and valuable fruits and spices and that the continent's topography and overall shape hampered navigation, overland trade, and commerce). Europe, Botero concluded, was "better suited for human life";[48] it was not only superior to America in quality of land, material prosperity, and civilization but also was under better, more benign heavenly influences. Under such influences, native Americans had turned into idlers and drunkards, and needed to be disciplined by means of regimented labor.[49] In 1612, Juán de la Puente, an apologist of Habsburg claims to universal monarchy, argued that Spaniards who had once colonized all the ancient world and who had recently established colonies in Asia, Africa, and America had to acknowledge that the heavenly constellations of America had sapped the courage and wandering spirit of the Spanish. Although good for growing metals and herbs, de la Puente contended, the Indies produced only degenerate humans.[50] "The heavens of America induce inconstancy, lasciviousness and lies," he argued, "vices characteristic of the Indians and which the constellations make characteristic of the Spaniards who are born and bred there."[51] In 1617, Samuel Purchas, the English editor of an influential compilation of travel accounts, drawing on Acosta and Botero, concluded that the new heavenly constellations of America had smaller and dimmer stars, that the sun stayed longer over Europe than the Indies in the course of a year, and that the "want of sun and stars" had rendered the New World colder, with fewer animals, spices, and fruits, and, of course, with little to show in way of an intellectual life.[52] Even some Europeans who supported the interests and aspirations of the Creoles accepted this type of negative characterization of the American stars. For example, in 1629, León Pinelo, the magistrate who claimed that Peru was home to the original Paradise, included as the frontispiece of one of his books a representation of the stars of the New World as being less numerous. The frontispiece showed two women: the one representing the East (the Old World) was crowned by fourteen

[46] Acosta, *Historia natural y moral*, bk. 1, chap. 5: fol. 17v (on smaller stars); bk. 1, chap. 2, 13r (on darker spots in the Milky Way).

[47] Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del Mar Oceano* (Madrid, 1601), década 1, bk. 1, chap. 5, pp. 10–11. See also the edition by Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, 17 vols. (Madrid, 1934–57), 2: 27–36.

[48] Giovanni Botero, *Relationi universali* (Venice, 1596), 200.

[49] Botero, *Relationi universali*, 199.

[50] Juán de la Puente, *De la conveniencia de las dos monarquías católicas la del iglesia romana y la del imperio español, y defensa de la procedencia de los Reyes Católicos de España a todos los reyes del mundo* (Madrid, 1612), bk. 3, chap. 3, p. 21.

[51] Quoted in David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492–1867* (Cambridge, 1991). 363.

[52] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or, Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in al Ages and Places discovered, from the Creation unto this Present, First Part*, 3d edn. (London, 1617), 911–12.

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stars, while the one representing America had over her head only twelve stars (Figure 4).[53]

Such negative European views of the stars and climate of the New World generated in the seventeenth century a particular understanding of the bodies of Indians and Spaniards living in Spanish America. Most European scholars assumed that Indians and Europeans were descendants of Adam and, therefore, shared similar bodies and minds. These essential similarities, however, were thought to have been modified by the climate and stars with "accidental" variations. For, in the words of Richard Eden, "the complexion and strength of body of [all the inhabitants of the world] are proportionate to the climate assigned to them, be it hotte or colde."[54] The seventeenth-century literature on the origins of American Indians reveals how the understanding of America as a humid continent with negative heavenly constellations helped scholars explain the transformation of white bodies into Indian ones without having to postulate two separate racial types. The Spanish Dominican friar Gregorio García is typical of those learned Europeans who had to grapple with environmental influences to explain the origins of a characteristic Indian body type.

In 1606, as part of an encyclopedic book to explain the origins of native Americans in which he argued that the Indians had come to the New World from Asia, Africa, and Europe, García maintained that the natives might have descended from the Carthaginians. García, however, was hard pressed to explain how white, courageous, North African Carthaginians became hairless, cowardly, pusillanimous Indians. García argued that the humidity and the constellations of the Torrid Zone of America had rendered the white Carthaginians into effeminate, cold, and humid Indians. The humid complexion of the Indians, according to García, explained why they, like women and *castrati*, did not have beards and were passive, stupid, and slothful.[55] The stars of America in particular were responsible for the major organic transformations witnessed in the continent. García considered that many animals, such as the buffalo and llama, were not only unique to the continent but also "monsters." These animals had developed monstrous bodily features away from their original Old World parents (the bull and camel) due to the continuous astral and climatic influences of the land. These differences, in much the same way that the climate and stars of the continent had permanently emasculated and darkened the former Carthaginians, had become set.[56] The degenerative dangers for contemporary Spanish white colonists of such a story were not lost on García, who, however, sought to tone down the consequences of his theory by claiming that Creoles and long-term European residents in the Indies were better prepared. Unlike the Carthaginians, who had eaten American roots and non-nutritive fruits, they were eating only nourishing European staples.[57]

[53] Antonio de León Pinelo, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental y occidental, naútica y geográfica* (Madrid, 1629).

[54] Eden, "Preface" to Martin Cortés, *El arte de navegar*, in Arber, *First Three English Books*, xlii.

[55] I used the facsimile of the 1729 edition of García's work: *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo*, introductory study by Franklin Pease G.Y. (Mexico City, 1981), bk. 2, chap. 5, sect. 3, p. 73.

[56] García, *Origen de los indios*, bk. 2, chap. 4, sect. 2, pp. 56–57; bk. 2, chap. 4, sect. 6, p. 63; bk. 2, chap. 4, sect. 7, p. 64; and bk. 2, chap. 5, pp. 68–69.

[57] García, *Origen de los indios*, bk. 2, chap. 5, sect. 1, p. 70.

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FIGURE 4: Frontispiece in Antonio de León Pinelo, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental y occidental* (Madrid, 1629). Notice that *Oriens* has fourteen stars, whereas *Occidens* has only twelve.

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García's views on the Indians and heredity lingered on. In a work written in Yucatan but published in 1633 in Valladolid-Spain, the Franciscan friar Bernardo de Lizana, astonished by the beauty and grandeur of Mayan ancient buildings and the complexity and extension of their polities, insisted that the Maya were the descendants of Carthaginians, for only a nation like Carthage could have the intellectual skills required to design such buildings and the military valor to conquer and consolidate such empires. Yet Lizana, who thought that the contemporary Maya were childish and brutish, argued that climate and total isolation from Carthage had been responsible for transforming ancient Carthaginians into barbarous and crude (*toscos*) Maya.[58] The views of García and Lizana were even echoed by some Creole authors. In 1681, the physician Diego Andrés Rocha published in Lima a book on the origins of American Indians in which he sought to emulate the baroque erudition of Gregorio García. Rocha, however, believed that the Indians were the descendants not of Carthaginians but of the primitive inhabitants of Spain. He maintained that Indians were in fact the descendants of ancient Spaniards even though the former were cowards and did not have beards. Rocha argued that Indians and Spaniards shared the same essential bodily complexion on which new "accidental" features had been added by the America's constellations and climate. Like García, Rocha argued that the ancient Spaniards-turned-Indians had become cold and humid and had therefore lost their martial prowess and beards. Like García, Rocha also asserted that Creoles had somehow been spared from rapidly becoming effeminate, stupid Indians thanks, in part, to the European food they ate and to the fresh contingent of European blood that arrived in the colonies with every generation and that did not allow the colonists to cut all racial ties with their homeland; these two processes had slowed and even stopped the environmentally induced degeneration.[59]

CREOLE SCHOLARS REACTED ANGRILY to the negative characterizations of the stars and constellations of the New World. It was precisely at the time when such negative characterizations had come to dominate Europe's perception of the heavenly constellations of the New World that a Creole consciousness had began to emerge in Spanish America.[60] At the turn of the seventeenth century, Creoles began to flood the court in Madrid with *memorials* pleading for extensions on grants to all existing *encomiendas* (grants in indigenous labor and tribute given by the

[58] Lizana's book originally carried the title of *Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Izamal, y conquista espiritual de Yucatan*; I have consulted the edition by Felix Jiménez Villalba, *Historia de Yucatán* (Madrid, 1988), 54.

[59] Diego Andrés Rocha, *El origen de los indios*, José Alcina Franch, ed. (Madrid, 1988), 69, 212–17. Note that Lizana was postulating theories of speciation that resembled Charles Darwin's, particularly Darwin's emphasis on isolation.

[60] On Creole patriotism, see Brading, *First America*; Antonio Rubial García, *Una monarquía criolla: La provincia agustina de Mexico en el siglo XVII* (Mexico City, 1990); Bernard Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas: Ensayos sobre criollismo colonial en los Andes* (Lima, 1993); Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl et Guadalupe: La formation de la conscience nationale au Mexique* (Paris, 1974); Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), chaps. 4–5; and John Leddy Phelan, "Neo-Aztecism in the Eighteenth Century and the Genesis of Mexican Nationalism," *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Rodin*, Stanley Diamond, ed. (New York, 1960).

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crown to the leading conquistadors). The heirs of conquistadors complained that the crown was turning its back on its original commitment to foster a class of grandees in the New World. The descendants of conquistadors alleged that they were losing their rights to be the privileged landed nobility, wealthy enough to care for their Indian retainers and the welfare and defense of the new "colonial kingdoms" (an oxymoron). Creoles articulated a somewhat misleading view of themselves as dispossessed nobles outcompeted by ravenous, transient, Peninsular upstarts. Also at the same time, disputes broke out between Peninsulars and Creoles inside religious communities over which group had the right to govern them. The *alternativa*, an arrangement devised during those turbulent years to rotate the government of religious orders among Creole and Peninsular friars, only made things worse by reifying and essentializing identities and thus heightening conflict.[61]

In such a context, it is not surprising that colonial intellectuals began to write against European negative representations of America. The second quarter of the seventeenth century witnessed the maturation of a genre of patriotic astrology in which the heavenly influences on America were consistently cast as having soothing and beneficial effects, revealing God's providential design for Spanish America. Astrology spread into every corner of colonial culture. From the few studies that track Inquisitorial trials of astrological practitioners in colonial Spanish America, it would appear that astrology was an almost heretical activity little tolerated in Catholic countries, particularly after the Council of Trent, because it went against the freedom of will.[62] Yet this is deeply misleading. The Inquisitorial process often targeted those who communicated with evil astral intelligences (demons) and/or indulged in prophecy and political prognostication.[63] As the science that studied the influence of stars over temperaments and complexions, astrology was in fact officially sanctioned: colonial universities featured chairs of medical astrology, and most rituals of power were thoroughly permeated with cosmic, astrological metaphors.[64] It is no wonder therefore that astrology was deployed openly and defiantly in self-defense by the colonists.

Antonio de la Calancha was perhaps the first Creole writer to pen a sustained astrological defense of America, and he found that the "stars and signs" of the New World revealed God's special design for the land. In a treatise published in Barcelona in 1638, Calancha, an Augustinian friar, alluded to two separate

[61] Brading, *First America*, 293–301; García, *Una monarquia criolla*, *passim*; Israel, *Race, Class, and Politics in Colonial Mexico*, 84–87. Israel describes how Archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna ordered the imprisonment of the Spanish Jesuit Gómez after having denounced Creoles as incompetent, corrupt, and incapable of holding public office in a sermon of August 1618. The archbishop also ordered sermons praising the Creole intellect.

[62] Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico: Seventeenth-Century Persons, Places, and Practices* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1959), 85–98; and Elías Trabulse, *El círculo roto* (Mexico City, 1984), 34–37.

[63] The Inquisitorial documents on which both Trabulse and Leonard have based their generalizations have been published by José Miguel Quintana, *La astrología en la Nueva España en el siglo XVII: De Enrico Martínez a Siguenza y Góngora* (Mexico City, 1969). The files reveal that the Inquisition in fact forced those who put the scientific status of astrology in doubt to recant; see, for example, 193–94.

[64] Trabulse, *El círculo roto*, 30; Octavio Paz, *Sor Juana, or, The Traps of Faith* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), *passim*. For a characterization of Baroque science, including astrology, in colonial Spanish America, see Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, "Spanish America: From Baroque to Modern Colonial Science," in *The Eighteenth Century*, Roy Porter, volume ed., *The Cambridge History of Science*, David Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, general eds. (Cambridge, forthcoming).

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unpublished volumes he had written on the constellations of the Southern Hemisphere. These studies, he maintained, would supersede anything Europeans had previously published on the subject. He had found, so he asserted, in the heavens of Peru, "buckets [*manos llenas*] of heavenly wonders, and whole pieces of sky crowded with stars unknown to astrologers and sailors."[65] According to Calancha, the stars of America were the largest, brightest, and most numerous in the world; in fact, most of the forty-eight constellations Europeans had identified in the skies lay in the Southern Hemisphere. A few of his astrological writings, which appear not to have survived Calancha and in which he also offered a detailed astrological reading of the heavenly influences over *all* the major Spanish-American cities and provinces, found their way into his 1638 treatise as short excerpts identifying the ascendant stars of a handful of important towns in the viceroyalty of Peru. Every time, he found that the land was under the most benign astral influences.[66] Calancha also maintained that portentous heavenly phenomena in Europe or the rest of the world would lose their potency in the Indies. Thus, for example, eclipses that in Asia, Africa, and Europe would set off horrible celestial visions, harmful comets, and devastating fires when they happened under Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius, or that would trigger famines and epidemics when they occurred under Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius, would create in Peru mere focal epidemics that spared most of the population.[67] According to Calancha, Peru was under so many new stars that the land was ruled by entirely different and auspicious new Zodiac signs. The five-star constellation of the Southern Cross, for example, had a cross-like figure that kept away demons responsible for stirring up the waters. It was for this reason, he argued, that the southern sea was calm and received the name of "Pacific" Ocean. Calancha, in fact, believed that Peru was blessed; God had chosen to protect it by giving Peru not only cross-like constellations but also cross-like fossils, stones, and plants.[68]

In 1646, in a natural and moral history written in part to prove that Chile was one of the most temperate and bountiful lands in the world, the Creole Jesuit Alonso de Ovalle found the skies of Chile privileged and made a distinction between the misty opaque skies of Torrid America and the clear bright ones of the southernmost tip of the continent. For his brand of patriotic astrology, Ovalle drew on the studies of the Dutch disciple of the distinguished Flemish scholar Petrus Plancius, Pieter Dircksz Keyser, who shortly before dying aboard a vessel bound to Madagascar and the East Indies in 1597 produced along with Frederick de Houtman the most complete catalogue of southern stars then available. It was later used by European cosmographers and astronomers such as Plancius, Willem Janszoon Blaeu, Johann Bayer, Jacob Bartsch, Jodocus Hondius, and Johannes Kepler. Referring to Dircksz as Pedrus Theodorus, learned astrologer and pilot, Ovalle offered a list of the fourteen new constellations: *Chamaeleon* (Chameleon); *Aspid Indica* (*Musca* or the

[65] Antonio de la Calancha, *Corónica* [*sic*] moralizada del orden de San Augustín en el Peru (Barcelona, 1638), 48–49.

[66] Calancha, *Corónica moralizada*, 239–42 (Lima); 486–87 (Trujillo); 523 (Chuquisaca); 548–49 (Pascamayo); 747 (Potosí); 866–67 (Pucarani).

[67] Calancha, *Corónica moralizada*, 48.

[68] Calancha, *Corónica moralizada*, 49–50 (on the Southern Cross); 56–59 (on cross-like plants and fossils).

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Fly?); *Volans* (Flying Fish); *Dorado* (Swordfish); *Hydra* (Water Snake); *Tucana* (Toucan); Phoenix; *Grus* (Crane); *Columba* (Noah's Dove); *Indus* (Indian); *Pavo* (Peacock); *Apus* (Bird of Paradise); *Triangulum Australe* (Southern Triangle); *Crux/Cruzero* (Southern Cross). Ovalle overcounted the stars given in Dircksz's and Houtman's original catalogues and concluded that the stars over Spanish America were more numerous, larger, brighter, and more benign than those in Europe (Figures 5 and 6).[69]

A third strategy of Creole patriotic astrology was that pursued by the Mercedarian Diego Rodríguez in Mexico in 1652. Rodríguez, a seminal Creole natural philosopher, the first holder of the chair of mathematics at the University of Mexico and the author of highly sophisticated mathematical treatises, maintained that the heavens of New Spain were under the protection of the Immaculate Conception, for in Mexico "there is no [heavenly] sign that, although shocking and surprising for the ignorant, does not serve the Queen of Heaven and [help] explain her glories."[70] To clarify the meaning of such claims, Rodríguez offered an exegesis of the comet of 1652. After charting the comet's path through the constellations, Rodríguez argued that it was associated symbolically with the Immaculate Conception. The comet, Rodríguez averred, had moved from Noah's Dove to Medusa. Echoing a broader intellectual movement among Counter Reformation intellectuals that sought to depaganize the skies by means of alternative Christian readings of the heavenly constellations, Rodríguez argued that the constellation of *Columba*, Noah's Dove, stood for purity not unlike that of Mary, whose immaculate conception had spared her a post-Lapsarian human nature. He also insisted that the constellation of Medusa represented the dragon that had sought to kill the pregnant Virgin's child, according to Chapter 12 of the Apocalypse (Revelation 12: 3–5). The fantastic battles of the Immaculate Conception (Our Lady of Guadalupe) in Mexico against the dragon of Aztec idolatry were recapitulated in the skies of Mexico. They proved that Mexico was a prime and secure environment. Since the image of the Immaculate Conception was a Virgin eclipsing the sun, Rodríguez also presupposed

[69] Alonso de Ovalle, *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile* (Rome, 1646), bk. 1, chap. 22, pp. 49–51. Ovalle overcounted the number of stars in *Volans*, 7, when in fact Dircksz and Houtman had counted only 5, in *Dorado* (5 instead of 4), in Toucan (8 instead of 6), Phoenix (14 instead of 13), Crane (13 instead of 12), *Indus* (12 instead of 11), *Apus* (12 instead of 9), and *Triangulum* (5 instead of 4). Ovalle, however, lowered the counts of the Southern Cross (4 instead of 5), *Chamaeleon* (5 instead of 9), and *Pavo* (16 instead of 19). He also included a chart of the southern skies, a slight variation of that offered by Corsali some hundred years before. On Dircksz and Houtman and the popularization of their catalogues, see Deborah J. Warner, *The Sky Explored: Celestial Cartography, 1500–1800* (Amsterdam, 1979), 14–16, 18–19, 28–31, 121, 201–06. For a translated copy of Houtman's catalogue, see E. B. Knobel, "On Friederick de Houtman's Catalogue of Southern Stars and the Origin of the Southern Constellations," *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* 76 (1917): 414–32. At about the same time that Ovalle published his natural history of Chile, the Jesuit Bernabé Cobo, a Spaniard who spent most of his life in Peru and Mexico, articulated a similar defense of the southern skies. Cobo appeared not to know the catalogues of Dircksz and Houtman. However, he described a series of southern constellations (*Cruzero*, *Triangulum*, and a third one he gave the idiosyncratic name of *Fiducia*, which appears to correspond with *Hydra*). Cobo also described two Magallenic Clouds and argued that the Milky Way in the Southern Hemisphere was more luminous and had more stars than in the Northern Hemisphere. Cobo forcefully argued that the skies of the Southern Hemisphere had bigger and more numerous stars than in the Northern. See *Obras del Padre Cobo*, 1: 27–31.

[70] Diego Rodríguez, *Discurso etheorológico del nuevo cometa* (Mexico City, 1652), fol. 4v. Trabulse has reproduced parts of Rodríguez's *Discourse* in *Historia de la ciencia en Mexico (edición abreviada)*, Elías Trabulse, ed. (Mexico City, 1994), 324–37.

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that eclipses, as well as any other heavenly phenomena (including the comet of 1652) in Mexico under the protection of Our Lady of Guadalupe, could only be harbingers of joyous news. For example, he maintained that the path of the comet through Mars showed that this particular comet would bring wisdom to local colonial authorities, since Mars symbolically stood for wisdom.[71] The genre of patriotic astrology proved so appealing that even a member of the acculturated Indian intelligentsia deployed it for his own purposes. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, an early seventeenth-century Indian chronicler from the province of Huamanga, Peru, argued both in painting and in prose that the Andes were closer to the sun than Castile and therefore were richer and better, for, according to "philosophers, astrologers and poets," the sun had important positive astrological influences over lands (Figure 7).[72]

Patriotic astrology notwithstanding, Creoles faced a seemingly insurmountable challenge when they sought to defend the New World. To sustain the notion that the New World was a temperate Paradise implied, of necessity, arguing that the Indians were superior to Europeans, for only bright, civilized individuals could possibly be born in the original Garden of Eden. Bartolomé de las Casas, the spirited Spanish Dominican who devoted his life to the protection of Indians, showed the dangers of a sustained logical defense of the environment, for he demonstrated in the 1550s that praising the New World for its paradisaic qualities implied also an argument for the mental and physical superiority of Indians over Europeans. After waxing eloquent about the beauty of the land and describing the mechanisms that made the Torrid Zone temperate, Las Casas maintained that America was one of the most salubrious and temperate environments on earth. True to his hypothesis, Las Casas argued that Indians were exceptional individuals. He drew on traditional Hippocratic-Galenic medical physiology and medieval faculty psychology to argue that since the natives lived in extremely temperate climates they therefore had privileged mechanisms of perception and superior intelligence. Moreover, Las Casas argued that, in addition to the American environment contributing to produce Indians whose five internal senses and understanding were clean of clouding fumes and animal spirits, Indians enjoyed lifestyles, including naturalistic diets and monastic sexual habits, that cleared their brains of any obtrusive, internal, clouding vapors.[73] In Las Casas' version of things, Indians were among the sharpest people on earth.

But colonists in Spanish America were not interested in creating defenses of the

[71] Rodríguez, *Discurso etheorológico*, fols. 24r–32v.

[72] Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, John Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste, eds., 3 vols. (Madrid, 1987), 1: 40.

[73] Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, Edmundo O'Gorman, ed., 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1967), 1: 1–205, esp. 158–63, 169–74, 201–05. Las Casas' only negative observation was that the natives tended to reproduce when they were young and their "seeds" still "humid." Such humidity caused their offspring to have some vapor in their brains and therefore some perceptual distortions. On medieval faculty psychology and later developments in the Renaissance, see Nicholas H. Steneck, *Science and Creation in the Middle Ages: Henry of Langenstein (d. 1397) on Genesis* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1976), 130–37; Steneck, "Albert on the Psychology of Sense Perception," in James A. Weisheipl, ed., *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences* (Toronto, 1980), 263–90; Katherine Park, "The Organic Soul," in C. Schmitt, Q. Skinner, E. Kessler, and J. Kraye, eds., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), 464–84.

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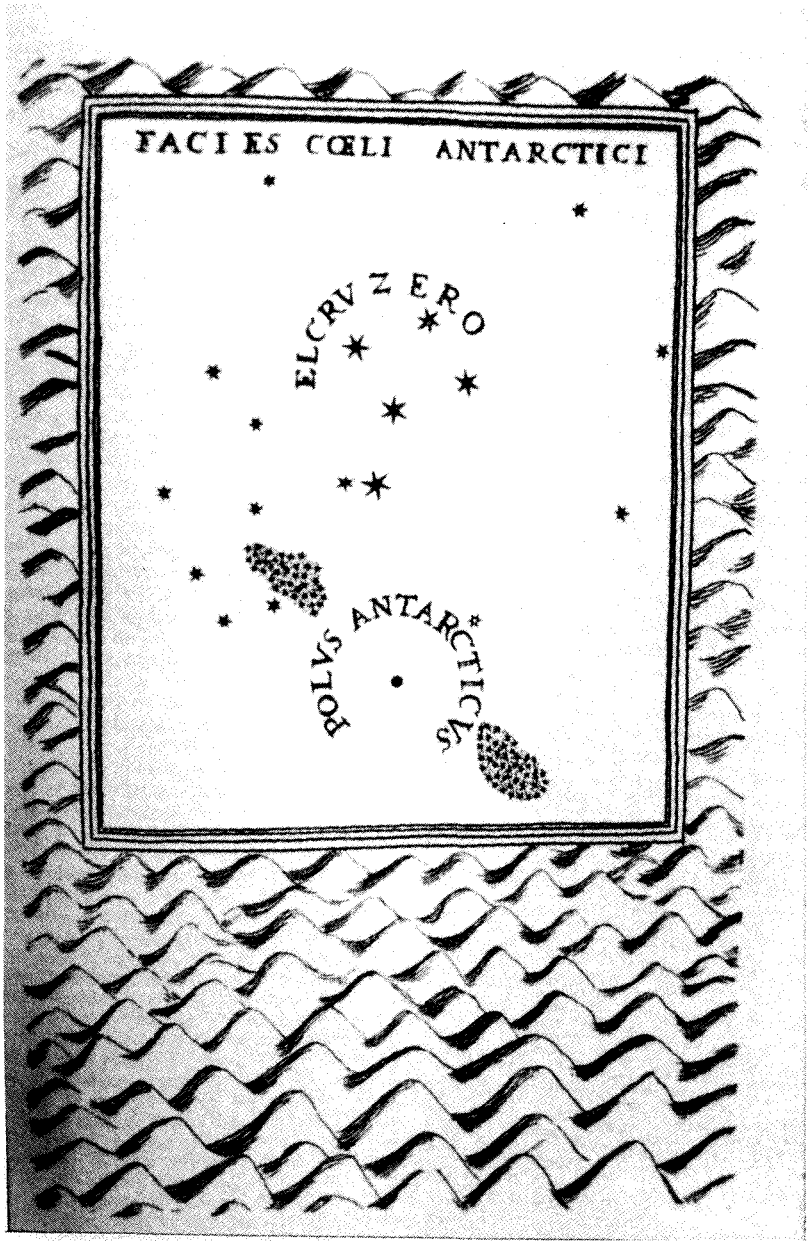


FIGURE 5: "Face of the Antarctic Skies," in Alonso de Ovalle, *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile* (Rome, 1646). This chart is a variation of Andrea Corsali's. Like Corsali's, it includes the Southern Cross and two Magellanic Clouds.

colonial lands that mimicked Las Casas. After all, these groups had long profited from representing the Indians as indolent phlegmatics who needed to be disciplined to work. From the outset of the conquest, Indian forced labor became a vital institution of the Spanish empire.[74] The subsistence economy of local indigenous

[74] Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif., 1964), 117–18; Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison, Wis., 1982), 102–04, 156–57.

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FIGURE 6: A typical seventeenth-century sky chart of the Northern and Southern hemispheres, which includes Pieter Dircksz Keyser and Frederick de Houtman's new southern constellations. From John Seller, *Atlas maritimus* (London, 1675). Reproduced with permission of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

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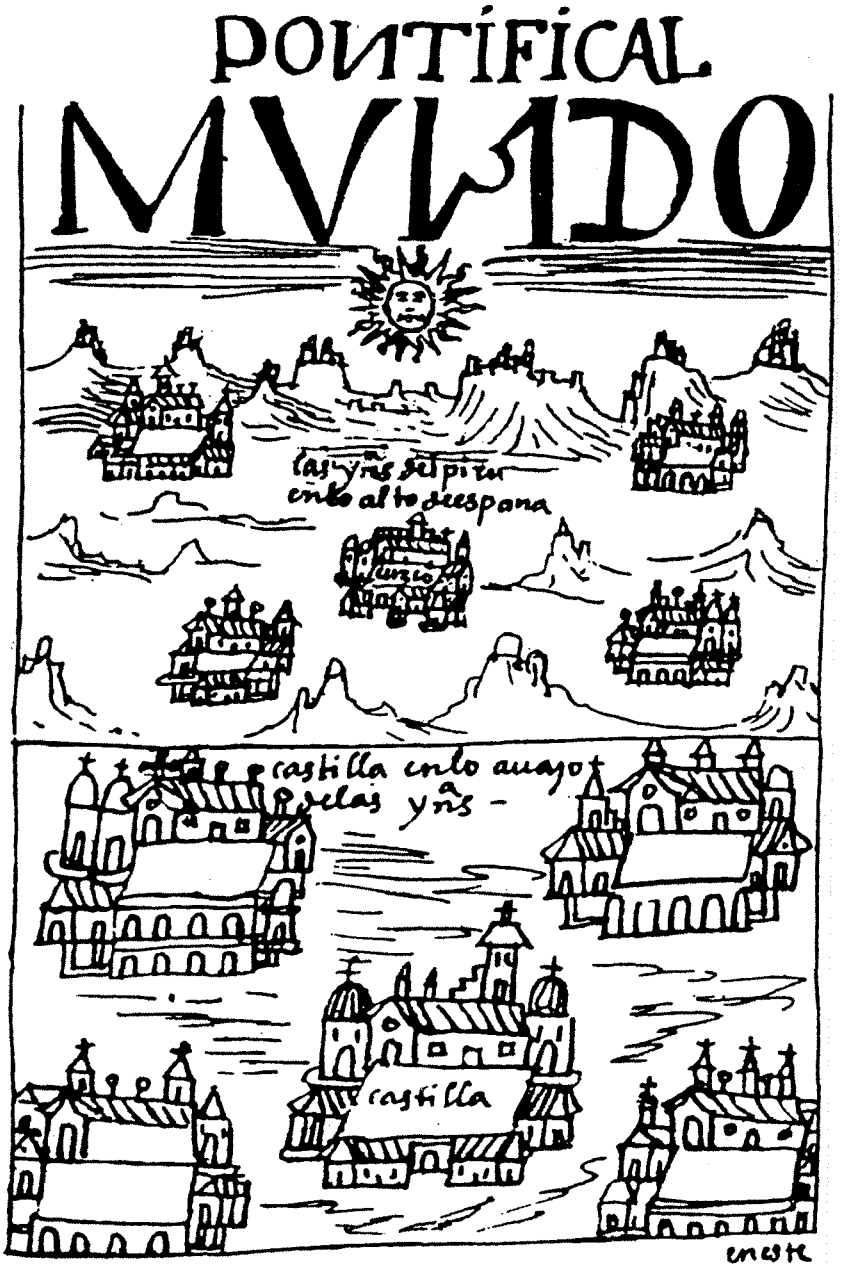


FIGURE 7: The "Indies of Peru" lie closer to the sun than Castile, which is "below" the Andes. Proximity to the benign astrological influence of the sun makes the Indies better than Spain. From Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* [*ca.* 1615] (Madrid, 1985).

communities created shallow colonial labor markets and therefore the need for coercive mechanisms to supply ranches, textile factories (*obrajes*), mines, plantations, haciendas, and Spanish households with indigenous labor. Thus the ideology of the lazy native helped justify the institutionalization of labor coercion.[75] The

[75] On the "myth of the lazy native" in other colonial settings, see Syed Hussein Alatas, *The Myth of*

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construct of the phlegmatic Indian was a central ideological figure that allowed Spaniards to mobilize by force thousand of natives through the infamous institution of the *mita*. By the mid-sixteenth century, Spanish colonialist knowledge had articulated a view of the Indian in which the Hippocratic writings and Galen were mustered to justify forced labor systems.

About 1570, in a treatise on the Indians of Peru addressed to Juan de Ovando, president of the Council of the Indies, Lope de Atienza argued that the Indians were phlegmatic and, due to their excess humidity, lacked beards and therefore were unable to do manly things that "required daring, constancy, and wisdom," for they did not have the biological foundation to feel obliged to do "graver things, things of better quality and standing than [those done by] women."[76] Their humid and phlegmatic complexion made them not only effete but also idle, unwilling to work, and given to bouts of depression, curable only through harsh regimes of labor discipline.[77] These views were echoed down the centuries. By the early decades of the seventeenth century, Creoles wholeheartedly embraced the paradigm of the phlegmatic, effeminate Indian. The prestigious Spanish jurist, Juan Solórzano Pereira, whose long stint in the Indies made him a staunch defender of Creole interests before the court in Madrid, made the paradigm of the phlegmatic Indian who should be forced to work widely available in the 1620s in the pages of his monumental *Política indiana*.

Solórzano argued that "no less different are the customs of each region than the air that washes them," and therefore "the good legislator should always tailor his precepts to the regions and to the disposition and capacities of the people to whom they are addressed."[78] Solórzano drew two different conclusions from this premise. On the one hand, he argued, "It would be a mistake to seek to instruct all [Indians] in the same way, for even during the time of their paganism they had as many petty kings and *caciques* as their complexions and temperaments were varied."[79] A single law for all Indians was not appropriate because the climates of the Indies were varied. His second conclusion, directly contradicting the first one and more important for the purposes of this article, was that, since all Indians were phlegmatic, the crown should follow the example of Aztec and Inca rulers who, to fight Indian idleness, had forced their subjects to do things as absurd as collect and fill bags with fleas for the sole purpose of keeping them busy during periods of rest.[80] On such grounds, Solórzano supported institutionalized coercion and the forced labor system of the *mita*.[81] A Spanish Jesuit long resident in the Indies,

the Lazy Native: A Study of the Image of the Malays, Filipinos, and Javanese from the 16th to the 20th Century and Its Function in the Ideology of Colonial Capitalism (London, 1977).

[76] Lope de Atienza, "Compendio historial del estado de los indios del Piru, con mucha doctrina y cosas notables de ritos, costumbres, e inclinaciones que tienen, con otra doctrina y avisos para los que viven entre los neophitos," Archivo de la Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, 9/4790, Colección Muñoz, tomo 11, fol. 25r.

[77] *Ibid.*, fols. 37r, 56r–v.

[78] Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1972), bk. 2, chap. 25, sect. 8 (1: 385).

[79] Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, bk. 2, chap. 25, sect. 9 (1: 385).

[80] Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, bk. 2, chap. 6, sect. 32–33 (1: 176–77).

[81] On Solórzano, see James Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1994); and Javier Malagón Barcelo and José M. Ots Capdequí, *Solórzano y la Política indiana*, 2d edn. (Mexico City, 1983).

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Bernabé Cobo, captured well the biological discourse underwriting the ideology of the lazy Indian in the mid-seventeenth century: "All of them are phlegmatic by nature, and since natural phlegm makes the substance of one's limbs soft and moist, their flesh is very soft and delicate. As consequence, they tire easily and are incapable of working as hard as the Europeans. In Spain a single man does more work in his fields than four Indians will do here."[82] But for all its positive ideological uses, the view that Indians were indolent phlegmatics also carried the assumption, implicit in the Hippocratic and Galenic theory of humors and complexions, that negative bodily temperaments were caused by negative climatic and astral influences affecting everybody, not only the Indians.

Creoles and long-term European residents in the Indies were left facing an extraordinary paradox: how to maintain that America was under benign, soothing cosmic influences without giving up their construct of the Indians as phlegmatic miscreants. The works of León Pinelo and Salinas y Córdova that I reviewed in the introduction show the path taken by colonial intellectuals, that is, to postulate the existence of separate bodies for Indians and European, which would make any radical transformation due to climatic or astral influences unlikely, if not impossible. This discourse permeated the works of the most important representatives of Creole patriotism in the seventeenth century.

How the discourse of two separate bodies worked in practice can be detected in the writings of Calancha, the same Augustinian friar who, wearing the hat of patriot astrologer, maintained that the skies of the Indies were protected by cross-like constellations whose soothing influences kept demons away and pacified the waters of the southern seas. I choose Calancha to typify the views of Creole patriots on race because he was one of the few Creole scholars in the century who explicitly denied that Indians were the cursed descendants of Ham, born to serve their European masters.[83] Yet, for all his efforts to present the Indians as vassals rather

[82] Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, Roland Hamilton, trans. and ed. (Austin, Tex., 1979), 17.

[83] Calancha, *Corónica moralizada*, 35–39. At the turn of the seventeenth century, most learned colonists were of the opinion that the skin color of blacks and Indians and their purported servile behavior was not caused by environmental influences at all but originated in Noah's curse of Ham's descendants. Besides the already reviewed cases of Salinas y Córdova and León Pinelo, see Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, bk. 1, chap. 5, sect. 35 (1: 59); and Torquemada, *Monarchia indiana*, bk. 1, chap. 10, p. 33; bk. 14, chap. 15, pp. 602–03; bk. 144, chaps. 18 and 19, pp. 609–14. Torquemada, who described the color of blacks and Indians as "bad blood engendered [by Noah's curse] in those poisoned bodies," however, also described the bodies of Indians favorably: they enjoy a temperate complexion, have proportionate bodies, their physiognomies reveal sharp souls, and their understandings and external senses are privileged (chap. 24, pp. 620–21); he even maintained that the heavenly constellations and climate of the Indies not only caused the land to be temperate but also its peoples to be beautiful and intelligent (chap. 25, p. 623). The color of the Indians was perceived as a singularity of nature, a puzzle to exercise the minds of philosophers, because the climate of America was varied yet the color of Indians and the quality of their hair was thought to be uniform; see Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de las Indias y conquista de Mexico* (Zaragoza, 1552), chap. "Del color de los Indios," fol. cxvii; Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, 11, 14–15. Cobo considered the color of Indians to be one of the greatest puzzles of America; he also considered a secret of nature, one "great indeed," the fact that Indians and Spaniards inhabited the same climate yet remained two physically distinct nations. On Noah's curse and European colonialism and racism, see William McKee Evans, "From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the 'Sons of Ham,'" *AHR* 85 (February 1980): 15–43; and Benjamin Braude, "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in Medieval and Early Modern Periods," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54 (1997): 103–42.

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than servants of the Spanish monarchy, Calancha was forced to grapple with the paradox raised by his view of America as paradisaic and providentially designed. If the continent was as temperate and under as benign astral influences as Calancha claimed, it followed that Europeans, coming from colder climates, should have turned out to be less intelligent than the Indians. But Calancha, who could not stomach those who insisted Indians were servants by nature, could never allow the possibility that they were in fact more intelligent than their European masters.

Calancha was aware that an idyllic representation of the New World implied of necessity that the temperate Indians were more intelligent than the colder Europeans. However, he denied that this meant a threat to the entire structure of contemporary medical knowledge, even though Aristotle's view that peoples from colder climates were less intelligent than those who hailed from warmer lands had been influential for a long time.[84] The heads of those from colder climates, according to Calancha's version of Aristotle, were deemed to be full of animal spirits, which, clouding the transfer, manipulation, and recovery of mental images in the five internal senses, hampered the correct operation of the understanding. Inhabitants of temperate climates, on the other hand, had less vital heat inside their bodies, and therefore their heads were thought not to have clouding vapors limiting perception; they were expected to be more intelligent. Solely on the logic of this argument, American Indians, the original inhabitants of the paradisaic New World, should have been more intelligent than their colder European masters. Since Calancha was unlikely to be drawn to this possibility, two other alternatives were left. The first one implied debunking the Ancients, joining the Moderns in an effort to invent and develop new understandings of the operations of the body. But joining René Descartes' call to dismiss authority and create new theories in solipsistic bouts of philosophical meditations was something Calancha was not suited to, given the fact that he was a scholar who typified the calls of the Counter Reformation to respect and uphold authority. Rather, Calancha chose the more palatable alternative of embracing Aristotle while at the same time negating the idea that climate and astral influences could induce deep transformative changes. The result of this operation to salvage Aristotle's paradigm, however, was a profound break with ancient views on environmental determinism.

Although Calancha did not offer any details as to the composition of Indian, black, and white bodies, he insisted that within each group Aristotle's dictum to the effect that peoples of warmer climates were more intelligent than those of colder ones held true. So, according to Calancha, coastal Indians were smarter than Andeans because the latter lived in colder climates; blacks born in Lima were more intelligent than their African parents because Lima was more temperate than Africa; and finally Creoles were sharper than Peninsulars because Europe was colder than Spanish America. Calancha, however, introduced the idea that profound, innate racial differences separated the bodies of Indians, Creoles, and blacks, which rendered transformations of one group into another impossible. The "materials" that made up the bodies of Indians, African blacks, and European white colonists, however, were so different, Calancha argued, that different results should

[84] Aristotle, *The Politics*, T. A. Sinclair, trans. (London, 1962), bk. 7, chap. 7, p. 269.

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be expected from the operation of similar climatic and astral influences, in much the same fashion that the sun caused wax to melt but clay to harden.[85] On this, Calancha cited the authority of Enrico Martínez (Heinrich Martin), an émigré German physician-polymath who in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century participated in heated medical debates in Mexico on the nature and composition of Indian and Creole bodies. In order to understand Calancha's reference to Martínez, we need to turn back to late sixteenth-century New Spain, where the racialist paradigm was first hammered out.

Writing from Mexico City in 1591, the émigré Spanish physician long resident in the Indies, Juan de Cárdenas, authored a book whose originality and import has been overlooked; indeed, it could be argued it was the first modern treatise on racial physiology. Cárdenas presented his treatise as a survey of the secrets and marvels of the Indies in which he sought to understand diverse aspects of America, such as why it went through frequent earthquakes, why honey was sour, why animals appeared not to suffer from rabies, and why crawling creatures were less poisonous (all of which he explained using the paradigm of America's humidity).[86] Cárdenas was also interested in human marvels, so he set out to explain why Creoles aged sooner than their Peninsular parents (the humidity of the Indies made them compensate and lose vital heat, and thus their bodies dried sooner);[87] grayed faster (humidity dampened the body's vital heat, which in turn caused the body to produce more phlegm than cholera or blood; since hair was made up of bodily excrement and since phlegm was white, Creoles grayed faster);[88] suffered from more stomach problems (humidity weakened the natural heat of the stomach and also kept food from being cooked and digested well);[89] tended to be healthy when old but plagued by diseases when young (local humidity compensated for the lack of vital heat and dryness of the elderly but compounded the problems of the youth);[90] and suffered from menstrual cramps (humidity created obstructing viscous substances that clogged the veins of a woman's uterus, which made the release of surplus blood painful).[91]

Gray hair, frequent diarrhea, painful menstrual cramps, and lack of longevity notwithstanding, Cárdenas went to great lengths to point out that the diseases caused by a humid-phlegmatic composition should not be confused with the complexion of the Indians. The problems of white people in the Indies were caused by an "accidental" phlegmatic complexion, an environmentally induced superficial quality, in addition to a naturally sanguine temperament. The phlegmatic constitution of the Indian was, on the other hand, "natural."[92] Cárdenas's use of the terms

[85] Calancha, *Corónica moralizada*, 68. Calancha introduces his racialist paradigm in other passages, for example, on page 64 he argues that the fact that Indians, unlike Spaniards and blacks, do not suffer from goiter, mental illnesses, kidney stones, heart diseases, or asthma is attributable to a distinct Indian phlegmatic constitution and unrelated to what the Indians drink or eat (as some liked to believe).

[86] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 92–97, 178–81, 255–60, 260–65.

[87] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 203, 206–07; Creole idleness and luxury also compounded the problem, for the humors of food were not burned off by exercise.

[88] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 214–15.

[89] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 241.

[90] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 239.

[91] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 247–49.

[92] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 215.

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"natural" and "accidental"[93] was not casual; it tapped into conventions he and his readers took for granted, namely, Aristotle's metaphysics. In Aristotelian parlance, the word "natural" referred to the predictable behavior of objects and organisms, whereas the word "accidental" referred to the passing properties of "forms." Substantial "forms," according to Aristotle, gave matter its *changeless* attributes, whereas "accidental" forms explained change and referred to passing characteristics of objects.[94] Clearly, the reference in Cárdenas to "natural" complexion conveyed the notion of innateness. According to Cárdenas, the environment could not change "natural" racial traits and effect profound bodily transformations that would lead Creoles to mutate into Indians; astral influences and climate worked simply within limits set by innate bodily differences.

To maintain his essentializing and reified bodily categories, Cárdenas was forced to devise contrived and unpersuasive theories. In order to explain why Indians never grayed but Creoles did, Cárdenas argued that Indians, though phlegmatic in "nature," lacked excess "accidental" phlegm, the origin of gray hair.[95] The question of why Indians were beardless and never went bald whereas Creoles lost hair as they aged but had abundant beards prompted him to ask why they should be different if both groups lived in the same environment, ate the same food, and drank the same water. This question, however, was relevant only if one assumed, in Cárdenas's words, that "the composition and organization of our [body] and theirs is one and the same."[96] This clearly was not the case. So profound were the differences between Indians' and Creoles' bodies that Cárdenas presented two strikingly different views of each group. Creoles went bald as they lost vital heat (because they aged sooner), the skin on their skulls became tighter and drier and obstructed the release of hair, a bodily excrement. The Indian was phlegmatic by nature and bound to stay always humid; he therefore never lost hair. Spanish Americans, due to their sanguine and choleric complexion, were tight and dry with a patina of "accidental" phlegm added by the humid climate of the Indies. The Indians, on the other hand, were moist and soggy, phlegmatic by nature.[97] The humid character of the Indians made them effete and therefore caused them to be beardless.[98] The only advantage Indians had over their European masters was that, due to their lack of "accidental" phlegm, they did not suffer from joint aches (*reumas*), urinary tract infections (*mal de orina*), gallstones (*mal de ijada*), and stomach problems.[99] Cárdenas did not discuss the possibility that the "accidentally" humid-phlegmatic yet "naturally" dry-choleric Creoles were becoming Indians. Creoles, Cárdenas maintained, had been born to Peninsular parents whose temperament was choleric, but they were slightly transformed in the Indies to acquire an even better sanguine complexion, which gave them better mental qualities than their parents born in colder climates. Creole brains were cleaner of clouding animal spirits, allowing them to manipulate

[93] The English words are the same in Spanish.
[94] Jonathan Barnes, *Aristotle* (Oxford, 1982); and Abraham Edel, *Aristotle and His Philosophy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982).
[95] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 216.
[96] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 217.
[97] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 218–19.
[98] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 221.
[99] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 249–51.

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and retain mental images in their internal senses better than their European parents.[100]

The views of Cárdenas were to reverberate in Mexico in the years to come when two émigré physicians, one German and one Spanish, engaged in heated debates over how to determine the stars and constellations that ruled over New Spain and over the complexion of its peoples. In 1606, Martínez, the German polymath, was hired to oversee the works to drain the capital, and he argued that Mexico was under the influence of Capricorn and that plagues were likely when a conjunction of Mars and Saturn occurred under this Zodiac sign.[101] Mexico, Martínez contended, had witnessed three such planetary conjunctions since 1519 and therefore had suffered three devastating epidemics that had decimated the indigenous population. The plagues, however, had spared most Spanish colonists. To explain the causes of such a curious selective pattern of the epidemics, Martínez drew from Cárdenas and contended that Creoles and Indians had different complexions and therefore different physiological reactions to similar climatic and astral influences. Saturn and Mars (warm and dry) had temperaments contrary to that of the Indians (cold and humid) and therefore triggered a surge of bile and cholera, which in turn created the feeble complexions that wiped the Indians out.[102] Martínez introduced the same distinctions between natural and accidental complexions used by Cárdenas a few years earlier. According to Martínez, the Indians were "naturally" phlegmatic (and thus prone to be debilitated by the conjunction of Saturn and Mars under Capricorn) and "accidentally" sanguine. Since, according to Martínez, Mexico was ruled by Venus (which stimulated the production of phlegm) and the sun (which stimulated the production of blood), the natives were doubly phlegmatic due to the added effect of Venus over their essential nature, yet they were also slightly sanguine due to the influence of the sun.[103] Creoles, however, were immune to the debilitating phlegmatic influences of Venus because they were essentially choleric (cholera was able to repel phlegm); they responded only to the beneficial sanguine influence of the sun. Like Cárdenas, Martínez asserted that the Creole choleric inheritance had turned sanguine in Mexico under the benign planetary influence of the sun. Creoles were more intelligent than their Spanish parents although weaker.[104]

By positing such radical racial differences, Martínez maintained that he was able to reply to those critics of America who argued that "if the qualities of these lands are suited to create good minds, those native to the land should enjoy very good ones . . . so much so that they [the Indians], and also blacks, should be as intelligent

[100] Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos*, 208–13. Yet the more humid Creoles lacked constancy and perseverance (213).

[101] Enrico Martínez, *Repertorio de los tiempos y historia natural desta Nueva España* (Mexico City, 1606), bk. 3, chap. 1, pp. 157–60. According to Martínez, Mexico was also under the dominant influences of Pegasus, Taurus, and Leo, and the planet Venus; see bk. 3, chap. 3, pp. 163–64. In bk. 1, chaps. 3–6 (pp. 4–14), Martínez discusses how the planets and constellations control sublunar phenomena, including meteorological changes and human complexions. On Martínez, see Francisco de la Maza, *Enrico Martínez, cosmógrafo e impresor de Nueva España* (Mexico City, 1943); and Louisa Schell Hoberman, "Enrico Martínez: Printer and Engineer," in *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, D. G. Sweet and G. B. Nash, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1981), 331–46.

[102] Martínez, *Repertorio de los tiempos*, bk. 3, chap. 2, pp. 160–63.

[103] Martínez, *Repertorio de los tiempos*, bk. 3, chap. 12, pp. 178–81.

[104] Martínez, *Repertorio de los tiempos*, bk. 3, chap. 13, pp. 181–83.

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as the Spaniards, for all of them share [the qualities of the environment] equally. Experience, however, proves the opposite because these peoples [Indians and blacks] have [mental] abilities far inferior to that of the Spaniards. One should therefore conclude that this land has none of the properties alleged by its supporters."[105] Martínez identified the crucial paradox with which Creole patriots had to grapple for the rest of the century. How could a superior land, America, be home to Indians and blacks believed to be far inferior to their European masters?

Martínez responded to the arguments of the imagined critic by insisting that the properties of place could not be judged by the quality of its peoples. "Universal causes," Martínez argued, "are modified according to the quality of the matter [upon which the climate acts] influencing diverse subjects differently; fire burns both dry and green wood but far faster the former than the latter. The complexion of blacks is very different from that of Spaniards, so too is that of Indians. That is the reason why similar general influences in this kingdom do not produce the same effect in all [populations] but according to the temperament, disposition of the brain and body organs [of each]. From this proceeds the diversity of the genius of the [three] said nations."[106] Martínez insisted that, just as fire acted differently on dry and green wood, the environment of the Indies should not be expected to behave in any other way, because Indians, blacks, and Europeans were made of different "matter." Astral and climatic influences, Martínez added, did in fact cause important behavioral changes but within set limits established by rigid racial differences. So, according to Martínez, individuals in each of the three "nations" were expected to change according to climate in which they lived: Peninsulars who moved to the Indies and their offspring enjoyed better complexions because they moved from colder to more temperate climates; blacks born in America were vastly superior to those of Africa; and the Indians of New Spain were more civilized than those of the Caribbean and Florida.[107]

A few years later, the views of Martínez were paradoxically reinforced by Diego Cisneros, an émigré Spanish physician. Paradoxically because, in 1618, Cisneros published a book in part to take issue with Martínez's astrological characterizations of the lands and peoples of Mexico. Cisneros argued that Mexico was not ruled by Capricorn, Venus, or the sun as Martínez had maintained.[108] Cisneros averred that to determine the ascendant stars of Mexico, two elements were needed, the date of foundation of the capital and its location (both longitude and latitude), and Martínez had failed to provide either one correctly. According to Cisneros,

[105] Martínez, *Repertorio de los tiempos*, bk. 3, chap. 23, p. 176 [really 203; this edition contains numerous errors of pagination].

[106] Martínez, *Repertorio de los tiempos*, bk. 3, chap. 23, p. 176: "que las causas universales son variadas y determinadas segun la calidad de la materia, haziendo en diversos sujetos differentes effectos: el fuego consume leña seca y tambien la verde, mas no tambien y facilmente esta como aquella; muy diferente es la complexion del moreno, y tambien la del indio ala del Español, por lo qual las causas generales que eneste Reyno ocurren, no pueden produzir iguales effectos en todos, sino en cada uno segun su temperamento, disposicion del celebro y organos corporales y desto procede la diversidad de ingenios que se halla en las referidas naciones."

[107] Martínez, *Repertorio de los tiempos*, bk. 3, chap. 23, p. 177.

[108] Diego de Cisneros, *Sitio, naturaleza y propiedades de la ciudad de México: Aguas y vientos a que esta sujeta, y tiempos del año; Necesidad de su conocimiento para el exercicio de la medicina su incertidumbre y dificultad sin él de la astrología assi para la curación como para los prognósticos* (Mexico City, 1618), chap. 16, fols. 90r–103v.

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Martínez had put Mexico City in the wrong location on the map. Moreover, Martínez, who assumed that the ascendant stars of a given location were those that happened to be over the land at the time of creation, had miscalculated the date of creation. Cisneros maintained that it was impossible to determine the date of creation, and therefore it was impossible to find Mexico's ascendant planets.[109] Yet Cisneros, who in America sought to emulate Hippocrates by writing a treatise on which health or disease was explained as the outcome of temperaments and bodily humors controlled by the quality of food, water, locale, and wind patterns, did not disagree with Martínez regarding the radical innate bodily differences of Creoles and Indians. Cisneros rejected Cárdenas's and Martínez's contrived theories that postulated accidental and essential complexions. Cisneros ridiculed Martínez for suggesting that the Indians could be both phlegmatic and sanguine. But Cisneros did not reject the essentializing and reifying distinctions between Indian and Creole bodies that Cárdenas and Martínez had introduced. Like them, Cisneros drew a clear racial line and argued that Indians were melancholy (cold/dry as opposed to the cold/wet temperament of the phlegmatic complexion) and Creoles sanguine.[110] Also like Cárdenas and Martínez, Cisneros maintained that climate worked within the limits established by set racial differences and concluded that the climate of America had transformed the choleric Spanish inheritance of the colonists into a sanguine, privileged complexion.[111]

The early seventeenth-century invention of separate bodies for Indians and whites (although blacks were often mentioned, there was no attempt to clarify their essential and accidental complexions) created by three long-term European residents in the Indies was part of a broader cultural movement to respond to Europe's negative views of the climate and heavenly constellations of Spanish America. Europeans, Indians, and blacks were perceived to be essentially different, their "temperaments, the disposition of their brains and body organs" thought to be made of different "matter" and thus expected to react to the same environment differently. The views of Martínez were repeated by Creole patriots during the rest of the seventeenth century. Some ninety years after the publication of Martínez's book, the Franciscan friar Augustín de Vetancurt could still quote Martínez verbatim. In a work published in Mexico in 1696, Vetancurt insisted that Mexico was a microcosm of the world, providentially designed and chosen to nurse the globe with silver and gold rather than milk. Seeking to counter skeptical claims of those who maintained that America could not possibly be such a paradise if inferior Indians and blacks had been born in the land, Vetancurt turned to Martínez and argued that "universal causes are modified according to the quality of the matter [upon which the climate acts]; fire burns both dry and green wood but far faster the

[109] Although Cisneros rejected the possibility of ever finding Mexico's dominant planetary influences, he did think that Mexico was under some kind of astral influences and sought to determine what they were. According to Cisneros, Taurus caused heat, dryness, and encouraged wind formations over Mexico (*Sitio*, chap. 16, fol. 87r–v); and the land was also under the influences of three "vertical" stars (chap. 16, fols. 88v–89v). The debate over the dominant "stars and signs" of Mexico continued throughout the seventeenth century; see, for example, Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano*, chap. 1, pp. 4–5.

[110] Cisneros, *Sitio*, chap. 17, fols. 110, 112v–112v [folio 112 is paginated twice]. Cisneros compares Mexican Indians to the description given by Hippocrates of the inhabitants of the river Phasio: they were tall, fat, yellow, and slothful (110r–111r).

[111] Cisneros, *Sitio*, chap. 17, fols. 112v–113v.

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former than the latter. The complexion of blacks is very different from that of Spaniards, so too is that of Indians. That is the reason why [climate and heavenly constellations] in this land do not produce the same effect in all populations; it varies according to the temperament, disposition of the brain and body organs of each."[112]

The invention of two (or three) separate bodies also could have resulted, paradoxically, from the very racial complexity that came to characterize the Spanish-American colonies in the early seventeenth century. What is puzzlingly absent from the racialized view of the body that I have discussed here is any reference to miscegenation, to the working of the bodies of the *castas*. As R. Douglas Cope has shown, it was precisely when the authors I have discussed here were writing that mestizos and mulattoes were becoming the majority of the colonial urban population, far outnumbering Indians and Spaniards. This situation led the elites to introduce a system of racial distinctions, the infamous *casta* system, in the hopes of disciplining and controlling what appeared as a threatening, undifferentiated urban plebs.[113] But for all the fine racial taxonomies to "divide and rule" introduced over time (forty by some counts), the *casta* system never set firm roots, and the *casta* groups that had a lasting meaningful existence were only two, mestizos and mulattoes. Such tendency toward simplification, as Cope has argued, was the result of resistance on the part of the poor urban majorities to racial labeling. But the simplifications might well have originated in the inability of the very ones the system was intended to benefit (Spaniards and Indians) to think beyond sharp racial typologies.

The reaction of Spaniards and Indians alike to the increasing racial complexity of the colonies was to fall back into polarized views of society. Just at the time Martínez argued that there were three separate bodies, Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, a Nahua annalist and a self-styled member of the indigenous nobility of Chalco, wrote in Mexico City that "at the foundation and beginning of the world we had only one father Adam and one mother Eve, from whom we descended, although our bodies are divided into three kinds."[114] Miscegenation paradoxically prompted both the Spanish and Indian elites to simplify and polarize racial divisions within the colonial polity. Such polarized view of bodies and society, as Nils Jacobsen has shown, should perhaps be considered among the most significant of the colonial legacies of modern Latin America, a legacy that, at least in Peru, has been largely responsible for a thwarted and incomplete transition to a capitalist market economy.[115]

[112] Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano*, tratado primero, chap. 6, p. 12.

[113] R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720* (Madison, Wis., 1994).

[114] Quoted in James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 1992), 385. In fact, Chimalpahin read Martínez's *Repertorio* and drew heavily from it. It is very likely that Chimalpahin's views on race might have been influenced by Martínez's. On Chimalpahin and Martínez's relationship, see Susan Schroeder, "Looking Back at the Conquest: Nahua Perceptions of Early Encounters from the Annals of Chimalpahin," in *Chipping Away on Earth: Studies in Prehispanic and Colonial Mexico in Honor of Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble*, Eloise Quiñonez Keber, ed. (Lancaster, Calif., 1994), 82, 84. See also 86 on Chimalpahin's negative views of mestizos.

[115] Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780–1930* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

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SCHOLARS HAVE ARGUED THAT THE SCIENCE OF RACE originated in "Western" Europe in the mid-eighteenth century among natural historians seeking to devise ever more sweeping taxonomies to encompass the bewildering variety of living things available to them in the aftermath of the age of exploration. Scholars have also argued that the science of race came about in the nineteenth century as a result of major political transformations in the age of revolutions. As old political orders based on social estates, hereditary privileges, and religion came tumbling down and new social formations emerged with foundations built on the principles of citizenship, natural rights, and secular political authority, white European males located in science (of race and sex) the ideological justification to prevent women, slaves, and non-Europeans from sharing in their newly acquired political rights.[116]

Historians of colonial Latin America in particular have the right to be skeptical of these accounts of the genesis of scientific racism. Sixteenth-century learned Spaniards brought to the New World ideas and theories that at first glance could be interpreted as forms of scientific racism. Spanish humanists and neo-scholastic theologians engaged in drawn-out debates (the focus of sustained scholarly attention today) in which the natives of the New World were portrayed as natural slaves, peoples whose brutal ways and elementary misunderstanding of even the most basic natural laws showed that they lacked reason and political prudence and, therefore, had no right to hold property and rule themselves. This paradigm, which helped justify early Spanish colonial expansion, was soon superseded by a view of the Indian as carrier of a human soul and thus a potential member of a Christian commonwealth. In this new version, however, the Indian was represented as a psychologically arrested child, whose innate natural rights had to be administrated by proxy. These views, to be sure, were cast in the idioms of medieval and Renaissance natural philosophy and contributed to create the essentializing and homogenizing category of the "Indian" in European consciousness.[117]

Yet, for all their similarities with the modern concept of race, the views of the natives as natural slaves or as childish barbarians were not predicated on the study of the Indian body. Spanish colonialist knowledge created categories that classified peoples according to whether they had cities, knew how to build arches, enjoyed hierarchical social arrangements, created systems of writing, practiced the right religion and rituals, knew appropriate dress codes, and understood dietary and

[116] Michael Banton, *The Idea of Race* (London, 1977); Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York, 1981); George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution*, 1968 edn. with a new preface (Chicago, 1982); Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (Hamden, Conn., 1982); Nicholas Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (1996): 247–64; Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore, Md., 1996); Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995), 74–79, 94–95. Alden T. Vaughan has argued that it was only after the mid-eighteenth century that British-American colonists began to identify themselves as whites and Indians as "red," whereas before Indians were thought to be "white." Vaughan's findings, though centered on a colonial setting, reinforce the thesis that the rise of racialist concerns was a late eighteenth-century phenomenon. "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian," *AHR* 87 (October 1982): 917–53.

[117] Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (London, 1959); Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*; Patricia Seed, " 'Are These Not Also Men?': The Indians' Humanity and Capacity for Spanish Civilization," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (1993): 629–52.

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sexual "natural laws."[118] The secular concern of Spanish Christians with keeping their blood pure, uncontaminated by threatening neighboring religions and peoples (Jewish, Muslim, and, later, Protestant and native American), could at times give modern observers the impression that in early modern Spain cultural differences were in fact explained using a language that claimed for nations essential biological differences. The discourse behind "purity of blood" maintained that religious idolatry was a behavior passed down over generations through corrupted blood.[119] Thus the refusal of American natives to abandon their ancestral religions was often explained by Spanish writers as a physical trait of the Indian, a "bad seed that has grown deep roots and has turn itself into blood and flesh [in the Indians] . . . a vice that comes in the blood and in suckled as milk [in their mother's breasts] . . . [because] the customs of parents and ancestors are converted into nature and transmitted through inheritance to their children."[120]

A closer look of these views, however, shows that the dominant factor used to explain religious deviancy was nurture, not nature. Culture, the customs of parents, literally transformed the body, modifying the blood and flesh of Indians. As Anthony Pagden has argued, it was the assumption that culture could become so ingrained as to become a second human nature that led sixteenth-century Spanish scholars to argue that for the transformation of child-like Indians into full-fledged Christian European adults to succeed, it would take great many generations of hard work by missionaries. Yet Indian conversion and Europeanization was deemed possible.[121]

By the early seventeenth century, however, this faith in the transforming (and redeeming) power of evangelization and acculturation gave way to marked skepticism in Creole learned circles. As Sabine MacCormack has suggested, seventeenth-century Creole authors, witnessing the indigenous refusal to give up ancestral religious practices, embraced racialist views to explain religious deviance among Andeans. In previous centuries, Christian scholars had maintained that the devil was largely responsible for idolatrous behavior because Satan misled worshipers through the manipulation of peoples' mental faculties, making them see false phantasms and religious visions (the devil also altered the actual physical environment). Responsibility for religious visions thus lay outside the operation of the body and mind of idolatrous worshipers. To be sure, this paradigm was used extensively in early colonial Spanish America. However, by the seventeenth century, the Creole

[118] Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, *passim*; Peter Hulme, "Tales of Distinction: European Ethnography and the Caribbean," in Stuart B. Schwartz, *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1994), 157–97.

[119] Charles Amiel, "La 'pureté de sang' en Espagne," *Etudes inter-ethniques* 6 (1983): 28–45; Albert Sicroff, *Los estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre: Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII* (Madrid, 1985); and David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

[120] Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de indios* (Madrid, 1668), bk. 2, treatise 4, sect. 1, pp. 176–77; see also Miguel Cabello Valboa, *Miscelánea antártica: Una historia del Peru antiguo* [*ca.* 1586], con prólogo, notas e indices del Instituto de Etnología (Lima, 1951), primera parte, chap. 13. Cabello Valboa explained the origins of idolatry as a "contagion" that first affected the imagination of those descendants of Noah negatively influenced by some constellations and that was later transformed into a biological innate inclination ("naturaleza") (p. 80).

[121] Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, 97–104. On culture as a second nature, see also Donald R. Kelley, *The Human Measure: Social Thought in the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

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clergy in the viceroyalty of Peru began to blame Indian idolatry on the flawed operation of the Indian body and not on the machinations of the devil. Indigenous religious deviance thus became a psychological problem largely attributable to the physical malfunctioning of the internal senses of Indians, a failure of their brains to grasp the logical, scientific structure of the universe.[122]

The works of the two seventeenth-century scholars, Salinas y Córdova and León Pinelo, with which I began this article, represented the efforts of the learned in Spanish America to invent two different bodies, one for Indians and the other for white European colonists (and in lesser degree a third one for African blacks). As they sought to defend themselves from a rising European intellectual tide representing the climate and heavenly constellations of Spanish America as the cause of mental and physical degeneration, Salinas and Pinelo, along with a cadre of Creole and émigré European scholars, hammered out forms of patriotic astrology and, more important, a discourse of scientific racism that long predated the one invented in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Europe. "Modern" scientific racism, therefore, was first articulated in a "peripheral" colonial setting and worked out using distinctively non-modern idioms. Yet, paradoxically, this very modern creation, it seems, never had much of an impact outside Spanish America. Although the colonies did work in Ann Laura Stoler's terms "as laboratories of modernity," the fact that modernity defined itself by dismissing colonial intellectuals and by denying the status of science to astrology, Aristotelian metaphysics, and Galenic physiology doomed the first modern views of the racialized body to become invisible in European consciousness.

[122] Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 383–405.

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Information and Economic History: How the Credit Market in Old Regime Paris Forces Us to Rethink the Transition to Capitalism

PHILIP T. HOFFMAN, GILLES POSTEL-VINAY, and JEAN-LAURENT ROSENTHAL

BENEATH THE VAST HISTORY OF BUSINESS PRACTICES—and underneath the historical scholarship on financial transactions in particular—there lurks a beguiling story, a story that goes something like this: Before the Industrial Revolution—and in developing countries, before modern economic growth—financial dealings were usually personal, with most loans supporting non-productive activities. Investment in this pre-modern world was minimal, as, obviously, was economic growth. In Europe, the impasse lasted until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the continent passed through a drastic economic transition that transformed finance. The transition created an impersonal and capitalist credit market, which fed productive investment in industry and made growth a reality.

No single historian recounts this story in its entirety. But bits and pieces of it protrude through the surface of nearly every work on the history of European finance. It juts out of the books and articles of distinguished medievalists and early modernists, such as M. M. Postan and Raymond de Roover.[1] It pokes forth from the scholarship of economists, such as Alexander Gerschenkron and, more recently, Charles Calomiris.[2] And it crops up in sociology and anthropology as well, where its roots reach back to the classic social thought of Karl Marx and Max Weber.[3]

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[1] See M. M. Postan, "Recent Trends in the Accumulation of Capital," *Economic History Review*, ser. 1, 6 (October 1935): 1–12, which makes explicit ideas present in other examples of his work, such as "Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years War," *Economic History Review*, ser. 1, 12 (1942): 1–12, esp. 5–6, and *The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain, 1100–1500* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972), 102–03. For Raymond de Roover, one might cite examples of his penchant for Weberian reasoning, such as *L'évolution de la lettre de change: XIV^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1953), 143–46.

[2] Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 5–30; Charles W. Calomiris, "The Costs of Rejecting Universal Banking: American Finance in the German Mirror, 1870–1914," in *Coordination and Information: Historical Perspectives on the Organization of Enterprise*, Naomi R. Lamoreaux and Daniel M. G. Raff, eds. (Chicago, 1995), 257–315.

[3] There are of course a number of exceptions: historians who take a refreshingly different view of

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Although it remains implicit in most works of European history, the traditional story does exercise considerable influence over methodology and the choice of subject matter. Perhaps its most striking methodological consequence is the limits it imposes on the use of economics. Indeed, it implies that while economic theory may suit the capitalist world, it is not at all appropriate for pre-transition societies such as early modern Europe.[4] There, the historian is better off seeking guidance from disciplines such as anthropology.[5] As for the choice of subject matter, if a historian aspires to trace the origins of growth in the pre-modern world, then according to the story he or she should focus on the financial practices that survive the transition: letters of credit, for example, or the early history of banks and stock exchanges.[6] Other commercial practices in the pre-modern world may of course be intriguing from a cultural perspective, but as far as economic growth is concerned they are ultimately irrelevant.

We disagree with both the traditional story about the history of finance and the related belief that a methodological gulf separates modern and preindustrial economies. The traditional story, we maintain, obscures the workings of pre-modern economies by making economic behavior in the pre-modern world seem stranger than it really was. We base our argument on evidence gathered from eighteenth-century Paris, evidence that reveals how Parisians saved and went into debt and how borrowers and lenders met. It tells a very different tale about financial

credit. Among them, one might count Richard Ehrenberg, who, while downplaying Weberian ideal types, looked instead at what early modern bankers actually did, and Roberto S. Lopez, who resisted dividing history into sharply different pre-transition and post-transition phases. Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger: Geldkapital und Creditverkehr im 16. Jahrhundert*, 3d edn., 2 vols. (Jena, 1922), esp. 1: 380–81; Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: The South," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. 2: *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, M. M. Postan and E. E. Rich, eds. (Cambridge, 1952), 320. More recently, a number of excellent social and cultural historians have opened new vistas on credit. For France alone, one can cite Claude Michaud, "Notariat et sociologie de la rente à Paris au XVII[e] siècle: L'emprunt du clergé de 1690," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 32 (November–December 1977): 1155–87; Thomas E. Kaiser, "Money, Despotism, and Public Opinion in Early Eighteenth-Century France: John Law and the Debate on Royal Credit," *Journal of Modern History* 63 (March 1991): 1–28; Thomas Manley Luckett, "Credit and Commercial Society in France, 1740–1789" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1992); William Chester Jordan, *Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial and Developing Societies* (Philadelphia, 1993); Liana Vardi, *The Land and the Loom: Peasants and Profit in Northern France, 1680–1800* (Durham, N.C., 1993); Thomas Edward Brennan, *Burgundy to Champagne: The Wine Trade in Early Modern France* (Baltimore, Md., 1997); Julie Hardwick, "Women 'Working' the Law: Gender, Authority, and Legal Process in Early Modern France," *Journal of Women's History* 9 (Autumn 1997): 28–49; and Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, Pa., 1998).

[4] The fascinating work by social historians that is cited above provides a telling example. Despite all the virtues of their research, few of the social historians use economics, and thus they lack an insight that is essential for understanding any credit transaction: how information channels the flow of loans.

[5] For anthropology, historians usually turn to works such as Marshall Sahlins' excellent *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago, 1972). There are other sorts of anthropology, though, including some that are far friendlier to economics. For example, see Jean Ensminger, "Changing Property Rights: Reconciling Formal and Informal Rights to Land in Africa," in *The Frontiers of the New Institutional Economics*, John N. Drobak and John V. C. Nye, eds. (San Diego, Calif., 1997), 165–96.

[6] One recent example is Reinhold C. Müller's otherwise excellent *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1200–1500* (Baltimore, Md., 1998), for although Müller acknowledges the existence of long-term private credit, he neglects it in his analysis. Older examples would include such classics as de Roover's *L'évolution de la lettre de change*. Gerschenkron, we admit, remains something of an exception. Although he did believe that universal banks were crucial for development, he also investigated how capital could be mobilized in ways that would overcome constraints on development in traditional societies.

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dealings in the past. Contrary to what the traditional story might suggest about a place such as eighteenth-century Paris, financial intermediaries there had already succeeded in mobilizing a mighty tide of capital—this under the Old Regime, before the establishment of modern banks or other undeniable signs of a capitalist transition. The intermediaries—the city's notaries—were already arranging large numbers of loans between borrowers and lenders who did not know one another. What rendered such impersonal lending possible (so economic theory fruitfully suggests) was the financial information the notaries possessed. It invigorated the long-term capital market, allowing men and women alike to pursue investment strategies that seem surprisingly familiar to modern eyes. Its repercussions in turn spread well beyond the realm of finance. Indeed, it made private reputations and perhaps even influenced public opinion about the state.

Although our evidence comes from a single city, it points to the same conclusions that are emerging from research on Asia, the Americas, and other parts of Europe. In all these places, scholars are rediscovering the importance of credit in preindustrial societies and casting doubt on the traditional dichotomy between the impersonal relationships under capitalism and the personal links and traditional financial structures in preindustrial societies.[7] As yet, no one would deny that economic change undermines traditional pathways of information. But the havoc that development wreaks on traditional channels of information may actually make personal relationships even more important for capital mobilization—and do so at the same time that other economic transactions become anonymous. Informal means of transmitting financial information may substitute for the more formal mechanisms of banks and stock exchanges, but they may also help the formal mechanisms out. It all depends on the historical circumstances. The lesson—for historians and economists alike—would seem to be that we should jettison older theoretical constructs and replace them with newer ideas drawn from historical studies of how information and capital flowed in the societies of interest. Such an approach could open up a fruitful dialogue between microeconomics and social history, a dialogue that could yield new insights into the process of societal change.

[7] For Europe, see Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, new edn. (Paris, 1973), 460–61; and David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1998). Sabean discovered that kinship ties among the wealthy were strengthened rather than weakened by modernization, in contrast to what traditional arguments would have led one to expect (see 2–3 for a powerful statement of the traditional assumptions). Similarly, Laurence Fontaine found that personal relationships remained important for Europe's thoroughly commercialized early modern book trade, *History of Peddlers in Europe*, Vicki Whittaker, trans. (Durham, N.C., 1996). There are analogous examples from outside of Europe, too. Historians of the United States have long known that family members helped finance early factories, but the analytical foundations of the phenomenon are best illustrated in Naomi R. Lamoreaux, *Insider Lending: Banks, Personal Connections, and Economic Development in Industrial New England* (Cambridge, 1994). In Asia, family groups from the Tata manufacturing empire in India to conglomerates in Korea have played a prominent role in recent economic growth, but historical research suggests that the family played a similar role in the past. See, for example, Ken Pommeranz, "Family, Firm, and Financing in the History of the Yutang Company of Jining," *Late Imperial China* 18 (June 1997): 1–38. In Latin America, the kinship ties supporting industrial finance have been revealed, for the case of Brazil, in Ann Hanley's "Capital Markets in the Coffee Economy: Economic Growth and Institutional Change in São Paulo, Brazil, 1850–1905" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1995). Although corporations thrived in São Paulo after 1890, efforts to set up a stock market there failed because shares continued to be traded informally among the tightly knit elite of the city. The lesson seems to be that a depersonalized financial market need not accompany either industrialization or modernization.

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Because we emphasize flows of information and capital, we have to leave the important realm of short-term credit aside. We must do so because there is simply no way to study it systematically, particularly in Paris. No one was required to preserve the records of short-term loans, whether personal or commercial, and only fragmentary records survive.[8] Neglecting short-term credit, though, may in the end not be such a loss. Although the legal treatment of the various types of credit differed from country to country, there is growing evidence from across Europe that the short and long-term lending markets were segmented prior to the mid-nineteenth century. Some intermediaries—such as notaries in France, or scriveners and attorneys in England—dealt with long-term debts, while others, bankers and financiers, specialized in short-term credit. We focus on the first, in part because they are less well known and because recent research underscores the quantitative importance of long-term debt in European societies.[9]

THE EFFECT OF THE TRADITIONAL STORY appears most clearly when viewed through the lens of a particular example, and the history of financial transactions in early modern and nineteenth-century France is no exception. There, the story's influence

[8] In France, the only source for a systematic study of short-term credit flows is the *enregistrement*, which omitted many short-term loans, especially commercial ones. For Paris, even that source is unavailable. Another issue we cannot treat here is the role of secondary markets in which financial assets can be traded. Because secondary markets such as stock exchanges facilitate the sale of financial instruments, they play a major role in the development of financial institutions; for an important historical example, see Larry Neal, *The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, 1990). By the eighteenth century, France possessed an active secondary market for short-term bills of exchange, as historians such as Luckett, "Credit and Commercial Society in France," and Charles Carrière, *Négociants marseillais au XVIII^e siècle: Contribution à l'étude des économies maritimes*, 2 vols. (Marseilles, 1973), 2: 845–74, have demonstrated. There was also a stock market in Paris, where government debt was traded, and what one might call an over-the-counter market for long-term private loans, maintained by notaries who could help investors to sell loans from their portfolios. Whether these secondary markets sufficed is a question we plan to take up in future research; for some preliminary results, see Mark Potter and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "The Burgundian Estates' Bond Market: Clienteles and Intermediaries, 1660–1790," in *Des personnes aux institutions: Réseaux et culture du crédit du XVI^e au XX^e siècle en Europe*, Laurence Fontaine, Gilles Postel-Vinay, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Paul Servais, eds. (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997), 173–95, esp. 187–88. It should be stressed, though, that secondary markets for long-term private debt (home mortgages furnish a striking example) have been underdeveloped until relatively recently even in advanced capitalist economies like the United States.

[9] For evidence from outside Paris that demonstrates the overwhelming importance of long-term lending in the eighteenth century, see Gilles Postel-Vinay, *La terre et l'argent: L'agriculture et le crédit en France du XVIII^e au début du XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1998), 36–47. As for the neglect of long-term credit, Bernard Schnapper did begin to investigate long-term loans in "La fixation du denier des rentes et l'opinion parlementaire au XVI^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 2 (July–September 1957): 161–70; and *Les rentes au XVI^e siècle: Histoire d'un instrument de crédit* (Paris, 1957). But no one carried the quantitative part of his study beyond the sixteenth century. Long-term debt has received quantitative attention in some rural markets, as in Paul Servais, *La rente constituée dans le Ban de Herve au XVIII^e siècle* (Brussels, 1982), which is based on Belgian sources. As far as segmentation is concerned, the British case is the most interesting. There, scriveners and later attorneys specialized in arranging long-term loans, much like notaries in France, while bankers handled short-term commercial credit. See Frank T. Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton and the Origins of English Deposit Banking, 1658–1685* (Cambridge, 1986); Bryan L. Anderson, "The Attorney and the Early Capital Market in Lancashire," in *Liverpool and Merseyside: Essays in the Economic and Social History of the Port and Its Hinterland*, R. R. Harris, ed. (London, 1969), 50–77; and Larry Neal, "The Finance of Business during the Industrial Revolution," in *The Economic History of Britain since 1700*, Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, eds., 2d edn., 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1994), 1: 151–81.

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is quite pronounced. In Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse's *Histoire économique et sociale de la France*, for instance, the story would seem to dictate the skewed coverage given financial transactions in the nearly eight-hundred-page tome devoted to the Old Regime: some seventy pages consecrated to bills of exchange, partnerships, and joint stock companies, all of which persisted into the nineteenth century, and to state finance and the somber history of banking after the John Law affair, a failed attempt to create a central bank and reorganize France's public debt in the years 1716–1720. That may of course seem evenhanded, but the volume contains practically nothing on the promissory notes (*obligations*) and the perpetual and life annuities (*rentes perpétuelles, rentes viagères*) that fill miles of notarial archives. Having left no progeny in the capitalist world, they were apparently unworthy of study, even though they were the only legal instruments for long-term debt and were matters of great concern to the men and women of the Old Regime.[10]

The *rentes* and *obligations* met a similar fate in the hands of the influential historian George V. Taylor. Although he did not ignore them in his writings on bankers, the stock exchange, and other eighteenth-century harbingers of a capitalist future, Taylor dismissed the *rentes* and *obligations* as hopelessly non-capitalist. He simply did not realize that they mobilized far more capital than his obsession, the equity market. Nor did he perceive that they had every right to be called capitalist—no doubt because he had fallen victim to the traditional story.[11] The same sort of bias, it is no surprise, thrives in the history of nineteenth-century finance as well. Alexander Gerschenkron believed, for example, that the industrial investment banks of the sort created by the brothers Péreire in 1863 had been central to France's development. Yet subsequent research has shown that the role of the Crédit Mobilier was limited in comparison with that of more traditional—and in the long run more successful—intermediaries.[12]

To be so deeply ingrained, the traditional story must possess certain virtues.

[10] Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse, eds., *Histoire économique et sociale de la France*, tome 2: *Des derniers temps de l'âge seigneurial aux préludes de l'âge industriel (1660–1789)* (Paris, 1970). The *obligations* were simply IOUs, due in several months or years. They could not openly specify the payment of interest, but evidence suggests it was paid on the side. The *rentes*, by contrast, did specify an interest payment. With the *rentes perpétuelles*, the lender received a constant annual interest payment that continued until the borrower (or heirs) decided to return the principal; in theory, the principal might never be returned. With the *rentes viagères*, the lender received a constant annual payment too, but it came to an end when a person named in the act died. That person might be the borrower or a third party, such as a descendant or even a complete stranger.

[11] Taylor's three celebrated articles, "Noncapitalist Wealth and the Origins of the French Revolution," *AHR* 72 (January 1967): 469–98; "The Paris Bourse on the Eve of the Revolution, 1781–1789," *AHR* 67 (July 1962): 951–77; and "Types of Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century France," *English Historical Review* 79 (July 1964): 478–97, focused on the distinction between debt and equity. In Taylor's view, because incomes on debt did not fluctuate except in cases of default, debt posed no risk for the investor. And since Taylor believed that capitalism had to involve risk-bearing by the investor, he rejected all debts as non-capitalist—a conclusion that holds in particular for debts such as *rentes*. What his reasoning ignores, first of all, is the fact that all debts were risky in the eighteenth century, even *rentes*. Furthermore, in the stock markets of the English Industrial Revolution, debts dominated equities by a broad margin. By Taylor's standard, therefore, even the nineteenth-century London exchange would not be capitalist. Finally, making risk the defining characteristic of capitalism seems faulty. Why should risk (rather than, say, economic growth or the scale of enterprise) be the hallmark of capitalism?

[12] Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*, 11–14; Maurice Levy-Leboyer and Michel Lescure, "France," in *Patterns of European Industrialization: The Nineteenth Century*, Richard Sylla and Gianni Toniolo, eds. (London, 1991), 153–74.

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Certainly, no one would reject it entirely, for the distinctions on which it rests, between personal and impersonal credit, say, or between modern and underdeveloped economies, are often useful. Nor would anyone want to cast the advantages of hindsight aside and ignore the business practices that eventually dominated the modern world. The problem is that the past is more complicated than the story's simple distinctions would imply. Worse yet, the story rules out a number of fruitful methodologies and intriguing questions that we may want to ask. At bottom, it is just too simplistic and too restrictive.

Consider, for example, the sharp contrast between financial dealings before and after the transition to capitalism. Because the transition entails a radical change in subject matter and methodology, historians do not always realize that some important problems persist across the transition and afflict both pre-modern and capitalist Europe. One such enduring dilemma with lending is knowing whether borrowers will repay. Both in the pre-modern world and today, lenders tend to limit their loans to borrowers who seem unlikely to default. Their decision to make a loan may, then, depend less on interest rates than on personal information about borrowers and extra-market relationships with them. Is a borrower, in short, the sort whom lenders can trust? Similarly, the borrower will need information about the availability and terms of loans, which may vary from lender to lender. Information will thus be involved in nearly all forms of credit both in the modern world and before.

Economists have actually paid considerable attention to information, but belief in the transition keeps most historians from borrowing their methods, at least when pre-modern societies are involved. That is unfortunate, for the concepts economists utilize in studying information are not at all out of place in pre-modern societies. Indeed, the theory that economists bring to the problem has been used by cultural anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz to analyze analogous situations in developing countries.[13] By rejecting it, historians of all types miss a number of fascinating opportunities. An economic historian who ignores the theory in favor of a purely empirical measurement of aggregate investment, for example, never learns how information flows and how it affects capital markets. And a cultural historian who spurns the economists' ideas misses surprising connections between the economy and a variety of cultural objects, ranging from reputations to public opinion.

Equally restrictive is the contrast between the non-productive loans of the

[13] Clifford Geertz, "The Bazaar Economy: Information and Search in Peasant Marketing," *American Economic Review* 68 (May 1978): 28–32; Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz, and Lawrence Rosen, *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society* (Cambridge, 1979), 123–314. Geertz is discussing trade rather than credit, but the fundamental issue—finding a reliable trading partner—is essentially the same as with lending, namely, what economists call asymmetric information. Despite the old debate over the use of economics in anthropology, articles like Geertz's show that economic theory can be fruitfully applied to pre-modern societies. For additional examples of the same sort of interdisciplinary borrowing and further discussion, see Philip T. Hoffman, *Growth in a Traditional Society: The French Countryside, 1450–1815* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), intro. The key work by economists on asymmetric information and credit is Joseph E. Stiglitz and Andrew Weiss, "Credit Rationing in Markets with Imperfect Information," *American Economic Review* 71 (June 1981): 393–410. One might attempt to base the contrast between modern and pre-modern credit markets on the role of impersonal prices, which—so the argument goes—only become important in the modern world. But as Stiglitz and Weiss demonstrate, prices—or in other words, interest rates—may well fail to allocate loans in the modern world as well. The reason is that lenders, if they are poorly informed, will have to rely heavily on personal information about borrowers in deciding whether to grant the loans.

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pre-modern world and the investment loans of capitalist finance. It oversimplifies what are really three distinct issues: the savings that give rise to a potential supply of financial capital, the mobilization that moves the financial capital from savers to borrowers, and finally the use to which the borrowers put the capital, whether for investment or other purposes. Credit markets may be highly developed, in the sense that they move financial capital efficiently from savers to borrowers across both time and space, but even in the modern world the capital mobilized need not go for productive investments. Indeed, productive investment and the development of a credit market need not go hand in hand, as recent history demonstrates. It would thus be better, at least initially, to separate the history of financial dealings themselves from savings and from the ways in which financial capital is used. That way, historians can at least take into account all the various uses of credit, whether we are studying the eighteenth century or the twentieth. Credit, after all, can pay for a borrower's house or education and bring a lender a comfortable retirement. None of that may matter for scholars obsessed with large-scale industrial investment, but for contemporaries such issues were of great concern. Furthermore, what seems like an unproductive loan may in the end actually facilitate investment. If merchants can borrow at low cost to buy real estate, they may feel free to invest in their businesses, knowing that they need not save all their profits to pay cash for a piece of land. The very availability of real estate loans can thus make possible productive investment in trade.

The crux of the matter is that the traditional story oversimplifies. Too many financial transactions muddy its rudimentary contrasts. Personal ties continued to matter in the capitalist economies of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, well after any capitalist transition. One only has to think of J. P. Morgan or Michael Milken.[14] But perhaps the most glaring exception to the story comes from the history of the Parisian notaries, whose financial dealings in the eighteenth century defy its simple distinctions. Their business, as we shall see, was at once personal and impersonal, productive and non-productive. Yet even by modern standards, it was terribly important.

THE PARISIAN NOTARIES were ideally suited for arranging loans. Originally, their task had been to record and preserve legal documents, but by the early modern period they had evolved into legal experts who could draw up papers and provide advice for all sorts of public and private affairs. They acquired the expertise via initial service as notarial clerks. They then purchased or inherited one of the city's 113 notarial offices (*études*) and gained admission into the company of Parisian notaries. Once in business, they assisted with sales of real estate and other assets and drafted deeds, wills, probate inventories, receipts, and scores of contracts, from

[14] J. Bradford De Long, "Did J. P. Morgan's Men Add Value? An Economist's Perspective on Financial Capitalism," in *Inside the Business Enterprise: Historical Perspectives on the Use of Information*, Peter Temin, ed. (Chicago, 1991). Connie Bruck, *The Predators' Ball: The Inside Story of Drexel Burnham and the Rise of Junk Bond Raiders* (New York, 1989). Equally perplexing—for those who believe the traditional story—is the behavior of the nineteenth-century industrialists who used notaries to cement financial alliances with bankers for short-term credit and to borrow long term via more old-fashioned *obligations*.

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leases to land sales. The law required them to keep copies of most of these documents and to furnish duplicates to interested parties. Their archives thus contained a treasure trove of information about their clients' wealth—information that allowed them to orchestrate thousands of financial deals each year.[15]

By the 1780s, for example, we estimate that the Parisian notaries were mobilizing an average of 138 million livres a year in new loans for private borrowers and 56 million livres a year in new debt for the state. At prevailing wages, the total equaled the annual earnings of some 750,000 day laborers. By 1789, the notaries had thus helped market a major portion of the government's 5 billion livre debt, and they had lifted private indebtedness in Paris to just over a billion livres.[16]

Arranging all these loans had become the notaries' ruling passion, pushing them to take control of long-term credit in Paris. As early as the Regency, a well-informed author such as Verón de Forbonnais could take the Parisian notaries' domination of long-term credit for granted. In 1742, an official of the Estates of Burgundy who sought to raise money in Paris remarked that the notaries there were essential to any financial undertaking. They were, he said, the "holders of the purse strings," the "information gatherers for lenders," who determined where investors placed their money. By the 1780s, the popular writer Louis-Sébastien Mercier could exclaim that the notaries had become "speculators, movers of money" who sought out nothing less than "every possible way to borrow here and to lend there. They are involved in all loans of any size."[17] Mercier may have exaggerated, but the rare glimpses we get of a notary's letters or business records lend credence to his words. The clients of notary Simon Hurtrelle, for example, sought his aid when buying a government office or making other large purchases, for he arranged the mortgages that financed the transaction. The mortgage money might come from other clients,

[15] Previous research on Parisian notaries includes Jean-Paul Poisson, *Notaires et société: Travaux d'histoire et de sociologie notariales*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1985–90), who was the first to stress the notaries' role in credit. Marie-France Limon, *Les notaires au Châtelet sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Toulouse, 1992), and Hassen El Annabi, "Etre notaire à Paris au temps de Louis XIV: Henri Boutet, ses activités et sa clientèle (1693–1714)" (Thèse de doctorat d'Etat, Université de Haute-Bretagne, Rennes 2, 1994), have also studied Parisian notaries, but they focus on the period before 1715 when the notaries' role in credit was less important.

Not only was the number of notarial offices fixed, but there were limits to how much each notarial business could expand. When the notaries' business grew in the eighteenth century, notaries did hire more clerks, but the company took steps to limit the practice. It also prevented the notaries from forming partnerships or *sociétés*. See Archives de la Chambre des Notaires de Paris, Délibérations, 1719–34, pp. 311–12 (December 18, 1730), and 1766–88, pp. 270–72 (December 10, 1780).

[16] For the source of these estimates, see the Appendix and the description of our samples in the text below. Calculating the equivalent in a day laborer's time for the new loans the notaries were making assumes that the day laborers (*manoeuvres*) earned 26 *sous* a day and worked 200 days a year: figures that are derived from Yves Durand, "Recherches sur les salaires des maçons à Paris au XVIII^{e} siècle," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 44, no. 4 (1966): 468–80; and Ernest Labrousse, *Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus en France au XVIII^{e} siècle*, 2 vols. (1933; rpt. edn., Paris, 1984), 2: 501–03. For a recent account of the state's debt in 1789, see Thomas J. Sargent and François R. Velde, "Macroeconomic Features of the French Revolution," *Journal of Political Economy* 103 (June 1995): 474–518.

[17] François Véron Duverger de Forbonnais, *Recherches et considérations sur les finances de la France depuis l'année 1595 jusqu'à l'année 1721*, 2 vols. (Basel, 1758), 2: 530; Archives Départementales (hereafter, AD), Côte d'Or C 4565 (September 15, 1742); Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, new edn., 12 vols. in 6 (Amsterdam, 1783–89), 2: 31–35.

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who beseeched the notary to invest their funds. And if a notary like Hurtrelle could not find clients of his own with money to lend, he would canvass his colleagues.[18]

The best evidence for the notaries' burgeoning financial role is the volume of new loans they put together. Using a careful process of sampling, we have estimated both the volume of new loans in Parisian notarial registers and the rate at which these loans were repaid for every year from 1660 to 1870. Although we have done so for loans both to the state and to private borrowers, it is the private loans that shed the greatest light on the notaries' financial prowess. If we plot the total value of the new private loans and subtract private repayments, the resulting curve traces the evolution of private indebtedness in Paris, at least as viewed from the notarial registers (Figure 1). In the graph, everything is valued in French livres of constant silver value so as to correct for devaluations. When the curve swings upward and indebtedness increases, net lending is therefore really rising: the upward movement is not simply the result of inflation.[19] Nor does it reflect empty refinancing, by which old loans are replaced with new. The reason is simple. Because indebtedness takes into account both new loans taken out and old loans repaid, refinancing leaves the curve unchanged.

The curve, admittedly, is only an approximation, but repeated tests vouch for its accuracy.[20] What might it then suggest about the notaries' accomplishments? Apparently, they were arranging more private loans in the last decades of the Old Regime than they would until the 1860s. These loans, it should be stressed, represented nearly all the medium and long-term private credit in Paris, where medium and long-term signify credit that usually lasted at least a year and often much longer. Banks and merchants of course made loans to private parties, but until the last half of the nineteenth century the credit they extended was usually for short periods—typically, the several months needed to finance trade. Friends and relations also advanced money, but their loans, too, were frequently short term. And when they lent for a longer period, even relatives often had a notary draw up the sort of act that the curve takes into account. The only other source of long-term credit was the Paris stock exchange, but trading there was essentially limited to government debt and to the bonds of state-sponsored companies, which were hardly private. The stock exchange in fact remained a meager source of capital for purely private undertakings until well into the nineteenth century, for nearly all the issues traded were still either government debt or railroad bonds that benefited from a

[18] Archives Nationales (hereafter, AN), Y 18581, Hurtrelle bankruptcy (June 17, 1756): Hurtrelle raised over 300,000 livres for the purchase of an office of Grand Maître des Eaux et Forêts for one of his clients, Levesque de Gravelle. He did so with the help of the notary Laideguive, from whom he solicited funds, as the records of their meetings and correspondence demonstrate. In one letter to Hurtrelle about financing the office, Laideguive wrote, "je vous prie de me mander quelle somme vous seroit necessaire"; Laideguive had apparently already come up with a client who would furnish 25,000 livres. As for clients begging Hurtrelle to invest their funds, perhaps the best example is the religious community of the Filles de la Croix in Saint-Quentin, discussed below. It is true that the records here were seized during a bankruptcy, which may distort matters by singling out a notary who was desperately seeking funds and clients who had money on deposit. Yet a careful reading of Hurtrelle's records suggests that the distortion was minimal. He canvassed for funds long before bankruptcy threatened, and he was far from the only notary to take money on deposit.

[19] If prices are denominated in silver, long-term inflation is minimal. Hence the graph does faithfully trace out long-term trends. For details about the samples and the construction of our estimates, see the Appendix.

[20] For details, see the Appendix.

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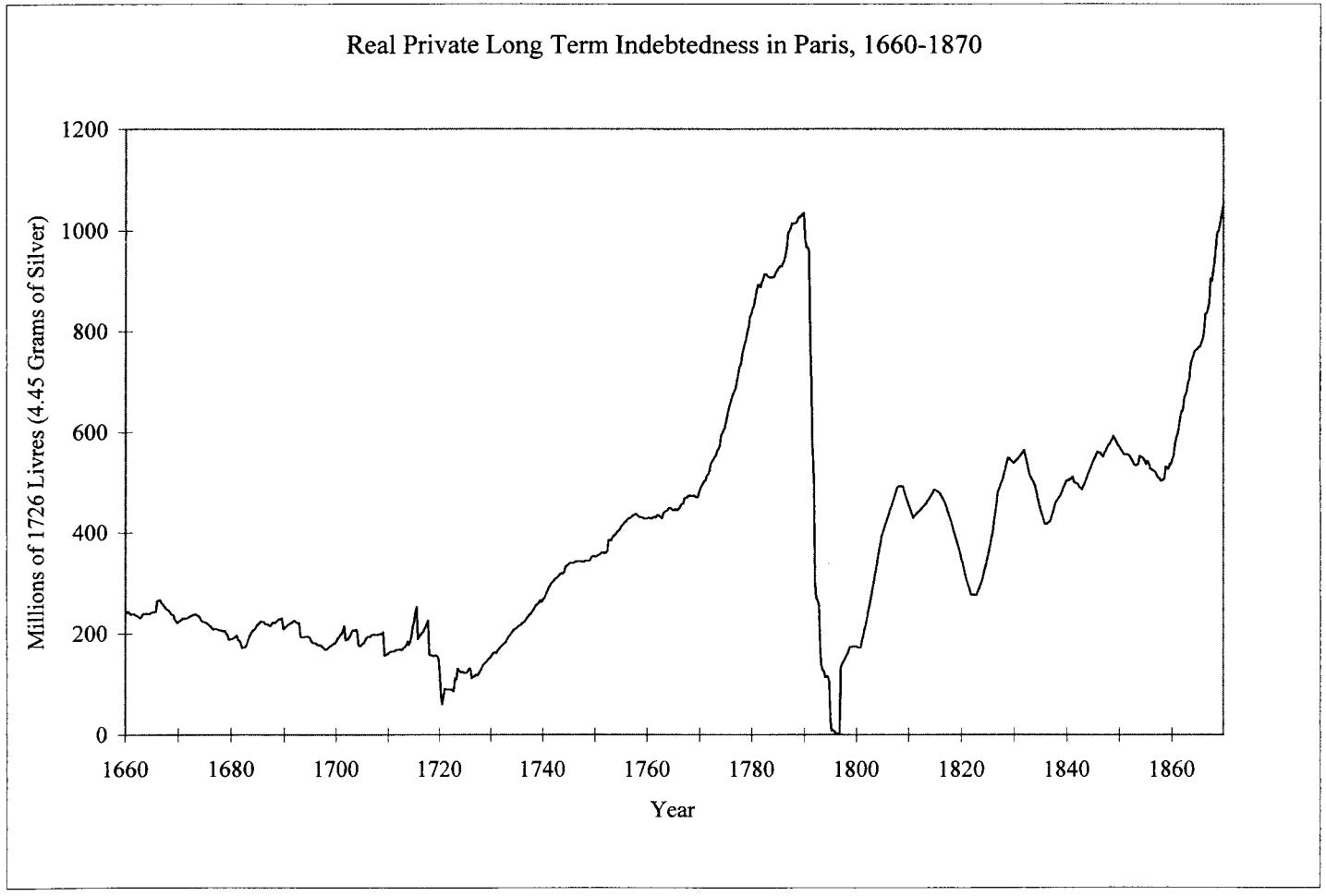


FIGURE 1: Real, private, long-term indebtedness in Paris, 1660–1870, in millions of 1726 livres, each livre equaling 4.45 grams of silver. Indebtedness is estimated from Parisian notarial records, but it includes lending by the Crédit Foncier and certain other banks as well. Their lending (nearly all of which involves the Crédit Foncier) accounts for the sharp upswing of the curve in the 1860s. The dip during the 1790s is the result of the revolutionary inflation. For the way indebtedness is estimated and the sources used, see the text.

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state guarantee.[21] There was of course the Crédit Foncier, a mortgage bank whose rise marked the recovery of credit under the Second Empire. Its borrowing has been included in Figure 1, but we should keep in mind that its investors also enjoyed state backing. It was thus only with state guarantees and with nearly double the urban population that indebtedness in 1869 finally matched the levels the notaries achieved back in 1788. The Old Regime may thus have been hostile to banks, but Parisians were nonetheless borrowing and lending vast sums.

What the notaries provided was a solution to the enduring problem bedeviling credit, the problem of default. Lenders naturally worry that borrowers will not repay, and early modern Europe was no different in this regard. For the sort of long-term credit considered here, the lender typically required collateral to guarantee the loan, but whether the collateral was sound or not was never clear. The difficulty—as always in credit markets—was that a lender could not easily observe those dealings by a borrower that undermined the value of the collateral and the security of the loan. Real estate offered as collateral might already be mortgaged to other creditors, who had a senior claim if the borrower went bankrupt. The lender could be left with only a pittance after the other creditors were paid. Unfortunately, there was no easy way to determine whether property was overmortgaged in this way, for the earlier mortgage remained a secret between the borrower and the earlier lender. The dilemma was one that contemporaries had long been aware of, and to resolve matters, a 1673 edict sought to create a system of public registration for mortgages. The stated purpose was to render it "possible to make loans with assurance . . . Creditors will be certain about a debtor's wealth. They will neither fear for his fate nor anxiously watch over his assets."[22]

The edict was revoked only a year later, leaving lenders with no way of knowing whether most private property was already mortgaged.[23] Nor could they keep borrowers or their heirs from selling mortgaged collateral without the lenders' knowledge. That obviously created serious risks, particularly with long-term loans like *rentes*, which could endure for generations.[24] An aggrieved lender could

[21] The railroad bonds and government debt represented 90 percent of the issues traded on the stock exchange in 1851.

[22] Pierre Clément, ed., *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1861–82), 2: 332–33; François-André Isambert, *et al.*, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: Depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789*, 29 vols. (Paris, 1822–33), 19: 73–86; Henri-François d'Aguesseau, *Oeuvres*, 16 vols. (Paris, 1759–89), 13: 620–23; [Pierre-Jean] Guyot, *Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence civile, criminelle, canonique et bénéficiale*, 17 vols. (Paris, 1784–85), s.v. "Saisie réelle." The quotation is from the preamble to the 1673 edict, in Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 19: 73–74.

[23] A mortgage registry was in fact created for government offices pledged as collateral, and it was also possible to keep track of mortgages on certain government *rentes*: David Bien, "Les offices, les corps et le crédit d'état: L'utilisation des privilèges sous l'ancien régime," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 43 (March–April 1988): 370–404; Gabrielle Vilar-Berrogain, *Guide des recherches dans les fonds d'enregistrement sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1958); Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 19: 83–86. But for the most common form of private collateral—land and buildings—no registry existed. There are several likely reasons why the 1673 edict was revoked. Probably, no one realized the difficulties involved in establishing a working mortgage registry, which, to be effective, would have to function throughout the entire kingdom. Another problem with a registry—so the jurist Henri-François d'Aguesseau later claimed—was that it would have revealed the vagaries of private fortunes and thereby destroyed the existing system of access to private credit, which was based on a lender's personal knowledge and opinion of a borrower and the borrower's reputation. That could have made it harder for great noble families to borrow. See d'Aguesseau, *Oeuvres*, 13: 620–23.

[24] The problem was slightly different with *obligations*, which in the late eighteenth century tended to

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certainly sue and even pursue the purchaser of the mortgaged collateral for a portion of the interest due. Courts, though, were quite expensive; and, despite a seemingly favorable legal position, the lender risked getting bogged down in interminable litigation. Nor were these simply theoretical complications. Back in the late sixteenth century, the Wars of Religion had devastated so many borrowers and crushed so much collateral under multiple mortgages that the noted jurist Charles Loyseau judged *rentes* to be little more than a "will o' wisp right, at bottom just a fragment of parchment." Loyseau was grasping for rhetorical effect, but there is no denying the reality of the problem of default, which the Old Regime government never solved.[25]

The notary could resolve the problem, for he could find reliable borrowers and put them in touch with lenders. What enabled him to do so was knowledge of his clients' financial situation. Parisians, after all, did most of their business with the same family notary.[26] Having drafted wills, deeds, land sales, marriage contracts, and loan documents for clients, the notary was thoroughly familiar with their assets and previous financial dealings. He could thus select the good credit risks—borrowers with sound collateral—and match them with other clients who had money to lend. He had an incentive to perform the task with care and efficiency in order to keep clients loyal. After all, if a notary mistreated a client (by arranging a loan slowly, for instance, or by pairing a lender with an insolvent borrower), the client could switch rather easily to another notary, at least in most cases. The reason clients could switch so easily, we would argue, is that the notaries communicated with one another as they sought out matches for borrowers and lenders. They cooperated in drafting contracts of all sorts, and when arranging loans they tended to refer business to one another if they could not find a match in their own clientele. There was thus almost always another notary who knew the client's financial situation and had the information for his or her transactions. The threat of losing trade—and not any policing by the state or the corporation of notaries them-

last several years. With them, the dilemma was deciding whether the borrower's financial condition was still strong enough to merit renewal of the loan. Yet information about collateral, the borrower's assets, and other financial dealings would still be extremely important for the decision to renew.

[25] Charles Loyseau, *Traicté de la garantie des rentes*, 3d edn. (Paris, 1606), fols. 3–5; Schnapper, *Les rentes au XVI^e siècle*, 119–29, 261–80; Jonathan Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility: The Magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen, 1499–1610* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 232–33; Guyot, *Répertoire*, s.v. "Hypothèque," "Rente," and "Saisie réelle."

[26] Historians have long known that clients returned repeatedly to the same favorite notary, but the best evidence (at least in Paris) comes from a computerized enumeration of nearly all the surviving notarial Parisian records from 1751—some 59,000 of them, involving 137,000 different people. Called the *Minotaure*, it was prepared by the Archives Nationales, which is currently expanding it to include similar enumerations of all surviving notarial records from 1761 and from 1851. Having been given access by the AN to the 1751 portion of *Minotaure*, we examined all individuals who appeared in more than one notarial act in 1751 and assumed that their favorite notary was the one who did the majority of their business. If, for instance, Madame Martin appeared in four contracts, three of which were drafted by notary Dupont, then Dupont was considered her favorite. If we limit ourselves to documents involving people who appear in at least two notarial acts, then 71 percent of the records involved the favorite notary. The percentage remained nearly the same whether we looked at individuals appearing in only two or three contracts or as many as ten or twenty. Jean-Paul Poisson's "L'activité notariale à Paris en 1751: Premières données statistiques globales" (in his *Notaires et société*, 297–308) was based on microfiches from the *Minotaure*.

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selves—kept most eighteenth-century notaries competitive and prevented them from abusing their clients.[27]

Here, scholars familiar with the importance of kinship ties and corporate loyalties in preindustrial societies might suspect that the notary's role was in fact more limited. The notary did not really match borrowers and lenders, the argument might go, for his clients in fact did all the matching themselves. They sought one another out, relying on networks of neighbors, relatives, or friends from the same métier. Those who wanted to lend found trustworthy borrowers within the same family, neighborhood, or profession. They had no need of the notary, who added little to the financial transaction besides drawing up the loan documents and preserving the necessary copies.

If so, we would expect that nearly all borrowers and lenders would be linked by ties of kinship, neighborhood, or profession. They would come, presumably, from the same family, the same part of the city, or the same professional group. Yet that is simply not the case, as a careful reading of loans drafted by our sample of notaries demonstrates. Of the loans preserved by our notaries for the year 1740, for instance, only 32 percent had a borrower and lender who were kin, neighbors, or professional colleagues. In 1780, the figure was 31 percent. It is true that such personal ties were more common in the seventeenth century, although even then they concerned far less than a majority of the loans (see Figure 2).[28] It is true as well that they

[27] A notary could thus never monopolize information about clients, for they could always turn to one of his colleagues. For a detailed, game-theoretic argument concerning this point, see Philip T. Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "What Do Notaries Do? Overcoming Asymmetric Information in Financial Markets: The Case of Paris, 1751," *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* (forthcoming, 1998).

That clients appreciated fast and reliable service by notaries is clear from the letters received by the notary Simon Hurtrelle (AN, Y 18581). With the Balzacian scandals of the early nineteenth century, the Parisian notaries began to police themselves much more thoroughly, but the deliberations and papers of the notarial corporation suggest that there was much less policing in the eighteenth century. Several notorious bankruptcies did raise the threat of government intervention, but the primary concern seemed to be preventing notaries from taking money on deposit: Archives de la Chambre des Notaires de Paris, Délibérations, 1703–19, 1719–34, 1734–66, 1766–88; and carton 46 (1756, 1764). For gossip about bankruptcies and other notarial scandals in the eighteenth century, see Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *et al.*, *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France depuis MDCCLXII jusqu'à nos jours*, 36 vols. (London, 1784–89), 15: 220; 17: 51; 20: 23, 73–74; 21: 137, 142–43; 26: 65–66; 27: 264–65. These scandals pale by comparison with those in the nineteenth.

[28] Figure 2 is based on a detailed reading of loan contracts from the records of seven of the ten notaries in our sample. For 1662, 1700, 1740, and 1780, the seven notaries we relied on were AN, Minutier Central (hereafter, AN MC), *études* IX, XXI, XLIII, LXII, LXX, LXXVIII, and CXV, and our goal was to go through all of the surviving loan contracts in their minutes. Some boxes of minutes, though, had been lost, while others were in use by other researchers or in too poor a condition to handle. We nonetheless managed to read all the surviving loans in those minutes of the seven notaries that were available for consultation for 1662, 1700, 1740, and 1780: *études* IX, 427, 546–48, 652, 653, 777, 778; XXI, 181, 182, 284, 339–41, 493, 496–98; XLIII, 103–06, 241–44, 374–75, 498–502; LXII, 186, 187, 270, 272, 377–80, 583–86; LXX, 172, 211, 212, 322–25, 531–36; LXXVIII, 292, 293, 478–85, 682–84, 850–61; and CXV, 156–59, 199, 307–09, 341–45, 519–25, 913.

Because of the John Law Affair, the notarial records were too voluminous during the years 1718–1720 for us to examine all the surviving notarial minutes even for seven notaries. We therefore sampled every fifth box (*liasse*) from a slightly different set of seven notaries chosen from the ten in our samples. The *études* and minutes selected were: IX, 608, 614; XXVII, 112, 117, 122, 127, 131; XLIII, 309, 314; LXII, 312, 317, 322; LXX, 258, 263; LXXVIII, 585, 590, 595, 600, 605; CXI, 90, 95, 100, 105, 110, 115, 120, 125; and CXV, 375, 380, 386, 390.

The definition of personal ties in Figure 2 is, to be sure, a bit arbitrary, but the numbers here are not totally unrealistic. If they do err, it is that they exaggerate the frequency of personal ties. For kinship, we counted any mention of a family relationship or any instance in which one borrower or one

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continued to play a role in financial transactions. But they cannot account for the great wave of lending in late eighteenth-century Paris, which overflowed the channels of personal connections.

There is still the possibility that borrowers and lenders found one another without the notary's help, not by personal ties but simply via repeated dealings with one another. By renewing loans and increasing their size, lenders might come to trust borrowers; they would tend to limit their lending to those who, via such repeated dealings, had earned their trust. If so, we would expect borrowers to return over and over again to the same lenders. A borrower might seek a large number of loans but would deal repeatedly with the same lender, or perhaps the same small group of lenders. Alternatively, lenders might limit their dealings to borrowers whose assets and reputation inspired financial confidence—borrowers such as the duc d'Orléans. In that case, there might be many lenders, but they would return repeatedly to the same borrower or small group of borrowers. In any event, lending would remain confined to sets of partners who had gained one another's trust, whether through previous dealings or financial reputation. Dealings across the boundaries of such groups would be rare.[29]

borrower's spouse shared a surname with one lender or one lender's spouse. That might omit some more distant relationships on the female side, but since wives and maiden names were usually mentioned, the error is probably small. Our definitions of same neighborhood and same profession, on the other hand, overestimate the number of personal links, for we extended the definition of neighborhood and profession in order to make personal attachments as common as possible. We did so by broadening the occupational categories and by letting neighborhoods equal rather large parishes. Although we ended up with twenty-five occupational categories, four of them (nobles, *officiers*, merchants, and bourgeois) were quite broad, and that artificially increased the number of borrowers and lenders with personal ties. The same was true for residing in the same neighborhood, for although Paris included over fifty parishes, each one averaged roughly 10,000 parishioners, which is large for a neighborhood. The resulting error probably more than offset the slight undercount of kinship, all the more so since kinship links between borrowers and lenders were relatively rare in our samples: only 7 percent of the loans had borrowers and lenders who were relatives by our definition in 1662, and the number fell to 4 percent by 1780. It was having the same residence or neighborhood that accounted for personal attachments in most cases, and since we overestimate the frequency of borrowers and lenders with the same residence and neighborhood, personal ties as a whole are likely to be rarer than our figures suggest.

Unfortunately, we were stuck with using the parish as the definition of neighborhood, because the notarial contracts did not consistently list the streets on which people resided. For occupations, we could have chosen a stricter definition of having the same occupation by limiting it to *officiers* who held precisely the same office, for example, and to merchants who were involved in exactly the same trade. However, we would have ended up with even fewer borrowers and lenders with personal links, making it even more likely that notaries were arranging the loans, rather than the borrowers and lenders themselves.

Whether or not our measure of personal attachments is perfectly accurate, it is clear from Figure 2 that the personal ties, as we define them, were declining at the same time that the loan market itself was growing. That was the case for each type of personal relationship we considered. Kinship links, as noted above, decreased between 1662 and 1780, and the same was true of the number of loans in which borrowers and lenders were neighbors (from 23 percent in 1662 to 15 percent in 1780) or had the same profession (29 percent in 1662 and 18 percent in 1780). Again, the evidence suggests that financial intermediaries were putting together loans as the credit market expanded.

This discussion of personal ties obviously does not exhaust the sort of questions that one might ask about the social relationships in the loans. Some of these issues are examined in Philip T. Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Private Credit Markets in Paris, 1690–1840," *Journal of Economic History* 52 (June 1992): 300–01, or in our forthcoming book, *Priceless Markets: The Political Economy of Credit in Paris, 1660–1870*.

[29] For a more elaborate argument, see Hoffman, Postel-Vinay, and Rosenthal, "What Do Notaries Do?"

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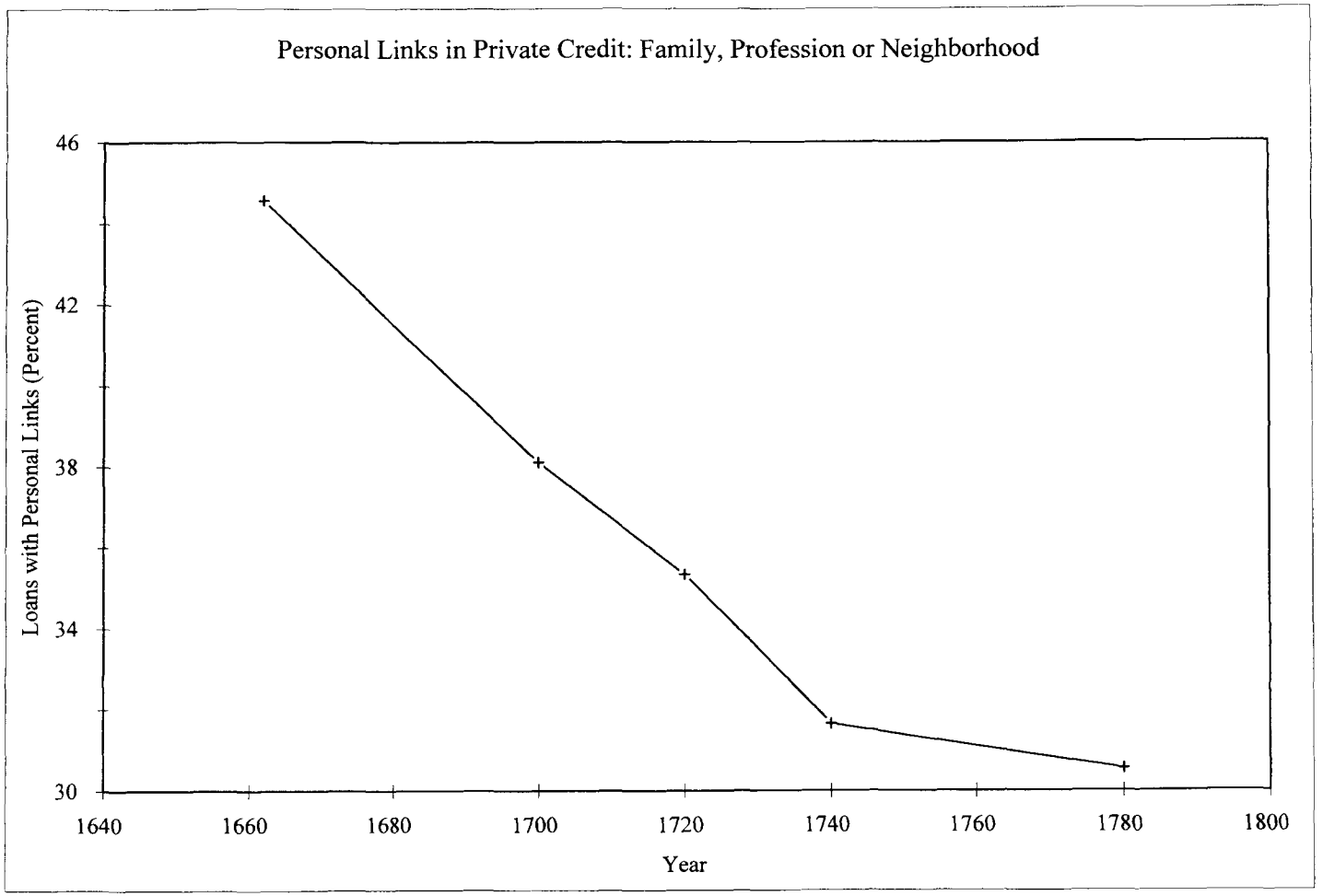


FIGURE 2: Personal links in private credit—family, profession, or neighborhood, by percent. The graph shows the fraction of borrowers and lenders who came from the same group. The source is a sample of Parisian notorial records for 1662, 1700, 1718–1720, 1740, and 1780. Loans from 1718–1720 have been lumped together here. For details about the samples used and the definitions of family, profession, and neighborhood, see the text.

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The evidence belies such an interpretation. Thanks to a computerized enumeration prepared by the Archives Nationales, we have been able to examine all the loans made by Parisian notaries during an entire year in the eighteenth century. In that year, 1751, borrowers showed no tendency to return repeatedly to the same lender or small number of lenders, as they would if they were earning lenders' trust on their own. Each new loan meant a new partner. Nor did lenders restrict their dealings to the same small set of trustworthy borrowers. Lending was simply not confined to small groups based on trust: borrowers and lenders alike were constantly reaching out to new partners.[30]

What borrowers and lenders did was to return to the same notary. Some 80 percent of all loans were drawn up before a borrower's or lender's favorite notary—the one who handled most of their financial transactions. Such fidelity applied even to borrowers and lenders involved in numerous financial dealings. They might be expected to possess the expertise that would make them independent of their notary, but they were just as faithful as the small fry.[31] It fits the argument

[30] For the 1751 enumeration, see note 26. The chief evidence that borrowers did not return to the same lender comes from regressing the number of different lenders each borrower used on the number of loans per borrower and other variables (a constant, the number of loans squared, and a dummy variable for individuals appearing in more than twenty notarial contracts). If borrowers returned to the same lender, the number of different lenders would not rise with the number of loans. The coefficient of the number of loans would therefore either near zero or offset by a sizable negative coefficient for the number of loans squared. When the regression was run for the 920 borrowers who appeared in two or more credit contracts in 1751, however, the coefficients behaved quite differently. The coefficient of the number of loans was 0.935, or nearly one, and that for loans squared was –.004, or nearly zero. Both were estimated with great accuracy (the t-statistics were, respectively, 52.55 and 4.33), and their magnitudes in effect say that each new loan meant an entirely new borrower. An analogous regression for lenders led to similar results, as did an investigation of the pattern of credit dealings among small groups. For details, see Hoffman, Postel-Vinay, and Rosenthal, "What Do Notaries Do?"

There were still other ways for a lender to increase the chances of repayment besides getting direct information about a borrower's collateral and creditworthiness—namely, demanding cosigners. The wealth of the cosigners could reassure the lender, and, if it were visible or well known, it would not require any sort of checking by a notary. To reassure the lender, though, the cosigners should ideally not be the borrower's relatives. If financial misfortunes caused the borrower to default, relatives would in all likelihood face similar difficulties, and recovering anything from the assets they could offer as collateral would be equally uncertain. Cosigning of this sort has been important at other times and in other places, but it did not play a significant role in eighteenth-century Paris. That at least is what one can infer from a small but telling sample of eighty-four contracts—all from 1761—for which we collected details about cosigners and collateral. The sample consisted of all debt contracts from the following notarial minutes: AN MC, *études* IX, 708, 709, 710, 711; XXI, 420, 421, 422; LXX, 408, 409, 410; LXXVIII, 740, 741, 742, 743; and CXV, 624, 625. Out of the seventy-eight usable contracts in the sample, only two had any cosigners who were unrelated to the borrower. The cosigners here include both guarantors (*cautions*) and co-borrowers (*coemprunteurs*). It was common for loans to be cosigned by wives or other relatives. Some forty of the lenders offered such familial guarantees, usually when a wife joined the loan with her husband. That sort of cosigning was frequent whatever the type or size of the loan, for legal reasons: the wife had to sign the loan if the couple wanted to employ her dowry as collateral. But non-family cosigners—the sort who would make direct information about borrowers less important—were practically nonexistent.

Another way to reassure lenders was to mention specific collateral in the loan. In the same sample, fifty-three of the contracts did mention collateral. In thirty-one, it was described only in vague terms like "sur toute propriété et chose leur appartenant" or "biens, meubles, immeubles, présent et à venir." In another twenty-two, it was described in detail, but those contracts were a third larger than the average loan. The sample thus suggests that information about wealth was particularly important for large loans.

[31] In 1751, some 83 percent of all private loans involving frequent lenders—lenders who made at least ten loans—were drafted by the lender's favorite notary; the figure for lenders who made only two or three loans was 81 percent. The favorite notary was assumed to be the notary who drafted most of

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that the favorite notary matched borrowers and lenders and provided clients with useful advice. To confirm their confidence, the notary would sometimes refer clients to a colleague, but they would come back to him, the notary they trusted. This tale may of course seem a bit abstract, emerging as it does from thousands of dry notarial records, but it is amply confirmed by the rare private records of notaries and by the observations of contemporaries like the writer Mercier.

Clearly, the notaries' actions defy the simplistic contrasts that form the traditional story about credit. The loans the notaries arranged, for instance, were at once personal and impersonal: personal, because they depended on the notary's personal knowledge of the borrowers' and lenders' financial condition, yet impersonal because the borrowers and lenders usually did not know one another. The loans might serve purposes that would traditionally be considered unproductive, such as the purchase of a government office. But they could just as well be for productive uses, provided we do not impose the anachronistic standards of nineteenth-century industrialization: the loans to the Orléans family that funded development of the Palais Royal or those—admittedly to an arm of the state—that financed canals in Burgundy. Both were assembled by the Parisian notaries, and both would qualify as investment today.[32] And the productive investments were not limited to the canals or to the Palais Royal. Indeed, we estimate that during the last two decades of the Old Regime notarial loans paid for at least 12 million livres a year in additions to the stock of capital goods. At that rate, Parisians were devoting perhaps 5 percent of their after-tax income to investment. And while we cannot tell precisely what capital goods the notaries were financing, many of their loans probably underwrote building construction in late eighteenth-century Paris.[33]

the individual's loan contracts. The results were similar for borrowers, and regressions confirm that borrowers and lenders tended to return to the same notary as the number of their loans rose.

[32] *Nouvelle histoire de Paris*: Jean Chagniot, *Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1988), 266–68; Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King: Philippe, Duke of Orléans* (Baltimore, Md., 1989), 185–87, 195; Françoise Bercé, Lizzie Boubli, and Franck Folliot, *Le Palais-Royal* (Paris, 1988), 154; Mark Potter and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Politics and Public Finance in France: Evidence from the Estates of Burgundy, 1660–1790," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28 (Spring 1997): 577–612.

[33] Between 1770 and 1789, net private indebtedness in Paris climbed 533 million livres, or 28 million a year. Some of this may have simply offset higher prices for the goods that the loans were used to purchase, such as buildings, land, education, and government offices. That would be the case if borrowers were simply taking out loans to buy the same old buildings but were paying higher prices than previous owners. The portion of the 28 million a year that actually went for such price appreciation was probably less than the average level of indebtedness in the years 1770–1789 (781 million livres) multiplied by the rate at which the price of buildings and land in and near Paris was appreciating. Although we lack usable figures for such prices, we can use the cost of renting the land and buildings instead, so long as price appreciation and interest rates do not vary much. There are series of rental prices for Parisian apartments and for farm land in the Paris Basin, and the one that gives the greatest increase in rental prices is the farm rent. See Table 1, column 3, of Philip T. Hoffman, "Land Rents and Agricultural Productivity: The Paris Basin, 1450–1789," *Journal of Economic History* 51 (December 1991): 771–80. It grows by 1.7 percent a year between 1770 and 1789, yielding price appreciation of 0.017 times 781, or just over 13 million a year.

That leaves a bit under 15 million a year for buying additional goods, but some of this remainder may have paid for the purchase of government offices or gone to financiers, who reloaned the money to the government. We can arrive at an upper bound on how much by asking what fraction of private loans went to bankers, financiers, *officiers*, or their wives, for they were the private borrowers most likely either to relend to the government or to purchase offices. Our detailed sample of loans in 1780 described in note 28 suggests that less than a sixth of the private loan funds were passing to the government via this indirect route. If the same was true of our 15 million a year remainder, there would

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Finally, there is the notaries' astonishing success at mobilizing capital, which represents yet another break with the traditional story. The notaries, after all, were not the stockbrokers or investment bankers that the traditional story calls for. Yet they mobilized an enormous amount of capital and did so under the Old Regime, long before there was any drastic economic transition in France. True, the French economy was growing in the eighteenth century. Commerce and industry were expanding, and although recent research suggests that French agricultural output as a whole barely kept pace with the population, farming did thrive in the Paris Basin. And if we can trust the shaky figures, it seems that French per-capita income, while lower than in England, was at least increasing at roughly the same rate as across the Channel.[34] For all the signs of growth in eighteenth-century France, however, the country had still not experienced any of the radical structural changes that usually accompany an economic transition. Urbanization languished, and the fraction of the population toiling in agriculture (rather than in manufactures) did not drop. The story would remain the same throughout much of the nineteenth century: incomes would continue to rise but without any "trace of an 'industrial revolution.'"[35]

still be 12 million a year to finance private capital goods such as education, urban real estate, and rural property. That is 5 percent of Lavoisier's estimate for after-tax income of Paris at the end of the Old Regime (230 million livres a year): Antoine Lavoisier, *Oeuvres de Lavoisier*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1864–93), 6: 437–39.

Unfortunately, the notarial contracts rarely reveal the purpose of a loan. It is unlikely that much of the money paid for farm land or country estates, because most of the choice rural holdings near Paris had been bought up long ago. Purchases of that sort were much more common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the tax regime and the threat of monetary manipulation favored investment in rural property: Philip T. Hoffman, "Taxes and Agrarian Life in Early Modern France: Land Sales, 1550–1730," *Journal of Economic History* 46 (March 1986): 37–55. In all likelihood, the bulk of the new acquisitions were made in Paris, and most were no doubt urban real estate—in particular, the numerous buildings constructed by Parisian developers in the second half of the eighteenth century. For more evidence, see our forthcoming *Priceless Markets*.

[34] The best overview of the abundant literature here is George Grantham, "The French Cliometric Revolution: A Survey of Cliometric Contributions to French Economic History," *European Review of Economic History* 1 (December 1997): 353–405. Key works for industry, commerce, and the economy as a whole include Tihomir J. Markovitch, *Les industries lainières de Colbert à la Révolution* (Geneva, 1976); Patrick O'Brien and Caglar Keyder, *Economic Growth in Britain and France 1780–1914: Two Paths to the Twentieth Century* (London, 1978); and François Crouzet, *De la supériorité de l'Angleterre sur la France: L'économique et l'imaginaire XVII^{e}–XX^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1985), 22–89, which updates an article from 1966 and surveys subsequent literature. Eighteenth-century agriculture has been the subject of a lengthy debate pitting Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie against Michel Morineau. Le Roy Ladurie believes in agricultural growth in the eighteenth century; for a succinct statement of his views, see *The French Peasantry, 1450–1660*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 401–19. Morineau argues the contrary, most notably in *Les faux-semblants d'un démarrage économique: Agriculture et démographie en France au XVIII^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1971). More recently, Hoffman, *Growth in a Traditional Society*, 81–142, has used very different evidence to conclude that French agriculture as a whole did not undergo a revolution in the eighteenth century and that the food supply barely kept pace with the population. Despite this somewhat gloomy verdict for the country as a whole, growth was possible in particular regions, notably in the Paris Basin. For a detailed account of how growth was achieved on farms near Paris, see Jean-Marc Moriceau and Gilles Postel-Vinay, *Ferme, entreprise, famille: Grande exploitation et changements agricoles; Les Chartier, XVII^{e}–XIX^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1992).

[35] Jean-Charles Asselain, *Histoire économique de la France du XVIII^{e} siècle à nos jours*, Vol. 1: *De l'Ancien Régime à la Première Guerre mondiale* (Paris, 1984), 93–97; Grantham, "French Cliometric Revolution," 376–78; Philip Benedict, "Was the Eighteenth Century an Era of Urbanization in France?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 21 (Autumn 1990): 179–215; O'Brien and Keyder, *Economic Growth in Britain and France*. The quotation is from Grantham, 376.

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The combination of growth without structural change in France has led some economic historians to question the very idea of a drastic transition to modernity, an idea that lies at the heart of the traditional story.[36] Here, we can only agree. In response, one might claim that France would have experienced such a transition, had the French Revolution not disrupted the economy. In support of such an argument, one could cite the harm that the revolution did to commerce and agriculture or invoke the damage done to notarial credit by the revolutionary hyperinflation.[37] Still, it is hard to imagine that French economic growth would have been wildly different from what it was in the nineteenth century—namely, growth without a transition. And even if one could conceive of such a transition in a make-believe world without a French Revolution, it would still be impossible to fit the notaries into the traditional story, for they did not raise capital through investment banks or the stock market.

What allowed the notaries to mobilize their capital—an enormous amount even by the standards of the nineteenth century—was their knowledge of their clients. It was thanks to this knowledge that they pushed lending far beyond what personal ties between borrowers and lenders would have permitted, especially in a big city like Paris. The notaries thus solved the problem of matching borrowers and lenders, but the solution they provided was far from unique. Banks eventually did the same thing, though in a very different way. Taking investors' money in on short-term deposit, they pooled it and lent it out. The pooling spread the risk among the investors and, in addition, gave them the advantage of a liquid, short-term investment. Elsewhere, the solution of personal ties and repeated dealings had to suffice. That might be the case not just in a small, early modern village but in the modern junk bond or venture capital market as well, for the survival of personal ties in a financial market depends on the sources of information about borrowers, not on the failure of some capitalist transition.

If the notaries' solution was therefore not unique, neither was it optimal. Although it was surely an improvement on personal ties, the notaries might have done better had they imitated banks, taking lenders' money on deposit and then lending the pooled deposits as they found trustworthy borrowers. Yet here, they confronted a formidable barrier in the long-term loans that were their specialty. Making long-term loans while owing short-term deposits was a treacherous undertaking, which even the nineteenth century had difficulty mastering. When

[36] Grantham, "French Cliometric Revolution," 376–78, writes of a "paradox" of eighteenth and nineteenth-century economic growth in France; that is, the French economy grew as fast as England's even though France never experienced a "traumatic passage from tradition to modernity." For Grantham, this paradox throws "into question the whole modernization paradigm that Kuznets, Gerschenkron, and most other economic historians had taken from the Germanic stages approach to economic development." Similarly, in *Economic Growth in Britain and France*, 179, O'Brien and Keyder use French evidence to cast doubt on Marxist and other "stage" theories of economic history.

[37] For the tantalizing story of how revolutionary inflation destroyed notarial credit—a story so evident in Figure 1—see our forthcoming *Priceless Markets*. It also explains the takeoff in borrowing after 1860, when banks were fully established. For the damage that the revolution did to commerce and agriculture, see Crouzet, *De la supériorité de l'Angleterre sur la France*, 280–98; T. J. A. Le Goff and D. M. G. Sutherland, "The Revolution and the Rural Economy," in *Reshaping France: Town, Country, and Region during the French Revolution*, Alan Forrest and Peter Jones, eds. (Manchester, 1991), 52–85; Hoffman, *Growth in a Traditional Society*, 193–98; and Gilles Postel-Vinay, "A la recherche de la révolution économique dans les campagnes (1789–1815)," *Revue économique* 40 (November 1989): 1015–46.

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Parisian notaries seemed to be dabbling with such a risky strategy in the late eighteenth century, the government, no doubt aroused by the risk of bankruptcy, cracked down and threatened the notaries with draconian penalties unless they stopped taking money on deposit. Some deposits surely continued, but the threat of punishment kept the notaries acting primarily as brokers rather than letting them develop into full-fledged investment bankers. They knew that if they went bankrupt, they might even be put to death.[38]

Most other eighteenth-century lenders who accepted short-term deposits—bankers and London goldsmiths, for instance—prudently limited themselves to the much safer business of making short-term mercantile loans, but it would have been difficult for the notaries to adopt a similar strategy and shift the bulk of their business to short-term lending.[39] In the first place, they lacked the skills needed to prosper in short-term credit, which by and large financed trade. What the notaries knew how to do—cautiously screening potential long-term borrowers before a loan was made and carefully assessing the real estate that they pledged as collateral—mattered little in the short-term arena, where screening took too long and merchandise, not real estate, served as collateral. Worse yet, even their ability to draft legally binding contracts and furnish authentic copies was of little use with short-term commercial lending. The merchant who was the typical party to a short-term loan had no need of authentic copies: since at least 1673, his books alone sufficed.[40]

The Parisian notaries were thus stuck in the role of brokers. But the loans they arranged were noteworthy for a variety of reasons. Although Swiss bankers such as Jacques Necker or the members of the Mallet family receive all the attention, the notaries raised great sums for the crown as well as for private parties, and they bore much of the responsibility for the widening ownership of government debt. By the end of the Old Regime, each of the city's 113 notaries was selling over half a million a year in new state *rentes*, and government loans peddled by the Parisian notaries represented at least half of what the crown owed. The Parisian notaries marketed government debt to investors in the provinces, and at the same time they were essentially the only conduit that allowed the provincial Estates to tap the extraordinary wealth of Paris when borrowing.[41] For most investors, it was in fact the notaries' expertise alone that could clear a path through the confusing thicket of government debt—none of it safe, little of it liquid, and some of it far riskier than

[38] Archives de la Chambre des Notaires de Paris, carton 46 (1756 and 1764).

[39] Scriveners in late seventeenth-century London were the major exception, for they did manage to take money on deposit and simultaneously act as principals in making long-term loans. For the most successful, see Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton*. It should be stressed, though, that even the scriveners like Clayton devoted considerable time to being brokers of loans rather than bankers.

[40] Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 18: 89–107; J. P. Hirsch, *Les deux rêves du commerce: Entreprise et institutions dans la région lilloise* (Paris, 1991), 92–96. The notaries did extend shorter term bridge loans to clients undertaking large purchases, as in the 1750s when Voyer d'Argenson bought a 500,000-livre government office. The bridge loans were *obligations* that were transformed into *rentes* once long-term lenders were found. But they were still not the bulk of the notary's business, and their duration was longer than many mercantile loans. For d'Argenson, see AN MC, *étude* CXV (1751–52).

[41] Philip Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Economie et politique: Les marchés du crédit à Paris, 1750–1840," *Annales: Histoire, sciences sociales* 49 (January–February 1994): 65–98; AD, Côte d'Or C 4565 (September 15, 1742); Potter and Rosenthal, "Politics and Public Finance in France."

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the rest. In 1750, for example, the religious community of the Filles de la Croix in Saint-Quentin sent notary Simon Hurtrelle a bill of exchange (*lettre de change*) for 15,300 livres and asked him to place it in "government *rentes* issued by the Paris City Hall or whatever other government loans would be best and protect our money." As a religious house, the nuns could not invest in private *rentes*, but they were worried that certain government *rentes* might be exposed to default. Suitable new government loans were apparently not available, and so they asked Hurtrelle to find someone willing to part with an older loan. They hoped that his expertise would yield them a safe investment and more revenue than they could obtain outside Paris—an important consideration, they noted, for a religious house with a meager endowment.[42]

By offering advice and by arranging purchases and sales, the notary helped investors to adjust their portfolios and get precisely the sort of assets they wanted. Of the investors who thereby profited, a sizable fraction were independent women who had escaped the financial control of a husband or father. They included nuns, such as the sisters from Saint-Quentin; wealthy widows, such as Comtesse Charlotte Elisabeth de Vienne, who made more than half a dozen investments in private loans and in government debt in Paris and Dijon; and finally women who had spurned marriage to carve out a place for themselves in the world, such as the courtesan Ninon de Lenclos, who turned for financial counsel to her own notary and to Voltaire's father, a former notary himself.[43] As a group, they constituted an important class of creditors. Samples of notarial records suggest that perhaps 23 percent of all lenders in the long-term private credit market were such independent women. They were over three times as likely to be creditors as debtors, and they lent nearly three times as much money as they borrowed.[44] Advancing funds to the state, to married couples, and to single males, they relied on the earnings from their long-term loans to preserve their independence. Their choice was a wise one, for other investments would have certainly yielded a much more grudging return. Land required considerable supervision, as did short-term consumer or mercantile loans. Furthermore, because mercantile credit usually involved parties who traded frequently with one another, it was beyond the reach of most women, except merchants' widows or perhaps their daughters.[45] For independent women, life without a notary would have been pinched.

The elderly and middle aged also benefited from the notary's services. They, too,

[42] AN, Y 18581, piece 6 (November 21, 1760).

[43] For Elisabeth Charlotte de Vienne, see AN MC, *étude* CXV, 519 (January 1740 life annuity contract for 4,000 livres), 520 (April 1740 *rente* contract for 60,000 livres), 589 (January 1751 *quittance* for 8,250 livres and two *quittances* in April 1751 for 40,000 livres for two *rentes* dating from 1737); AD, Côte d'Or, C 4588 (January 1742 loan of 26,000 livres to the Estate of Burgundy). For Ninon de Lanclos, see Emile Magne, *Ninon de Lanclos*, 3d edn. (Paris, 1927), 193. We wish to thank Kathryn Norberg for this reference.

[44] Hoffman, Postel-Vinay, and Rosenthal, "Private Credit Markets in Paris, 1690–1840."

[45] For the tasks involved in being a landlord, see Hoffman, *Growth in a Traditional Society*, chap. 3. Women were rarely involved in commercial credit. For evidence, see, for example, Laurence Fontaine, "Espaces, usages et dynamique de la dette dans les hautes vallées dauphinoises (XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles)," *Annales: Histoire, sciences sociales* 49 (November–December 1994): 1387; or Ulrich Pfister, "Le petit crédit rural en Suisse au XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles," *Annales: Histoire, sciences sociales* 49 (November–December 1994): 1339–57. For a survey of the other investment opportunities available to women in late medieval and early modern Europe, see Jordan, *Women and Credit*, 58–78.

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figured prominently among the long-term market's investors. Lenders were on average far older than borrowers, for reasons linked to what economists would call the life cycle—the simple fact that, among the affluent in eighteenth-century Paris, incomes rose with age.[46] As they grew older, merchants took over family businesses, young nobles acceded to offices, and men and women alike inherited property. The middle aged and the elderly thus had money to lend, while the young, for various reasons, needed to borrow: to purchase a government office, construct a glorious new residence, or pay what was due their siblings in order to settle their parents' estate. Large expenses of that sort were confronted early in a career, before a person had amassed much in the way of liquid savings. The only answer was to borrow, but lenders with the necessary liquid assets might be lacking within the family. Hence the recourse to the notary. As for the investors who furnished the funds, the notary could steer them to precisely the sort of loan that suited their situation. Those with fewer concerns about heirs, such as unmarried women, might want simply to ensure themselves a comfortable old age. They might well prefer one of the government's life annuities, which would maximize their income in retirement. Those with children, on the other hand, would have to consider the size of the estate that they would pass on to their families. For them, the perpetual annuity would seem best, and the records in fact suggest that the notaries acted accordingly, buying life annuities for the childless and perpetuals for investors with families.[47]

The notaries conveyed information to lenders and borrowers alike. They were an unnoticed conduit of information, alongside the more visible cafés, salons, bookshops, and street corners. Unlike the somewhat amorphous public opinion pursued by some historians, the information offered by the notaries was quite precise. By and large, it concerned financial dealings, especially the loans that the notaries arranged, and it was directed to the affluent and circumscribed audience of the notary's clients.[48] Much of it concerned private credit, but some of the information could conceivably have had considerable political importance in an era of government financial crises. The notaries, after all, were brokers of government debt and members of a larger financial community. If they had been scared away from a government loan by bankers or government officials and had advised their clients not to invest, the government would have been hard pressed to raise its money.

In any case, what is clear is that the notaries did an admirable job of financial intermediation. They were certainly not perfect, since some actors managed to take advantage of the credit system despite the notaries' best efforts. There were borrowers who duped lenders and defaulted despite the notaries' screening, and even an occasional notary who cheated his clients, such as Simon Hurtrelle. But competition kept most notaries honest and efficient and allowed the long-term financial market to prosper. Each notary knew that colleagues stood ready with the requisite information to serve his dissatisfied clients. The threat of losing the

[46] Hoffman, Rosenthal, and Postel-Vinay, "Private Credit Markets in Paris," 300.

[47] See Philip T. Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "What Do Notaries Do: The Social Dimensions of Credit in Eighteenth Century Paris," paper delivered at the National Bureau of Economic Research Franco-American Conference (July 15–16, 1993). Since they were net lenders, both women and the elderly ended up as victims of the Law Affair and the revolutionary inflation.

[48] For an economic model of how information flowed between notaries and their clients, see Hoffman, Postel-Vinay, and Rosenthal, "What Do Notaries Do?" (journal article).

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clients' business spurred competition and pushed the notaries to offer their services far and wide. They assisted investors, such as independent women, who might otherwise have been excluded from financial dealings, and their advice gave the older investors the precise portfolios they wanted.[49] They were not banks, just brokers, but they mobilized enormous amounts of capital: indeed, they arranged more long-term private loans in the waning days of the Old Regime than banks and the stock market would in the middle of the nineteenth century.

WHAT LESSONS, THEN, DOES THE HISTORY of the Parisian notaries teach? The first is that the traditional method of studying pre-modern financial dealings obstructs our historical vision. The traditional story blinds us to the enduring problems posed by credit. It also keeps us from viewing those problems through the eyes of the economist. To be sure, the culture of early modern Paris was different, as were Old Regime institutions. But the problems in early modern finance often turn out to be the same as in the modern world, and when trained upon them, the economists' lenses—the life cycle and, above all else, the theory of information—make many things come into clear view.

Here, our reflex as historians might simply be to spurn economic theory as anachronistic, but doing so just widens the gap between economic history and cultural history—one of the many sad fissures in Clio's face. What we lose are a number of fruitful opportunities for interdisciplinary scholarship. Working together, economic and cultural historians of early modern Paris could—and should—investigate the relationship between the reputation made by the notary and that fashioned in the salon or on the street corner. Or they could analyze the effect notaries had on public opinion of state finance. Colleagues in other fields of history could do the same, by pursuing the questions raised by the economics of information. Did information in financial dealings flow among kin, neighbors, or professional colleagues? Was it transmitted by ties of clientage or by repeated dealings that wove bonds of trust? Or did it pass via the sort of decentralized network that the Parisian notaries created?

Eighteenth-century Paris teaches another lesson as well: that historians ought to free themselves from the traditional chronology of financial development—in particular, the belief in the necessity of a drastic economic transition. No matter how appealing it seems, the concept of a transition does an injustice to the history of early modern Europe. In the case of the notaries, it has kept scores of historians from appreciating the notaries' role as brokers of long-term credit. By imposing anachronistic notions from the history of nineteenth-century capitalism, it has prevented us from realizing what the notaries did and how much financial capital they mustered. It has also blurred the contrast between early modern Europe and contemporary Third World countries, for at bottom, the traditional story assumes all pre-modern societies are alike. Early modern Europe, however, was not the modern Third World. Indeed, it was so much unlike the Third World that we can

[49] If affluent women could readily lend, it is true that they still had difficulty borrowing. The blame, however, lay not with the notaries but with a society that limited their unfettered access to property.

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revive the old-fashioned question of Europe's early economic success and ask what Europe's early prosperity had to do with financial markets. One notable difference was that early modern Europe was relatively wealthy by the standards of the very poorest countries today. Europe's problem may thus have been less that of creating financial capital than of mobilizing it and of putting it to productive use—problems that, in Europe at least, persisted well into the nineteenth century.

Appendix

The *rentes* and *obligations* arranged by the Paris notaries lie scattered among the other acts that they drafted, unindexed except for a chronological list (*répertoire*) that each notary maintained. The lists, which are available on microfilm at the Archives Nationales, give the date, the type of act, and the parties involved, and there is a separate list for each of the 113 or so notaries active in Paris in any given year during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is difficult therefore to separate out the *rentes* and *obligations*, and because the notaries did so much business—an active one drafted 500 acts a year—reading all the notarial acts is impossible. Sampling is obviously the only practical way to quantify the notaries' financial dealings.

To estimate indebtedness in Paris, we therefore began by choosing ten notaries (actually ten *études*, or notarial businesses), whose borrowing and lending we followed from 1660 to 1869: Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, *études* IX, XXI, XXVII, XLIII, LXII, LXX, LXXVIII, CXI, CXV, and CXVII.[50] Even to read all the loan documents preserved by these ten notaries would be impossible, but we could count the number of *rentes* and *obligations* that each one drafted by using the notaries' chronological lists.[51] The lists also let us distinguish private loans from government loans, and they furnish a count of other acts relevant to lending, such as repayment receipts.

[50] The following description of our samples and estimation procedure is a greatly simplified version of an appendix in our forthcoming book. For a more detailed account already in print, see Hoffman, Postel-Vinay, and Rosenthal, "Long-Term Private Debt in Paris, 1660–1726," 280–82.

[51] Because of missing records, the chronological lists had gaps for some *études*, and in some cases, we had to begin reading the lists shortly after 1660 or stop just before 1869. Two of the *études* (CXV and CXVII) had a second notary associated with the business, and we read the second notary's list as well. The precise dates we covered for each *étude* are: IX, from 1660 to July 1864; XXI, 1662 to November 1705, and June 1722 to 1869; XXVII, August 1695 to August 1867; XLIII, 1664, September 1685 to December 1819, and October 1824 to 1869; LXII, 1660 to April 1670, September 1670 to October 1686, January 1687 to September 1864, July 1868 to 1869; LXX, 1660 to February 1662, June 1683 to 1690, February 1692 to March 1794, September 1794 to 1869; LXXVIII, 1660 to 1661, 1667 to 1869; CXI, 1661 to May 1685, August 1694 to March 1794, October 1794 to 1869; CXV, 1660 to 1869, and for the second notary, 1746 to 1767; CXVII, 1660 to September 1666, January 1670 to August 1677, June 1678 to 1869, and for the second notary, 1660 to February 1744. Because the gaps in the lists were greatest before 1690, we followed two additional *études* for the seventeenth century: XLIX, from 1660 to March 1679, and September 1685 to 1694; and LXXII, 1660 to 1687.

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Thanks to the lists, we have month by month counts of the number of *rentes* and *obligations*, both private and public, for the ten notaries. But lists say nothing about the size of the loans. Estimates of the size we obtained by periodically sampling the records of our ten notaries—roughly every ten or twenty years, with more samples in times of great change, such as the John Law Affair or the French Revolution.[52] The samples gave us an average loan size for each kind of debt (private *rentes perpétuelles*, private *rentes viagères*, private *obligations*, public *rentes perpétuelles*, public *rentes viagères*), which we could then multiply by the relevant number of new loans in a given year to get the volume of new loans for that type. Summing these numbers up yielded the volume of new debt for our ten notaries. The number was of course just an estimate, but its accuracy could be tested in the nineteenth century, when the chronological lists actually gave the amount of each loan and thus allowed us to calculate the exact volume of new debt. It turned out that our estimate never deviated from the exact total by more than 5 percent.

The periodic samples of notarial records also let us estimate the average duration of each type of loan—in other words, the average length of time before it was paid back. A *rente perpétuelle*, for instance, might be perpetual in theory, but in practice it was typically repaid in ten to twenty years. From the counts of repayment receipts, we could also estimate how loan reimbursement rates might fluctuate: they rose, for example, during the inflation of the revolution. Combining the information on durations and reimbursements, we could estimate how much debt was extinguished each year. By adding each year's new loans and subtracting the loans repaid, we end up with indebtedness, at least for our ten notaries.

To extrapolate from these ten notaries to all of Paris, we carefully investigated an additional thirty notaries. We counted the loans that they made and sampled their loan records every twenty-five to thirty years.[53] We assumed that these thirty would be representative of all 113 notaries active in Paris in the eighteenth century, and used measures of their lending business to extrapolate from our ten notaries to the entire Parisian notarial community. We could actually confirm the accuracy of the process of extrapolation in 1751, thanks to the enumeration of all notarial activity for that year.

Although the indebtedness figures are derived from a sample, their accuracy is thus supported by several important tests. They survive sensitivity testing as well:

[52] For the period before 1789, the box of minutes we sampled included all those listed in note 28 plus the following *liasses* from the AN MC. For 1665–1666, we went through all surviving *liasses* for *études* IX, XXI, LXII, and LXXVIII. For 1670, IX 440, 444; LXII, 203; LXXVIII 281, 314; CXVII 75–78; and all the surviving *liasses* for XXVII. For 1682, IX, 471–74; LXII, 225–27; LXVIII, 372–77; and CXVII, 119. For 1690, IX, 504–07; XXI, 274; XLIII, 206–09; LXII, 243–45; LXX, 191; LXXVIII, 413; and CXV, 268. For 1715, IX, 600–02; XLIII, 96–100; LXXVIII, 570–74; and CXV, 360–63. For 1725, IX, 626, 627; XLIII, 351, 352; CXI, 301; and CXVII, 341. For 1788, XLIII, 548; LXII, 647, 648; and LXXVIII, 932, 933.

[53] The relevant years for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are 1670, 1700, 1725, 1751, and 1780. For the particular notaries we used, see our forthcoming *Priceless Markets*.

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varying the loan sizes, durations, and repayment rates within reasonable limits does not really change the shape of the indebtedness curve.

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Rewriting Histories of Nationalism: The Politics of "Moderate Nationalism" in India, 1870–1905

SANJAY SETH

THE PHENOMENA OF NATIONALISM AND THE NATION-STATE are at once general and yet irreducibly particular. It is perfectly meaningful to talk about nationalism and the nation-state "in general," given the ubiquity of these phenomena, yet nationalism is always some*one's* claim that their cultural, religious, linguistic, or other particularity be given political expression in the form of a nation-state. The literature on nationalism displays the same two-fold character as its object. On the one hand, it consists of general studies of the "rise of nationalism" or the "idea of nationalism." In recent times, there have been many such studies, with works by Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, and Benedict Anderson, among others, provoking a stimulating and ongoing debate.[1] On the other hand, there are numerous studies of particular nationalisms. While the general studies tend to be comparative and theoretical, the literature on particular nationalisms tends to be strongly historiographical.

There is, quite naturally, a certain amount of traffic between the two genres. The traffic is much heavier in one direction, however, in that accounts of nationalism in general are necessarily parasitic on accounts of particular nationalisms. This is so not only because not even a Gellner, Hobsbawm, or Anderson can be an expert on every nationalism in the world, and they therefore rely on secondary literature, but more importantly because studies of nationalism-in-general are able to presume their object, because it has been constituted for them in advance by studies of nationalism-in-particular. The struggles with definitions and taxonomies that characterize the more general works obscure the fact that, in a fundamental sense, they are able to take the object of their study for granted; they already "know" what in nineteenth-century China, for example, was part of the rise of Chinese nationalism and what was not, because the historiography of Chinese nationalism has already done the prior work of selecting from the mass of historical events and constituting an object called Chinese nationalism. This can then be placed alongside

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[1] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991). Also, Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain* (London, 1977; 2d, exp. edn., 1981); and John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester, 1982; 2d edn., 1993).

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other nationalisms (for which similar work has been done), for purposes of evaluation, comparison, taxonomy.

It is thus in the writing of history that the work of defining, and constituting, the object "nationalism" occurs. It is the historiography of nationalisms-in-particular that selects, sequences, and emplots, thereby constituting the object "nationalism" at the same moment that it narrativizes it. In so doing, it has first to determine what is part of the story and what is not, that is, which incidents, movements, and parties qualify as part of the history of that nationalism and which do not, which belong to another narrative. The emergence of a middle class is only part of the history of nationalism to the degree that this class thought of itself as belonging to a nation and voiced nationalist demands; otherwise, this "fact" is part of another history (of the middle class, or of capitalism, for instance). Of course, all narratives select, sequence, and emplot; that is how chronicle is transformed into historical narrative. What is in part distinctive about narratives of nationalism is that here the process of constituting a historical narrative lends itself to a certain circularity. The identification/selection of what is part of the story of nationalism necessarily occurs at the level of ideas and consciousness; but this consciousness or sentiment has then to be situated, and is often explained, in terms of the social forms and practices in which it was embodied. To continue the example raised above, it is only when a middle class, or a section of it, raises nationalist demands, organizes or joins political parties or movements that seek a nation-state, and so forth, that all this becomes part of the story of nationalism. In telling this story, narratives of nationalism (because they are historical narratives, wedded to certain notions of explanation and causality) ask "why" this sentiment or idea emerged; they then frequently, and retrospectively as it were, provide a "material" or social explanation for the rise of nationalism precisely in terms of the rise of the middle class.

That such explanations are plausible is partly because to proceed thus is simply to reproduce the historical method, as it is most often practiced, and partly because it accords with our intuitive understanding of this particular historical object. One cannot write the history of nationalism simply as a history of ideas, for nationalism is, more obviously than (say) G. W. F. Hegel's philosophy, anchored in the social and material; mass mobilizations and political parties are not just the "context" that helps us to locate and understand nationalism but the very stuff of it. Nor, we recognize, can we write about nationalism solely in terms of material transformations and impersonal social processes, for nationalism is also about forms of self-understanding, identity, and imagination, as embodied in social practices and in discourse. Thus it seems appropriate to write the history of nationalism as both, and from there it is a small step to establishing a causal relation between them.

It may be that this "small step" is in fact deeply problematic for any sort of history. However, here I do not wish to be drawn into these larger arguments. Sticking to the subject of nationalism, my point is that in the historiography of nationalism it is evident that the object of the narrative is identified in terms of consciousness and the social forms in which this comes to be embodied, and yet that the latter then frequently functions as the explanation for the rise of and character of the former. It is this form of explanation, characteristic of the history of nationalism, that this essay seeks to call into question. It does so not by denying that

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nationalism is both material and discursive, and certainly not by seeking to reverse the causal order, but rather by problematizing the distinction between the social or material and the discursive.

I offer for this purpose an examination of Indian nationalism, more specifically of what in the historiography of Indian nationalism is usually characterized as an early, or beginning, period. I concentrate on early or "moderate" Indian nationalism because its claim to being part of the story of nationalism is already problematic; how it comes to be written into the history of Indian nationalism brings out clearly the principles of selection involved in narrating the history of nationalism and the sort of historical problems this narrative sets itself. This essay, then, offers an alternative or supplementary reading of a period in the history of Indian nationalism and, in so doing, also seeks to problematize the narratives of Indian nationalism. It is an essay in history, as well as on historiography.

MOST ACCOUNTS OF INDIAN NATIONALISM INCLUDE, or begin with, the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century. They do so despite the fact that in the pre-Congress era, as in the early years of the Indian National Congress (INC), the goal of Indian nationalists fell well short of full national independence, and the methods they employed in pursuit of their goals included neither mass mobilization nor the extra-constitutionalist methods that were later to be characteristic of the Congress. Why this should qualify as part of the story of Indian nationalism at all is, therefore, itself a question. Part of the answer is simply that for many historical accounts the history of Indian nationalism is synonymous with the history of the Indian National Congress, and therefore all activities associated with the Congress form part of the history of nationalism. This is either taken to be so self-evident as to require no argumentation, or else the equation is justified by the claim that the Congress was the first body organized on an all-India scale, and that sought to speak for Indians, rather than (as with earlier organizations) Bengalis, landholders, Hindus, or Muslims, or their caste brethren.[2]

For histories for which nationalism in India is the vehicle for the arrival of the modern—and there are many such—the early period of the Congress belongs to the history of nationalism because, even if it was rather half-heartedly nationalist, it was nonetheless part of the story of the modern. This is particularly, though not exclusively, true of Marxist and left-liberal accounts. Thus in the communist R. Palme Dutt's influential book of 1940, *India To-Day*, for the early Indian bourgeoisie that provided the leadership of the early Congress, "The main enemy was not British rule as such, but the backwardness of the people, the lack of modern development of the country, the strength of the forces of obscurantism and ignorance"; and thus despite the limitations of their nationalism, "they represented at that time the most progressive force in Indian society."[3] For the same reason, the

[2] For a recent example, see B. N. Pande, gen. ed., *A Centenary History of the Indian National Congress (1885–1985)*, 4 vols. (New Delhi, 1985), vol. 1, especially the "Foreword" by the then prime minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi.

[3] R. Palme Dutt, *India To-Day* (London, 1940), 288, 289. Earlier, one of the first Indian Marxists, M. N. Roy, had delivered a similar judgment. "The fathers of Indian nationalism could be called rather

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"patriotic princes" and suchlike, those who were also critical of the British administration of India but who came to be seen as part of the pre-modern past that nationalism was to sweep away, do not generally find an honorable place in such narratives.

Therefore, either because they were part of the Congress, or because they were part of the story of the emergence of the modern in India, the early leaders of the Congress find a place—often as the beginning of nationalism—in most accounts of Indian nationalism. However, the description of the various activities directed at securing political and economic reform in the period 1870–1905 as "nationalist" is frequently qualified; usually, this is designated as the period of "moderate nationalism."

The term "moderate" is used in one of three ways. It can signify the historians' adoption of a term commonly used at the time. Rendered in uppercase, "Moderate" serves to distinguish and contrast this nationalism from its "Extremist" competitor and critic. A second use of the term occurs where what is being stressed is the ambiguous or two-sided nature of the phenomenon—that it was nationalist but in a very qualified fashion, because its demands were modest and were accompanied by loyalty to crown and empire. Almost all uses of the phrase "moderate nationalism" fall into this category, although they may fall into the other categories as well.

A third use is one that incorporates the second, but where additionally this "ambiguity" is seen as a "lack," as incompleteness. Since "lack" is a relative term implying a contrasting notion of plenitude, and incompleteness is measured against completion, this occurs when moderate nationalism has been inserted into a narrative that has a conception of a fuller, more complete nationalism as its culminating point. Here, very frequently, all three meanings or uses of the term are invoked: moderate nationalism is contrasted to extremist nationalism, a contrast that highlights the ambiguous or qualified nature of this nationalism; and this ambiguity is interpreted as a lack, an incompleteness that is later overcome. In constituting its object, "Moderate Nationalism," in this way, historiography also defines its own task in relation to it, namely, to explain the reasons for the incompleteness of moderate nationalism.

For nationalist histories of Indian nationalism, with their built-in teleology in which all roads lead inexorably to the climax of 1947, the task is easy. The rise and triumph of Indian nationalism being equally inevitable, the period between these is presented as a period of natural growth and development—the different "moments" in the self-unfolding of Nationalism-as-Spirit. Thus the "moderation" of moderate nationalism is construed as a sign of beginnings, of an immaturity destined to be transcended. This is often rendered metaphorically—moderate nationalism was a "base" on which subsequent foundations were laid; it was the childhood of a nationalism that later grew to maturity (although, in a curious mixing

constitutional democrats and reformers than nationalists"; the reason they nonetheless qualified as fathers of nationalism was because they rebelled against "social conservatism and religious superstition." Roy, *India in Transition* (1922; rpt. edn., Bombay, 1971), 168, 174. For a discussion of Roy's analyses of Indian nationalism, see Sanjay Seth, *Marxist Theory and Nationalist Politics: The Case of Colonial India* (New Delhi, 1995), chap. 3.

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of metaphors, the leaders of the period of childhood appear as the "founding fathers"); or it was the "seed time" of Indian nationalism. Whether the metaphors are architectonic, organic, or botanical, they serve to make the same point: it was inevitable that at first nationalism would be moderate, just as it was equally inevitable that eventually it would be full-blooded and adequate to its historical task.[4]

Dominating the field is a more serious historiography. This developed partly in response to the perceived "idealist" bias and teleology of much nationalist historiography, and partly under the influence of diverse intellectual currents, most notably Marxist historiography. This employs the same narrative structure, in which the history of nationalism is divided into phases or stages, although here there is scope for retrogression, rather than an ever-forward movement. It is also more catholic in its account of Indian nationalism—not only the Congress but peasants, workers, and others figure prominently in it, and as a result nationalism appears not as a singular object but as interlacing and sometimes competing trends. Most important, this historiography does not treat the "rise and growth" of nationalism as inevitable and immanent. The rejection of immanence leads to a search for historical explanations for the rise of nationalism, for the internal conflicts and stages or phases that characterized it, and for the transitions between these "phases." What characterizes this historiography, diverse as it is in other respects, is that such explanation is sought in "the social"—as in Akshayakumar Ramanlal Desai's *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, a landmark in the development of such a perspective, which first appeared in 1948.[5]

In the case of moderate nationalism, for instance, sociological factors are sought as the explanation for the rise of this nationalism, and also for its ideological moderation. Even what are essentially nationalist histories feel the necessity to make a gesture in this direction. Tara Chand's monumental *History of the Freedom Struggle in India*, acknowledging the "weakness" and the "mimetic" character of early Indian nationalism, ascribes this to the social conditions of the time; "Meanwhile," he adds, "socio-economic developments were on their way to prepare the ground for the final stage in the struggle for independence."[6] Here, the immanence is embedded in the social, which "prepares the way" for later radicalism. The connection between the discursive and non-discursive has sometimes been posited in a very direct form, as when R. P. Dutt wrote of the early Congress. "The moderation of these demands correctly reflected the position of the early Indian bourgeoisie."[7] A less polemically "materialist" (and more sophisticated) historiography has suggested more mediated connections—for instance, that the "alienation" of the nationalist elite from the people, due to the former's class

[4] See, for instance, Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, 2d edn., 2 vols. (Bombay, 1946), 1: 60, 61; Bipan Chandra, *et al.*, *India's Struggle for Independence, 1857–1947* (New Delhi, 1988), 100–01; S. R. Singh, "Moderates and Extremists: The Congress till the Surat Split," in Pande, *Centenary History of the Indian National Congress*, 1: 116.

[5] A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, 3d edn. (Bombay, 1959).

[6] Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, 4 vols. (Delhi, 1961–72), 2: vi.

[7] Dutt, *India To-Day*, 287. Similarly Desai: "The intelligentsia, the upper stratum of the educated classes, and the commercial bourgeoisie . . . formed the main social basis of the Indian National Congress at its inception. The programme of the Congress . . . reflected the interests of these groups of Indian society." *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, 298.

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privilege and immersion in the urban, colonial world of law courts, universities, and the professions, prevented them from speaking in a more culturally self-confident and politically assertive manner.[8]

As the diversity of these examples indicate, I am placing under the same rubric what in other and important respects are quite different forms of history writing—Marxist and non-Marxist, avowedly social history and political history, and so on. What they do have in common, however, is that they construct the field of the historiography of nationalism in the same way: the rejection of explanation in terms of immanence leads to the search for material or social factors, seen as "external" to nationalist discourse, as explanations for the character and development of nationalist discourse. The object of explanation, nationalism, is defined and constituted in terms of its discourse, and necessarily so, as has been argued above; but the "understanding" of this phenomenon then works backward to find the origins and causes of it in the social. Historical explanation thus consists of recovering a social cause and showing how it operated to shape an ideological "consequence."

Below, I offer a different reading of Moderate Nationalism, in part by departing from the methodological procedures that, I have suggested, underpin the historiography of Indian nationalism. As a first step, I identify the key elements of moderate nationalism; the individual elements that collectively constituted the discourse of Moderate Nationalism, and constituted it as "moderate."

FIRST OF ALL, this was a nationalism that raised very modest demands. The main demands articulated at the annual sessions of the Congress in its early years had to do with expanding the powers of the Provincial and Central Councils and introducing elected members into them, holding the civil service examination in India as well as England, separating the judicial and executive functions, extension of trial by jury to areas not covered by this, reduction of the increasing burden of the "Home Charges" (particularly those charges debited to India that arose out of British military adventures), income tax reform, opposition to increases in the salt tax, extension of Permanent Settlement, reform of the police, and repeal of forest laws. The issue of "poverty" was central to the concerns of the Congress, and resolutions to do with it generally expressed concern at the dimension of the problem and advocated measures—Permanent Settlement, Indianization of the civil service, reduction in Home Charges, the introduction of responsible government—that either by reducing the colonial drain of wealth or facilitating industrial development would alleviate the problem.

In general, this nationalism sought reform of the bureaucracy that ruled India, the key elements in such reform being Indianization of the Indian civil service and the introduction of some measure of responsible government. Surendranath Banerjea, two-time president of the INC and frequently the one to move resolutions on the twin issues of civil service reform and responsible government, explained in his autobiography that he felt that these "lay at the root of all other Indian

[8] See, for instance, Sumit Sarkar's splendid *Modern India 1885–1947* (Delhi, 1983), 91–92.

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problems, and their satisfactory settlement would mean the solution of them all."[9] In particular, it was argued that such administrative/political reforms were the key to economic improvement. Dadabhai Naoroji, three-time INC president in 1895 and the energetic propagator of the theory that England was "draining" India of wealth, told the Congress that Indianization of the civil service "will go far to settle the problem of the poverty of the Indian people."[10] In a similar vein, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, INC president in 1905, declared, "It is with me a firm conviction that unless you have a more effective and more potent voice in the government of your own country, in the administration of your own affairs, in the expenditure of your own revenues, it is not possible for you to effect much in the way of industrial development."[11] Such a link was asserted by the Congress as a body from the beginning; its first resolution on the question of poverty, adopted at its 1886 session, immediately went on "to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove to be one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people."[12]

Such goals were modest enough. They were "nationalist" almost by default, inasmuch as the petitioners were Indian and the petitioned British. Leading Moderates frequently referred to the 1833 Government of India Act and the royal proclamation of 1858—both of which had stated that natives would not be debarred from holding office in the bureaucracy that governed India—professing to desire nothing more than what was promised in those documents but had not in fact been granted.[13] The Congress did imply that, some time in the future, India would be ready for self-government. This was not very radical an expectation, for the idea that the British were "preparing" Indians for eventual self-government was gaining some strength even in official circles, especially since William Gladstone's return as prime minister in 1880 and Lord Ripon's viceroyalty.[14] But all the Moderate leaders agreed that for the moment this was impractical, and what the Congress sought was much less. As Banerjea put it at the fourth annual session of the INC, at Allahabad, "The people of India are, at present, neither asking for, nor thinking of, representative government, but what they do insist on is, that an appreciable portion of the advisers of Government should be their elected representatives."[15]

Second, the means by which such goals were pursued were also exceedingly moderate. Indeed, it was this above all else that led to sharp criticism and charges of "mendicancy." The Moderate leaders prided themselves on, and reiterated at every opportunity, the gradualist and constitutionalist nature of their political activity. When the Congress adopted its first (short-lived) constitution in 1899, this

[9] Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making: Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life* (1925; rpt. edn., Bombay, 1963), 126.

[10] Banerjea, *Nation in Making*, 17.

[11] "Our Political Situation" (public address, Madras, July 25, 1904), in *Speeches and Writings of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, D. G. Karve and D. V. Ambekar, eds., 3 vols. (London, 1966), 2: 178.

[12] A. Moin Zaidi and Shaheeda Zaidi, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress* (New Delhi, 1976–), 1: 138.

[13] Daniel Argov points out that, until 1908, all Congress reports had a cover sheet consisting of quotes from these acts and from British officials, under the title "Some of England's Pledges to India." Argov, *Moderates and Extremists in the Indian Nationalist Movement, 1883–1920* (Bombay, 1967), 39 (the cover sheet is reproduced on 38).

[14] See Sarvepalli Gopal, *British Policy in India, 1858–1905* (Cambridge, 1965), 144 and following.

[15] Zaidi, *Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, 1: 249.

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declared, "The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by constitutional means the interests and well-being of the people of the Indian Empire," and the provincial units of the Congress were to engage in political activity "on the lines of general appreciation of British rule and of constitutional action for the removal of its defects."[16]

Thus Congress resolutions opposing government action or inaction would not "condemn" but rather "regret"; and resolutions proposing some course of action or remedy to the government would not "demand" but rather "suggest" or, at the most, "urge." More generally, the style of functioning of Moderate Nationalism was one that some came to find lacking in self-respect—Aurobindo Ghose, one of the early and trenchant "Extremist" critics of the INC, referred to "the general timidity of the Congress, its glossing over of hard names . . . its fear of too deeply displeasing our masters."[17] Moreover, a great deal of Congress activity in the years immediately before and after 1892 (the year Councils reform was enacted by the British parliament) was centered in England and directed at persuading the English. Congress speeches, even when addressed to an Indian audience, seemed to presume a second, English audience.[18] Thus an essential device in this art of persuasion was extensively to quote English and Anglo-Indian officials in support of any argument—in the speeches of many Moderate leaders, such quotes often constituted one-third or more of the text. In 1917, that eminently moderate body the Deccan Sabha, in an address to the secretary of state for India, Edwin Montagu, and the viceroy, Baron Chelmsford, acknowledged "the frequent reproach that Indian politicians are too fond of quotations," and went on to explain why that was so:

> First, that we can never command the weight and authority of your great men; secondly, that neither the strong language nor the stronger arguments used by British Statesmen may be permissible to Indian Politicians; and third that the quotations may enable the statesmen and rulers of the present day to mark the departure from great traditions which we in India have so much reason to regret and to deplore.[19]

In the three sentences of this justification were summed up some of the defining features of the Moderates—the self-abnegation that was to distress many other nationalists, but then, in the second sentence, an admission that this was in part, at least, tactical, and, finally, the strategy underpinning all this revealed—to "hold" the English to their own promises and "traditions."

If modesty of goals and moderation in aims were two factors constitutive of the Moderates' moderation, an active loyalism was a third, and one that underwrote the other two. However, to see this loyalism simply as a contingent "limit" to their nationalism (and hence as something that could later easily be transcended) would be to miss an important aspect of Moderate Nationalism.

Loyalism was, among other things, an important part of the discursive strategy of

[16] Zaidi, *Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, 3: 479.

[17] Aurobindo Ghose, *New Lamps for Old* [1893–94] (Pondicherry, 1974), 11.

[18] Douglas E. Haynes makes the point that, before the advent of a Gandhian style of politics in Surat, "public meetings were means of presenting a cause to the colonial rulers rather than a method of stirring popular enthusiasm." Haynes, *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India: The Shaping of a Public Culture in Surat City, 1852–1928* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 221.

[19] "Address of the Deccan Sabha" [mimeographed, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi], 20.

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Moderate Nationalism. Loyalty was frequently invoked to answer or preempt British accusations of disloyalty. Thus Congress leaders would avow that they were fully conscious of the benefits of British rule, and often proceed to enumerate these. Against the charge that the Congress represented a small and unrepresentative elite that had become disaffected with British rule, Badruddin Tyabji in his 1887 presidential address to the Madras Congress countered that it was this elite that was most conscious of the blessings of British rule: "Who . . . will better appreciate advantages of good roads, railways, telegraphs and post-offices, schools, colleges and universities, hospitals, good laws and impartial courts of justice?—the educated natives or the ignorant peasants of this country?"[20]

At times, this rhetorical mode of establishing fidelity to British rule would assume burlesque forms. It was common for speakers at Congress sessions to point out that they could not but be conscious of the blessings of British rule, as one of these, the railway, had made it possible for them to attend. Naoroji declared that it was thanks to British rule that he could attend "without the least fear that my children might be robbed and killed in my absence."[21]

There was, of course, a "tactical" element to such declamations. Not all Congress leaders were as sanguine about, say, "British justice" in India as their public pronouncements sometimes suggested. All had bitter experiences of European racial arrogance, and there is no doubt that such rhetorical excesses as those quoted above arose, in part, out of a desire to defuse the suspicion and antagonism of an autocratic colonial state that could at any time shut down the operations of the Congress and wreak its revenge upon what it perceived as a disloyal babu elite.

Nonetheless, Moderate leaders did believe in the "providential" nature of British rule, if not in the justice of all particular facets and manifestations of it. After enumerating its various benefits, as above, they would frequently seek to clinch the argument by declaring that they and the INC, far from being sources of sedition, were themselves the product of British rule—shining examples of its virtues, proof of its beneficial effects. As Banerjea put it, in a representative statement, "The National Congress is the outcome of those civilizing influences which Macaulay and his co-adjutors were instrumental in planting in the government of this country."[22] Such loyalism was neither purely tactical, nor was it merely a contingent "limit," the point at which the nationalist imagination faltered and began to peter out. It was rather a constituent element of this nationalism, one of its structuring principles. It did indeed place a limit to criticism, *but it was also the very ground from which criticism became possible*.

Hence the characteristic form, as well as limit, of Moderate Nationalism—it criticized British rule for failing to live up to its own promise. To urge the British to live up to their mission and their promises was part of the function of the INC—as Banerjea told the Pune Congress in 1895, "In this Congress from year to year we ask England to accomplish her glorious work."[23] Naoroji in his magnum opus, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, attacked "un-British" rather than British

[20] "1887 Presidential Address," in A. Moin Zaidi, ed., *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 5 vols. (New Delhi, 1985–89), 1: 44.
[21] "1886 Presidential Address," in Zaidi, *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 1: 25.
[22] "1895 Presidential Address," in Zaidi, *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 1: 223.
[23] "1895 Presidential Address," in Zaidi, *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 1: 286.

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rule, declaring that "a truly British course can and will certainly be vastly beneficent both to Britain and India."[24] In his case as in others, Moderate Nationalists assailed the colonial connection for failing to fulfill its historic mission as the bearer of liberal and "modern" institutions and values in India. British rule had been instrumental in the planting of some modern liberal institutions and values in India, and in the development of an elite class of educated Indians who had imbibed these values. However, Britain was failing to complete its appointed role, as evidenced by its selfish economic and political policies in India, and by its distrust of the very class that it had brought forth.

The fourth characteristic feature of moderate nationalism was an almost obsessive invocation of Indian poverty. It is indeed curious that a privileged elite should have been so preoccupied with the issue. For the last three decades of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth, "poverty" was the biggest stick with which the Congress beat the British. Apart from Naoroji's relentless publicizing of Indian poverty and the "drain of wealth" from India to England,[25] there was a veritable flood of literature investigating the subject. Some of the landmarks in this included P. C. Ray's *The Poverty Problem in India* (1895), William Digby's *"Prosperous" British India* (1901), Romesh Chandra Dutt's *England and India: A Record of Progress during a Hundred Years* (1897), his monumental two-volume *Economic History of India* (1901–03), and Subramanya Iyer's *Some Economic Aspects of British Rule in India* (1903). In the press and in books, in Congress speeches and resolutions, India's poverty and the "drain of wealth" were constantly discussed and the blame laid at Britain's door.

There is no counterpart for such an obsessive concern with poverty in the history of the European bourgeoisie's struggle for power, and thus it is not surprising that this should be seen by some historians as the "immoderate" or radical face of moderate nationalism, or even interpreted, as Bipan Chandra does, as evidence for how a colonial elite, because it too labored under the disadvantages of colonialism, cast its lot with "the people."[26]

Before we accept any such readings, however, we would do well to pause and consider the meaning and significance of this preoccupation with poverty, given that it was not accompanied by any equivalent concern for *the poor*. The evidence on this is overwhelming. With a few exceptions—such as its sympathy for peasant protests at revenue enhancement, which affected the British Indian government rather than Indian landlords (and opposition to which fitted in neatly with the theory of a "drain

[24] Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (London, 1901), v. A few pages later, Naoroji declared (xii–xiii), "My whole object in all my writings is to impress upon the British People, that instead of a disastrous explosion of the British Indian Empire, as must be the result of the present dishonourable un-British system of government, there is a great and glorious future for Britain and India to an extent unconceivable [*sic*] at present, if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to their British instincts of fair play and justice, and will insist upon the faithful and conscientious fulfilment of all their great and solemn promises and pledges."

[25] The economic complaints of the nationalist elite—over excessive taxation, wasteful government expenditures, military adventures paid for by India—were knitted together by Dadabhai Naoroji into a more comprehensive and damning claim, namely that England was enriching itself at the expense of India, via a "drain of wealth." For a good summary and appraisal of Naoroji's economic theories, see Birendranath N. Ganguli, *Dadabhai Naoroji and the Drain Theory* (New Delhi, 1965). See also Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India* (New Delhi, 1966).

[26] See Chandra, *Economic Nationalism*.

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of wealth")—the Congress in these early years was either uninterested in or opposed to government measures purportedly directed at protecting and improving the lot of rural cultivators or urban workers. Thus the Congress expressed alarm at the cadastral survey being undertaken in Bengal at its 1893 and 1894 sessions, describing measures directed at granting tenants greater security as "interference" and "a national catastrophe."[27] Similarly, the Congress expressed its opposition to the Punjab Land Alienation Bill at its 1899 session and opposed the Bombay Land Revenue Code Amendment Bill of 1901. So, too, with legislation seeking to regulate and protect the rights of industrial workers, except where such legislation would strike primarily at British interests—as when the Congress called for an increase in the wages of Assamese coolies at its 1901 session. However, the Indian Factories Act of 1881 was condemned by the *Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*, and on this occasion *The Hindu* went so far as to declare that "all the so-called hardships of the factory men are a fiction."[28] In 1900, the INC passed a resolution opposing those sections of the Indian Mines Bill that sought to regulate the employment of child and female labor.[29]

All this is well known, and the point here is not the polemical one that the Congress put a class interest before the national one. It is perfectly true that the Congress was composed of a privileged elite with little experience of how the lower orders lived,[30] but that only makes their concern with the issue of poverty all the more remarkable. The point is rather that genuine preoccupation with *poverty* did not translate, by and large, into practical efforts to assist and protect the *poor*. What, then, did this concern with the question of poverty signify?

To answer this question, it is necessary to determine what it was that poverty was contrasted with; what was the desired state that poverty fell short of or negated? There are at least two ways of conceiving of poverty. One is as a brute, palpable reality, absolute or relative, which derives its force from a contrast with plenty. The other is to place it within a continuum, where it signifies not so much sheer lack as incompleteness. This narrative is a historically recent one. Its name is progress, its end point, modernity, and its engine or driving force, economic "development."

This, I suggest, was what poverty signified for the moderate nationalists; it functioned as a metaphor for backwardness, which under colonial conditions meant powerlessness and humiliation. Thus it was that the solution the moderates advocated for poverty was not direct amelioration of the lot of the poor but rather economic and industrial modernization—a goal that could be seen to conflict with, and where it did so was seen as prior to, measures aimed at improving tenant security or labor conditions.[31] This explains why neglect of the poor was combined with such concern with poverty, and why economic reform, and in particular

[27] John R. McLane, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 236.
[28] Quoted in Chandra, *Economic Nationalism*, 334, 336.
[29] Chandra, *Economic Nationalism*, 353.
[30] On the social background of Congress leaders in this period, see McLane, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*.
[31] Thus opposition to regulation of land tenure, factory hours, and so on was usually voiced on the grounds that it would throttle infant Indian industries; and, moreover, that this, rather than philanthropy, was behind such government measures.

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industrialization, was repeatedly invoked as the antonym of and solution to poverty.[32]

The image of modernity that the Indian elites had in mind was Europe, more specifically England. England was seen to have conquered India partly because England was industrialized and economically "strong," as India was not. Mahadev Govind Ranade, a social reformer and founding member of the INC, remarked, "Commercial and Manufacturing predominance naturally confers Political ascendancy."[33] Banerjea spelled out why the Congress devoted so much attention to economic issues: "Ours is a political organisation; but we cannot overlook considerations which affect the development of our industries and our manufactures. The economic condition of a people has an intimate bearing upon their political advancement."[34] To become modern and strong, India had to emulate England—and the unspoken question behind the poverty debate was, "Why, after more than a century of British rule, has India not become wealthy and powerful like Britain?" This is what gave the debate on poverty its sharp edge, its critical potential—in India, it was the colonial elite that reproached the metropolitan bourgeoisie for failing to modernize and transform India, and this bourgeoisie that invoked the peculiarities of Indian "culture" and the Indian character as excuses for its inability, or unwillingness, to do so.

However, if this lent a cutting edge to the poverty debate, making it a crucial part of the nationalist critique of British rule, it also served to give this nationalism its specifically moderate character. England served not only as a model to be emulated but, more important, was seen as the font from which modernity must needs radiate outward, until it reached even the colonies. Ranajit Guha's remark in a somewhat different context also applies here—Indian nationalists "put their faith in the universalist pretensions of British capital."[35] Doing so decisively shaped the character of their nationalism; however sharp the criticisms, this enterprise shared much with and expected much of its target.

THESE, THEN, WERE THE FOUR CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS of Moderate Nationalism. In summary, one could say that it was at once nationalist and liberal. It was nationalist in that the goals Moderate leaders sought were sought in the name of India and the Indian people. It was liberal and modernizing because these national aspirations would be expressed through liberal and representative institutions and because

[32] By the 1890s, almost every presidential address to the Congress dilated, usually at length, on the importance of industrial development. Lord Curzon was to complain that the twin subjects of technical education and industrial development had "an extraordinary fascination for the tongue in India"; quoted in N. G. Chandravarkar's presidential address at the 1900 (Lahore) Congress, in Zaidi, *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 1: 495. M. G. Ranade, one of the most articulate and influential champions of industrialization, flatly declared, "there can be no doubt the permanent salvation of the Country depends upon the growth of Indian Manufactures and Commerce." Ranade, *Essays on Indian Economics* (Bombay, 1899), 121.

[33] Ranade, *Essays on Indian Economics*, 186.

[34] "1895 Presidential Address," in Zaidi, *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 1: 257.

[35] Ranajit Guha, "Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography," in Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies VI* (Delhi, 1992), 227.

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Indian interests were to be furthered by the development of a modern and industrialized economy.

Was it *because* it was liberal that the nationalism of the late nineteenth century was "moderate"? That is, did its liberalism compromise its nationalist militancy? This suggestion was made by contemporary critics and has often been made since. The Moderate leaders' adulation of British institutions and ways, so the argument runs, blunted the sharp edge of their nationalism. Since the liberal political life they sought was also seen by them to be a product of British (or European) culture and history, any politics predicated on this was bound to be imitative and timid.

There is obviously considerable truth in such an assessment. Inasmuch as the Moderates aspired to institutions and a political culture they saw as rooted in European soil, their nationalist politics could not but be imitative, and inasmuch as such institutions were seen to lie within the gift of the British, they were bound to plead rather than demand. But this is still only part of the story, even if the most often told part.

To understand the meaning of Moderate Nationalism, it is not enough to identify liberalism as lying at the heart of its nationalist project, and thereby constricting its militancy. For it is not just that the nationalism of the Moderates was timid or partial because of their liberalism but also that their liberalism itself was of a peculiar and weak sort, a fact connected, among other things, with how they conceived the people who constituted the Indian nation and perceived their own relation with them.

When the Moderate leaders imagined, and spoke of and to, an Indian "public," this public was a body considerably smaller than the people of India; most of the rural population, all women, and a large section of the urban population were not included.[36] And when they asked for representation on the governing or advisory bodies of state, they were not, as we have seen, asking for fully representative government. Nor was the "responsible government" being sought to be based on an extensive male suffrage (as was the case in Britain). At its first session in 1885, the Congress called for an expansion of the advisory councils and for the introduction of an elective principle. Since the viceroy's and the Provincial Councils were only advisory, this fell well short of a call for representative government. The following year, elaborating on this, the Congress also made it clear that the "elective principle" it championed was "to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, prima facie capable of exercising it wisely and independently."[37] Three years later, discussing the draft bill on council reform by British radical politician and "friend of India" Charles Bradlaugh, the Congress was a little bolder. It adjudged that at least half the members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils should be elected; but it affirmed that suffrage was to be restricted, this time on the basis of a property qualification. As late as 1905, in his presidential address to the INC, Gokhale made it clear that political rights were being sought, "not for the whole population, but for such portion of it as has been qualified by

[36] Haynes makes the same point in relation to the municipal politics of Surat—that when the educated elite spoke of the public, "No one . . . suggested that the public meant anything as broad as the entire urban population." *Rhetoric and Ritual*, 157.

[37] Quoted in Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885–1947*, 90.

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education to discharge properly the responsibilities of such association."[38] Surendranath Banerjea similarly declared that "modified" representative institutions were being sought for "the educated community who, by reason of their culture and enlightenment, their assimilation of English ideas and their familiarity with English methods of Government, might be presumed to be qualified for such a boon."[39] Banerjea was also clear on who was not so qualified—"the ignorant peasantry of the country."[40]

Thus the degree of representation desired as well as the suffrage on which it was to be based were to be limited. The reason—one that seemed so obvious to Moderate leaders that they seldom bothered to spell it out—was that India was not, in their view, yet "ready" for fully representative self-government, based on an extensive (male) franchise, as in Britain. That "India" was not ready meant that some Indians were not ready; needless to say, the Indians not able to cast a vote and exercise power "wisely" and "responsibly" were not Indians drawn from elite groups, such as the Moderate leaders, but the lower orders, those without education and/or means (for property and education were the two most frequently mentioned criteria for determining suffrage in this period)—the "ignorant peasantry," in Banerjea's words.

What, in the perception of the moderates, was the nature of the gulf separating them and their class from the masses, a gulf, one effect of which was that the elite were fitted for representative institutions, while the masses were not? What, more generally, was the attitude of the politically active elite toward the poor, and what place, if any, did they occupy in the discourse of Moderate Nationalism?

FOR THE ELITES WHO CONSTITUTED the bulk of the INC (and in this period they were primarily an urban, British-educated and English-speaking elite), the "poverty-stricken masses" of India were something of an unknown quantity, a rhetorical abstraction. The divide between the nationalist elite and the bulk of the Indian population was real and vast. Recognizing this, the historiography of Indian nationalism has sometimes characterized this gap as the "alienation" of the nationalist elite from the lower orders,[41] and pointed to this as the explanation for many of the characteristic features of early Indian nationalism. In this "sociological" reading, of which there are many versions, a cause external to the actual discourse of moderate nationalism is invoked to explain the "timidity" of that discourse. Versions of this historiographical approach differ precisely in that they identify different causes: class distinction between the elite and masses may be seen as the essence of alienation and hence of moderation, or else a cultural divide between an "anglicized" leadership and a pre-modern population. In all cases, this gap and the inability of the nationalist elite to bridge it are cited as the explanation for the hesitancies and half-heartedness of moderate nationalism.

[38] Zaidi, *Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, 1: 139.
[39] "1895 Presidential Address," in Zaidi, *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 1: 214–15.
[40] Quoted in Argov, *Moderates and Extremists*, 34.
[41] See, for instance, Sumit Sarkar, *"Popular" Movements and "Middle Class" Leadership in Late Colonial India* (Calcutta, 1983), 35.

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I do not wish to displace such explanations, for to varying degrees, they are persuasive. I do wish, however, to problematize the sharp distinction between the social and the discursive on which such explanations are premised, and which allow for the former to stand as cause and the latter as effect. Let us then note, first of all, that it is not that the nationalist elite "failed" to bridge the gap between itself and the masses, for it never sought to do so. Aurobindo Ghose's trenchant indictment was precisely that the Congress "has never been, *and has made no honest endeavour to be*, a popular body."[42] While the Congress made some efforts to involve non-English-speaking elites in its activities, it made next to none at mobilizing non-elite groups. One of the few efforts of any significance in this direction was undertaken by Allan Octavian Hume, the Englishman who was the general secretary of the Congress in its early years, and who on his own initiative in 1887 circulated two leaflets in a number of vernacular languages in rural areas, criticizing the government in unusually sharp terms. Following a very strong official reaction, however, senior Congress leaders passed a resolution disclaiming responsibility for Hume's actions, without advocating any alternative means of seeking to enlist peasant support.[43]

The Congress made no such efforts because it believed that the gap between it and the peasant masses was too vast to bridge through its efforts. Such bridging would require a great deal of time and would be effected not through overtures from the Congress but rather through the civilizing impact of British rule. Prolonged exposure to the rule of law, to good government, and the extension of education would enlighten and uplift the masses, raising them closer to the level of the elite. In the meantime, it was in fact necessary to convince the foreign rulers that their regenerating mission would be better accomplished if the educated Indians who comprised the nationalist elite were to be involved in the governance of the country. Thus the nationalist elite were not only aware of the division between themselves and the mass of their countrymen, they constantly drew attention to it.

This is the second complication: the gap between the moderate nationalist elite and the mass of Indians was not simply a social cause, operating from "outside" the discourse of nationalism to shape it but rather was very much present "in" that discourse. It was a central theme of this nationalism that the nationalist elite be accorded a more important place in affairs of state because it occupied a halfway point between the British and the natives. On the one hand, the elite was closer to the British in ideas,[44] and participated in their institutions—government offices, schools and colleges, law courts. The elites were thus better able to appreciate British rule and understand the intentions of government than the Indian masses, and also to understand and operate the new institutions that went with British rule. Consequently, they were better able to explain the intentions and procedures of the foreign ruler to the masses than that ruler was. On the other hand, they were closer to their fellow countrymen in manners, dress, religion—closer to them, in short, in

[42] Ghose, *New Lamps for Old*, 26, emphasis added.

[43] This incident is recounted in McLane, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*, 114–18.

[44] The Address of the Deccan Sabha to Montagu and Chelmsford, referred to in note 19, claimed of educated Indians, "They are the only class in this country imbued with ways of thought more akin to those of their rulers," 11.

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"sentiment." As a result, they were much better fitted than the British to recognize the needs and aspirations of India's masses and transmit these to their foreign rulers. Or so the argument went, with the nationalist elite simultaneously drawing attention to its distance from the masses and also its relative closeness to them. It characterized itself, in short, as mediating between the British and the masses. Naoroji told those attending the second session of the Congress, "we, the educated classes, have become the true interpreters and mediators between the masses of our countrymen and our rulers."[45]

The idea that the new elites would function to translate and disseminate the British mission was one that in ruling circles was at least as old as Thomas Babington Macaulay's Minute on Education (1835). Almost thirty-five years after Macaulay's Minute, Lord Napier was to tell the graduates of Madras University that Macaulay had succeeded: "you, the adopted children of European civilization, are the interpreters between the stranger and the Indian, between the Government and the subject."[46] However, soon after the founding of the Congress, official circles began vigorously to deny the obverse: the idea that these elites could lay any claim to representing the peasantry. Indeed, it became a standard means of dismissing Congress criticism of the British administration to declare that the Congress only spoke for a small, sectional class interest. Against this, the nationalist leadership would assert all the more strongly, and at every available opportunity, that its very Indianness gave it a special, privileged insight into the needs of the masses, of a sort a foreigner could never hope to have. The rejoinder of Pherozshah Mehta, eminent Indian lawyer and Moderate leader, was representative: "the microscopic minority can far better *and far more intuitively* represent the needs and the aspirations of their own countrymen than the still more microscopic minority of the omniscient District Officers."[47]

The gap between the nationalist elite and the masses will not, then, serve to explain fully the character, and limits, of this nationalism. This gap did not simply operate as an external cause, shaping the discourse of moderate nationalism; it occupied a prominent place *in* that discourse. Drawing attention to the gap was part of the discursive strategy of moderate nationalism; it was part of the nationalist case as to why British rule needed to take a different form, one in which the Indian elites would play a greater role in administering the country.

We must look, therefore, not only to the relation between "moderate" discourse and the "social" but the place of the social in that discourse, not only to the relation of the nationalist elite to the masses but to its perception of that relationship. We know that the elite that made up the Congress in this period made a point of sharply distinguishing between itself and the masses, and we know further that it was integral to moderate nationalist discourse to declare that the masses could not represent themselves but needed to be represented. We need now to find what precisely it was that, in the eyes of this elite, made it an elite, very different from

[45] "1886 Presidential Address," in Zaidi, *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 1: 26.

[46] Lord Napier, Speech at 12th Convocation of Madras University, in K. Subba Rao, ed., *Convocation Addresses of the Universities of Bombay and Madras* (Madras, 1892), 53.

[47] "1890 Presidential Address," in Zaidi, *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 1: 88, emphasis added.

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the rest of its countrymen, and also why in its view its countrymen could not represent themselves but needed the good offices of the elite to do so for them.

URBAN MIDDLE-CLASS ATTITUDES toward the lower orders encompassed a wide range, which included apprehension, incomprehension, paternalistic condescension, and contempt.[48] More interesting than the attitudes of the elite, however, were the perceptions and criteria in which they were anchored. A wide variety of terms were available to characterize the "masses" and distinguish them from the elite, and thus the series of binaries: ignorant/educated, superstitious/enlightened, poor/wealthy, impure/pure, low caste/high caste, rough/cultured.[49] The terms and the contrasts did not always imply contempt for the masses; often, they would be used sympathetically, in order to draw attention to their plight. The contrasts were, of course, not mutually exclusive; many could be mapped onto each other. However, the contrasts drew on different codes of meaning and power: a code corresponding to the rigid hierarchies but also reciprocities of a semi-feudal social order underpinned some contrasts; a code of civic affairs and impersonal bureaucratic procedures, other contrasts. The distinctions that underpinned the master/servant relationship and provided the criteria regulating action within that relationship, for instance, were very different from those underpinning and regulating the relationship between superior and subordinate in a government office.

Because the many contrasts or oppositions used to distinguish elite from masses derived from different codes, they could neither be reduced to so many expressions of a single distinction nor articulated onto each other to form a clear and coherent opposition. Thus if one asked what precisely was the elite characterization of the difference between elite and the masses, there would be no "precise" answer, only a shifting and unstable combination of the terms above, with the shifts and inflections varying according to context of use. Collectively, they did add up to a general sense of an elite/mass divide, constituted at many levels; but, in any specific context, some distinctions were obviously more relevant, and more appropriately invoked, than others.

The context we are examining is a specific one; it pertained to the public, civic domain of government bodies and courts that were, or were meant to be, founded on and regulated by certain rationalized, bureaucratic norms. In this context, when the distinction between elite and masses had to be given voice, certain contrasts were clearly more suitable than others. That is, when it came to articulating the divide between masses and elite with specific reference to representative government and the franchise, contrasts that derived from or corresponded to the institutions, processes, and ideas of British rule and colonial institutions were more

[48] Some instances of the attitudes of early Congress leaders to the lower orders are detailed and discussed in McLane, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*, 67–73.

[49] For instance, when a variety of Indian newspapers, English and vernacular, referred to the ordinary people as "ignorant rustics" in thrall to "superstitious" beliefs, and practicing "filthy habits" and prone to violence once aroused and desperate (see David Arnold, "Touching the Body: Perspectives on the Indian Plague, 1896–1900," in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies V* [Delhi, 1987], 89), in the context of measures designed to combat the plague epidemic, it was clear that the editors and their readers were by contrast educated, urban and urbane, rational, orderly, and hygenic.

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likely to be invoked than contrasts from pre-British hierarchies, institutions, and domains. Within this former group, one element was accorded special privilege, was the "key" to distinguishing mass and elite, and that was education.

Homages to English education were staple fare of the nationalist rhetoric of this period. R. C. Dutt's remark—"Western education is perhaps the greatest of blessings India has gained under British rule"—was but one of a great number in this vein.[50] Histories of the introduction, progress, and effects of English education abounded, each of which hypostatized its object, so that sometimes education appeared not so much as an aspect of British rule but rather British rule as the necessary precondition to the introduction of English education. One of the earliest and more sober of these histories began as follows: "The origin, rise and progress of English education in India . . . constitute[s] one of the most significant episodes, not only in the annals of India, but in the history of the civilised world."[51]

What led to such encomiums was the perception that education was not just the transmission of skills or literacy—indeed, it was hardly that, given the small numbers affected by it[52]—but rather the means to a much greater end, namely the transformation and regeneration of India. There were, of course, other aspects of British rule that were pointed to by Indians as well as their rulers as having the effect of "regenerating" and civilizing India. Good government, which India was held to have lacked, was frequently pointed to as both evidence of India's regeneration and the necessary frame for further advance. In a similar vein, the "rule of law," which had replaced arbitrary and despotic rule, was pointed to as an advance that paved the way, or provided the necessary conditions for, India's regeneration. Representative institutions and a free press were frequently singled out as providing the necessary framework for that "material and moral progress" of India that was annually charted by its rulers. If out of all these, education was often singled out, as in R. C. Dutt's case, as "perhaps" the greatest of all the blessings of British rule, it was because it was seen as that which enabled the other blessings to fully function. English education, and higher education in particular, was seen as structurally different from the other benefits of British rule, and hence especially important. Whereas the latter transformed the political and other structures of India, education created the people capable of understanding and operating these institutions; while the rule of law and bureaucratic government created new "public" spaces, education created the public to occupy these spaces. As Banerjea explained to the Congress in 1902, "The three great boons which we have received from the British Government are High Education, the gift of a Free Press and local Self-Government . . . But high education is the most prized, the most deeply

[50] Romesh Dutt, *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, 7th edn. (London, 1950), 198. Half a century later, an "Address" to Montagu and Chelmsford delivered by a delegation of the All-India Congress and Muslim League, including Banerjea, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Mohandas Gandhi, described "liberal English education" as "Britain's most imperishable monument in India." Mimeograph, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, 1.

[51] Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India: Its Rise, Development, Progress, Present Condition and Prospects* (1895; rpt. edn., Delhi, 1981), 1.

[52] In 1901–02, the total number of students in colleges in India was only 17,148. *Progress of Education in India, 1897/98–1901/02* (Calcutta), 81. In 1928, only 4.51 percent of the total population was enrolled in any educational institution, at any level. *Progress of Education in India, 1927–32*, 2 vols. (Delhi, 1934), 1: 15.

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cherished of them all. It is high education which has made local Self-Government the success that it is admitted to be. It is again high education which has elevated the tone of the Indian Press."[53] The institutional changes effected by British rule transformed India "externally," but this would have remained purely external had not education created a class of Indians capable of "internalizing" the regenerative effects of British rule. Put another way, the institutions and processes accompanying British rule regenerated India; but the regeneration of India was ultimately contingent on the regeneration of *Indians*, and it was education that was the instrument of this, that created the Indians capable of operating, and making full use of, the other boons of British rule. The Deccan Sabha recognized this: enumerating the numerous benefits of British rule in its "Address" to Montagu and Chelmsford, it added, "Its greatest gift has been to bring within our reach the blessing and benefit of English education *which has helped us to avail of and assimilate* the civilizing elements which accompany and distinguish your rule."[54]

Education, then, occupied a special place in the discourse of moderate nationalism and, indeed, elite nationalism more generally. The dissemination of European knowledge was accorded a privileged role in the "regeneration of India," because it "generated" a new class of Indians, Indians who had imbibed the spirit that animated all institutional and other transformations effected by the British. Because education transformed people and not only institutions, and because its reach was very limited rather than universal, it also acted as a source of social differentiation, in a way that "good government" or "rule of law" did not. Through English education, its products in the nationalist movement declared, a new class of Indians had emerged, distinguished from their countrymen by their capacity to understand, negotiate, and operate the spaces and processes and representative institutions of the new India being created by British rule. Education, which gave access to the spirit animating the transformation of India, consequently gave those who possessed it "voice" in the new institutions of that new India. By that same logic, it rendered many others, who did not have access to this new spirit and these skills, mute; or, if they were the many without voice or influence even in pre-British India, rendered them further mute.

Thus it was that education came to be singled out for special attention in elite nationalist discourse. It served, on the one hand, as an important factor that, in the domain of a new "public" life dominated by British-created institutions, distinguished elite from the non-elite. Further, the grounds of the distinction were such that distinguishing between elite and masses on the grounds of education simultaneously explained why the latter could not represent themselves but needed to be represented; education gave voice, and thus the "dumb masses" could not speak for themselves but needed the elite to do so.

THE NATION, BENEDICT ANDERSON TELLS US in his work of the same title, is an "imagined community." Once a nationalism has made good its claim that a certain

[53] "1902 Presidential Address," in Zaidi, *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 2: 118.
[54] "Address of the Deccan Sabha," 9, emphasis added.

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"people" exists, by founding a state, a particular form of national imagining comes to be officially sanctioned and embodied in numerous practices and institutions—in constitutions, a parliament that represents the people and pursues the national interest, in tombs of unknown soldiers, in museums of national art and culture, in public holidays such as July 4th or Republic Day. Other forms of imagining the community continue to exist, of course;[55] but one mode of imagining the nation is given official sanction and material embodiment, and is to that extent the most visible and dominant form. By contrast, where nationalism is oppositional, where its longings have not yet yielded its own state but where, as in colonial India, it faces a hostile, colonial state, the "evidence" for the existence of nationalism, and therefore that which allows us to write its history, can only be found in the diverse imaginings of national community: in nationalist organizations, in programs, in literature and songs—in short, in all that which can plausibly be construed as expressing a national imagining.

The first task of the historiography of nationalism, in this latter instance, is to identify its object, which it can only do by identifying what it takes to be genuine, and socially significant, expressions of a will-to-nationhood. Its second task—logically distinguishable from the first but not separable from it—is to distinguish and connect the inevitably numerous and varied forms of national imagining. These may be characterized as "moments" in the natural unfolding of nationalism, or as competing tendencies, or as temporal phases or stages in the evolution of a movement; in all cases, to connect these is part of the process of transforming a chronicle of nationalist happenings into a historical narrative of nationalism.

Nationalist historiography homogenizes the history of nationalism, either because it stumbles over the first step—its blinkered vision results in its only identifying one form of imagining the nation—or because, in telling the story of Indian nationalism, it assimilates all other forms of national imagining to this one form. A much superior historiography is one that is more sensitive to the varieties of imaginings of the nation and is particularly interested in the social and material circumstances in which these were embedded. However, as I suggested in the beginning of this essay, having identified certain forms of imaginings, this historiography then takes the circumstances in which they are embedded to be the explanation, or even the cause, of what is imagined. In the case of Moderate Nationalism, for instance, the fact that this was an elite nationalism is quite correctly pointed out (because it serves to characterize this nationalism): but it is then made to double up as an explanation or cause for its moderation.

In this essay, I have sought to show the difficulties such a procedure encounters in writing the history of Moderate Nationalism. The loyalism of Moderate Nationalism cannot simply be explained as an externally imposed limit to the nationalist imagination, because it was part of the rhetorical and political strategy of this nationalism; the incessant invocation of the "poverty of India" resists explanation in terms of the class origins of the nationalist leadership, given the privileged status of Moderate leaders, but it also resists explanation as evidence of their identification with the poor; and the distance between elite and masses, while

[55] Not least of all in South Asia, where the elites who sought to lead the struggle against colonialism sometimes secured dominance but never hegemony. See Guha, "Dominance without Hegemony."

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real enough, was not simply the cause of a discursive consequence but present in that discourse as an important, structuring element. I have instead offered another account, in which the moderation of Moderate Nationalism lay not in a failure to imagine the nation, in an insufficiency or lack of nationalism to be explained by an external cause, but rather in the fact that its imagination was one in which the "nation" included people unfitted for political rights, in which politics was identified with that domain of public life created and made possible by British rule, in which the inadequacies of "the people" were measured by their distance from this domain, in which the educated elites had to represent the poor, rough, and ignorant masses, and where the *continuation* of British rule was necessary for its eventual supersession.

If the arguments advanced here are persuasive, they have two implications. The first and the more obvious is that the protocols governing the writing of the history of nationalism need to be amended. Social and material factors are critical to characterizing nationalism; what they will not satisfactorily do is then double up as causes. But this is largely negative—it offers no alternative protocols except in the minimal sense of urging that both the "social background" and the discourse of nationalism are important to characterizing the phenomenon, but that neither will stand in as cause for the other. The second implication follows from the first, and I will conclude by sketching this.

What I have called the dominant trend in historiography has, because of the weight it attaches to the social background of nationalism—to class, caste, systems of land tenure, for instance—rendered our understanding of Indian nationalism far more complex and variegated. It may be possible to render national imaginings homogeneous, as nationalist historiography does; but the immense diversity of land systems, castes, and forms of surplus appropriation in India defy any such homogenizing. Thus attention to these has resulted in a more detailed, and more complex, account of nationalism; such histories have drawn our attention to the many variations across caste, class, and region. The study of Indian nationalism has tended to become increasingly a task for monographs. This has not, however, resulted in a dissolution of the object into its parts, because underlying the diversity of studies are a set of shared protocols and methodological assumptions. These hold out the promise that in the end we will find a common set of factors at work; surely, for such a diverse country to have conceived of the nation in the first place could only be because beneath or across all the variations there must have been some common social/material factors at work? We will, then, end up with a more complex and nuanced account of nationalism, but it will be possible to integrate the researches of all the monographs into a few, synthetic studies.

Now, the weak or minimalist protocols that are left if one abandons some of these methodological presumptions hold out no such hope. If imaginings of the nation—which is what any history of nationalism has to begin with—are many and varied, and cannot necessarily be reduced to a smaller number of causes, then it would appear that the task of sorting, ordering, and relating these, of constructing a narrative, holds out many possibilities. Rather than a variety of accounts that differ because they address different regions or class configurations (but that can

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ultimately all become part of the one larger, synthetic narrative), we have the possibility of many, even incommensurable, accounts of the nationalisms of India.

The prospect of more rather than less narratives will no doubt fill some with dismay. But in part at least, that describes the already existing state of affairs and helps make sense of it. More important, India is a place that, to borrow Sudipta Kaviraj's felicitous phrase, is normally "humming with political narratives"[56] but that has seen the rise to influence of a movement and ideology that would allow only one understanding of nationalism and one definition of what it means to be Indian. At such a time, to acknowledge and embrace the possibility of many histories, and thus also of many ways of being Indian, is more necessary than ever before.

[56] Sudipta Kaviraj, "The Imaginary Institution of India," in Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey, eds., *Subaltern Studies VII* (Delhi, 1993), 3.

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Review Essay

Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity

TIMOTHY J. GILFOYLE

BEFORE 1980, THE PROSTITUTE was "pornographic." Few historians considered prostitution an important topic, and studies of the subject commonly played to the sensational and salacious.[1] The small body of significant scholarship concentrated on ideas, social movements, and campaigns to control or abolish prostitution.[2] Other serious works focused on cities with red-light districts, emphasizing the most

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[1] On the historic associations of prostitution and pornography, see Walter Kendrick, *The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture* (New York, 1987). On the silence of professional historians, see Fernando Henriques, *Prostitution and Society*, Vol. 1: *Primitive, Classical and Oriental* (New York, 1962), 13–18.

[2] Most of this literature concentrated on the Anglo-American world and relied on published primary and secondary accounts. See Keith Thomas, "The Double Standard," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20 (April 1959); Roy Lubove, "The Progressive and the Prostitute," *The Historian* 24 (May 1962): 308–30; Peter L. Cominos, "Late-Victorian Sexual Respectability and the Social System," *International Review of Social History* 8, nos. 1, 2 (1963): 18–48, 216–50; Egal Feldman, "Prostitution, the Alien Woman, and the Progressive Imagination, 1910–1915," *American Quarterly* 19 (Summer 1967): 192–206; Robert E. Riegel, "Changing American Attitudes toward Prostitution, 1800–1920," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29 (July–September 1968): 437–52; Charles Winick and Paul M. Kensie, *The Lively Commerce: Prostitution in the United States* (Chicago, 1971); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman," *American Quarterly* 23 (October 1971): 562–84; Richard J. Evans, "Prostitution, State, and Society in Imperial Germany," *Past and Present* 70 (February 1976): 106–29; Mary Elizabeth Perry, "'Lost Women' in Early Modern Seville: The Politics of Prostitution," *Feminist Studies* 4 (February 1978): 195–211; Deborah Gorham, "The 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' Re-examined: Child Prostitution and the Idea of Childhood in Late-Victorian England," *Victorian Studies* 21 (Spring 1978): 353–79; Richard Tansey, "Prostitution and Politics in Antebellum New Orleans," *Southern Studies* 18 (Winter 1979): 449–79; Mary P. Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks: A Case Study of Moral Reform in Antebellum America," *Feminist Studies* 5 (Spring 1979): 66–86. Among the earliest exceptions that incorporated archival materials and applied methods and questions associated with the "new social history" were Judith R. Walkowitz and Daniel J. Walkowitz, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field': Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts," *Feminist Studies* 1 (Winter–Spring 1973): 73–106. For early studies examining prostitution in the context of labor and economic development, see Janet M. Bujra, "Production, Property, Prostitution: 'Sexual Politics' in Atu," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 65, no. 1 (1977): 13–39; Bujra, "Women 'Entrepreneurs' of Early Nairobi," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 9, no. 2 (1975): 213–34; Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 5 (Autumn 1979): 3–29.

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visible and elite forms of prostitution.[3] Additional investigations were buried in monographs and theses devoted to crime, deviancy, hospitals, and public hygiene.[4] Historians, in the words of Alain Corbin, "remained haunted by the ancient links between the prostitute, rotting flesh, corpses, and filth."[5]

While recent historians of prostitution have hardly become metaphoric undertakers unearthing "rotting flesh" and "corpses," they have complicated the subject in ways unanticipated a generation ago. In less than two decades, more than a score of scholarly monographs on prostitution have appeared.[6] More impressive is the

[3] For examples, see Vern L. Bullough, *The History of Prostitution* (1964; New Hyde Park, N.Y., 1975); Fernando Henriques, *Prostitution and Society*, 2 vols. (New York, 1962–63); Al Rose, *Storyville, New Orleans, Being an Authentic, Illustrated Account of the Notorious Red-Light District* (University, Ala., 1974); Ivan Light, "From Vice District to Tourist Attraction: The Moral Career of American Chinatowns, 1880–1940," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (August 1974): 367–94.

[4] Examples include Daniel Bell, "Crime as an American Way of Life," *Antioch Review* 13 (June 1953): 131–54; Mark H. Haller, "Urban Crime and Criminal Justice: The Chicago Case," *Journal of American History* 57 (December 1970): 628–36; Haller, "Organized Crime in Urban Society: Chicago in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Social History* 8 (Winter 1971–72): 210–34; F. B. Smith, "Ethics and Disease in the Later Nineteenth Century: The Contagious Diseases Acts," *Historical Studies* 15, no. 57 (1971): 118–35; John C. Burnham, "The Social Evil Ordinance—A Social Experiment in Nineteenth Century St. Louis," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* 27 (April 1971): 203–17; Burnham, "Medical Inspection of Prostitutes in America in the Nineteenth Century: The St. Louis Experiment and Its Sequel," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 45 (May–June 1971): 203–18; David J. Pivar, "Cleansing the Nation: The War on Prostitution, 1917–21," *Prologue* 12 (Spring 1980): 29–40; Ivan S. Light, "The Ethnic Vice Industry, 1880–1944," *American Sociological Review* 42 (June 1977): 464–79; Neil L. Shumsky, "The Municipal Clinic of San Francisco: A Study of Medical Structure," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52, no. 4 (1978): 542–59; Mary Murname and Kay Daniels, "Prostitutes and 'Purveyors of Disease': Venereal Disease Legislation in Tasmania, 1886–1945," *Hecate* 5 (1979): 5–21; Joel Best, "Keeping the Peace in St. Paul: Crime, Vice and Police Work, 1869–74," *Minnesota History* 47 (Summer 1981): 240–48.

[5] Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), vii (French edn., 1978). Very little English-language historical scholarship existed on Africa, Asia, and Latin America before 1990. Donna J. Guy's *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln, Neb., 1991) is one of the first such examinations of the history of prostitution in Latin America that employs archives in Argentina, Great Britain, and the United States. Laurie Bernstein was among the first historians to gain access to manuscript records of tsarist Russia: *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995). On the little historical scholarship on prostitution in China, see Christian Henriot, "'From a Throne of Glory to a Seat of Ignominy': Shanghai Prostitution Revisited (1849–1949)," *Modern China* 22 (April 1996): 132–33.

[6] Jacqueline Baker Barnhart, *The Fair But Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849–1900* (Reno, Nev., 1986); Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight against White Slavery, 1870–1939* (Oxford, 1982); Vern Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Women and Prostitution: A Social History*, rev. edn. (Buffalo, N.Y., 1987); Anne M. Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865–90* (Urbana, Ill., 1985); Patricia Cline Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York* (New York, 1998); Mark Thomas Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980); Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution: A Study of Victorian Prostitutes in York* (Cambridge, 1979); Mary Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860–1915* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986); H. Gordon Frost, *The Gentlemen's Club: The Story of Prostitution in El Paso* (El Paso, Tex., 1983); Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920* (New York, 1992); Marion S. Goldman, *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners: Prostitution and Social Life on the Comstock Lode* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981); Sue Gronewold, *Beautiful Merchandise: Prostitution in China, 1860–1936* (New York, 1982); Jill Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1985); Marilynn Wood Hill, *Their Sisters' Keepers: Prostitution in New York City, 1830–1870* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Barbara Meil Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition* (New York, 1987); Thomas C. Mackey, *Red Lights Out: A Legal History of Prostitution, Disorderly Houses, and Vice Districts, 1870–1917* (New York, 1987); Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1990); Kevin J. Mumford, *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York, 1997);

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abundance of articles.[7] Even that old cliche—"prostitution is the world's oldest profession"—is questioned; historians increasingly recognize that the sale of sexual services is hardly an essential feature of all societies in all historical eras.[8]

Since 1980, historians have addressed prostitution according to two broad paradigms. The bulk of research examines the social structure and organization of commercial sex, using the methods of social and women's history. More recently, historians influenced by cultural and literary studies have systematically delineated the symbolic and discursive meanings of prostitution. Indeed, prostitutes and other sex workers are considered "fallen women" only in the context of their symbolic representation.[9] Historians increasingly focus on the daily lives of prostitutes and

Leah L. Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago, 1985); Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918* (Baltimore, Md., 1982); Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Oxford, 1988); Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York, 1986); Richard Symanski, *The Immoral Landscape: Female Prostitution in Western Societies* (Toronto, 1981); Benson Tong, *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Norman, Okla., 1994); Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, 1980).

[7] The journal literature on prostitution since 1980 is vast. In addition to the works cited below, useful articles include Lynn Abrams, "Prostitutes in Imperial Germany, 1870–1918: Working Girls or Social Outcasts," in Richard J. Evans, ed., *The German Underworld: Deviants and Outcasts in German History* (London, 1988), 189–209; Jeffrey S. Adler, "Streetwalkers, Degraded Outcasts, and Good-For-Nothing Huzzies: Women and the Dangerous Class in Antebellum St. Louis," *Journal of Social History* 25 (Summer 1992): 737–56; Pamela Arceneaux, "Guidebooks to Sin: The Blue Books of Storyville," *Louisiana History* 28 (Fall 1987): 397–405; Raelene Frances, "The History of Female Prostitution in Australia," in Roberta Perkins, *et al.*, eds., *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia* (Sydney, 1994), 27–52; Paul H. Hass, "Sin in Wisconsin: The Teasdale Vice Committee of 1913," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 49 (Winter 1965–66): 138–51; William L. Hewitt, "Wicked Traffic in Girls: Prostitution and Reform in Sioux City, 1885–1910," *Annals of Iowa* 51 (Fall 1991): 123–48; Joan Hori, "Japanese Prostitution in Hawaii during the Immigration Period," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 15 (1981): 113–24; David C. Humphrey, "Prostitution and Public Policy in Austin, Texas, 1870–1915," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 86 (April 1983); Humphrey, "Prostitution in Texas: From the 1830s to 1960s," *East Texas Historical Journal* 33, no. 1 (1995); Jeddah Jakobsen and Roberta Perkins, "Oral History of Sex Workers in Sydney," in *Sex Workers in Australia*, 53–66; James B. Jones, Jr., "Municipal Vice: The Management of Prostitution in Tennessee's Urban Experience, Part II: The Examples of Chattanooga and Knoxville, 1838–1917," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1991): 110–22; Gerda Lerner, "The Origin of Prostitution in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Signs* 11 (Winter 1986): 236–54; Clare V. McKanna, Jr., "Prostitutes, Progressives, and Police: The Viability of Vice in San Diego, 1900–1930," *Journal of San Diego History* 35 (Winter 1989): 44–65; Marcia Neave, "Prostitution Laws in Australia: Past History and Current Trends," in *Sex Workers in Australia*, 67–99; Paula Petrick, "Capitalists with Rooms: Prostitution in Helena, Montana, 1865–1900," *Montana* 31 (April 1981): 28–41; Steven Ruggles, "Fallen Women: The Inmates of the Magdalen Society Asylum of Philadelphia, 1836–1908," *Journal of Social History* 16 (Summer 1983): 65–82; Donna J. Seifert, "Mrs. Starr's Profession," in Elizabeth M. Scott, ed., *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race and Class in Historical Archaeology* (Tucson, Ariz., 1994), 149–73; Neil Larry Shumsky and Larry M. Springer, "San Francisco's Zone of Prostitution, 1880–1934," *Journal of Historical Geography* 7 (January 1981): 71–89; Shumsky, "Tacit Acceptance: Respectable Americans and Segregated Prostitution, 1870–1910," *Journal of Social History* 19 (Summer 1986): 665–79; Duane R. Sneddeker, "Regulating Vice: Prostitution and the St. Louis Social Evil Ordinance, 1870–1874," *Gateway Heritage* 11 (Fall 1990): 20–47; Stephen G. Sylvester, "The Soiled Doves of East Grand Forks, 1887–1915," *Minnesota History* 51 (Winter 1989): 290–300; Priscilla Wegars, "'Inmates of Body Houses': Prostitution in Moscow, Idaho, 1885–1910," *Idaho Yesterdays* 33 (Spring 1989): 25–37.

[8] For discussions of societies with little or no evidence of prostitution, see James Axtell, ed., *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes* (New York, 1981), 31–102; Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston, 1986); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991).

[9] I avoid using the term "sex worker" in this essay. Admittedly, that term is less stigmatizing than

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the structural forces shaping their behavior, taking an empathetic view of prostitutes and situating commercial sex within the world of work and working-class culture. Prostitutes were "ordinary" young females confronting limited possibilities and making rational and sometimes desperate choices.[10] At the very least, these recent examinations rescue prostitution from the literature of deviancy and crime. More profoundly, integration has replaced marginalization, as historians now include prostitutes in larger historical and national narratives.[11]

At first glance, this development appears to confirm Gertrude Himmelfarb's oft-cited complaint that what was once peripheral in the profession is now at the center, that what was once a footnote to history now defines history.[12] Recent historiography, however, is much more complicated. Students of prostitution do indeed emphasize the centrality of commercial sex within larger narrative frameworks. Yet new interpretations of prostitution hardly undermine "traditional" history. More often than not, historians of commercial sex argue on behalf of a wider, more encompassing conception of political, economic, and cultural history. In fact, the six works discussed below, published within the last decade, illustrate a historiography as attentive to political and economic questions as those concerning gender and sexuality.

AMONG HISTORIANS OF COMMERCIAL SEX, Alain Corbin was one of the earliest to reassess the meaning of prostitution. His *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850* (1978, 1990) delineates the relationship between prostitution and the French state, particularly between 1850 and 1920. Corbin is primarily

"prostitute," but sex work practices include more than just prostitution: erotic dancing, nude modeling, stripping, filmmaking, erotic massage, escort service work, and sexual surrogacy. See Norma Jean Almodovar, *The International Sex Worker Foundation for Art, Culture and Education and International Sex Worker Art and Culture Council Handbook* (Los Angeles, 1997), 1.

[10] For examples, see Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago, 1990), ix, 4–5, 40; Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 71–74; Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 54, 118–19, 129–38, 304, 309; Stansell, *City of Women*, 110; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 9.

[11] For an overview of this in American history, see Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "Prostitutes in the Archives: Problems and Possibilities in Documenting the History of Sexuality," *American Archivist* 57 (Summer 1994): 514–27. For examples of U.S. history textbooks with discussions of prostitution, see Joseph R. Conlin, *The American Past: A Survey of American History*, 4th edn. (New York, 1993), 384, 481, 495–96, 581–82, 625; Bruce Levine, *et al.*, *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture and Society* (New York, 1989–92), 1: 250, 284, 293, 306; 2: 55–57, 513; Robert Kelley, *The Shaping of the American Past*, 5th edn. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1990), 430–31, 558, 560, 564, 575, 841. For examples in women's history texts, see Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York, 1982), 92, 103–05, 114; Rosalind Rosenberg, *Divided Lives: American Women in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1992), 22–24, 50–52, 58–59; Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds., *Women and Power in American History: A Reader* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1991), 1: 185–98; Nancy Woloch, ed., *Early American Women: A Documentary History, 1600–1900* (Belmont, Calif., 1992), 287–93, 337–39, 516–19. Also see the entries "Prostitution" in Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds., *The Readers' Companion to American History* (New York, 1991), 875–77; Mary Kupiec Cayton, Elliott J. Gorn, and Peter W. Williams, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, 3 vols. (New York, 1993), 3: 2157–65; Kenneth T. Jackson, ed., *The Encyclopedia of New York City* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), 946–48.

[12] The exact quote is: "What was once at the center of the profession is now at the periphery. What once defined history is now a footnote to history." Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old: Critical Essays and Reappraisals* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 4.

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concerned with the medical and social debates surrounding regulated prostitution. The architect of the French system was Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchatelet, an early sanitary engineer and a "veritable Linnaeus of prostitution." Literally "a man of the Paris drains and refuse dumps," Parent-Duchatelet was haunted by the transiency of prostitutes and their ability to reintegrate themselves into society. Prostitutes formed a subterranean counter-society, an explicit moral, social, sanitary, and political threat. They symbolized disorder, excess, pleasure, and improvidence. Parent-Duchatelet thus "enclosed" prostitution by constructing a carceral system organized around the legal and regulated brothel (*maison de tolerance*), the hospital, the prison, and the reformatory. From his Augustinian viewpoint, Parent-Duchatelet envisioned prostitution as a "seminal drain" and ultimately defined much of the modern discourse on the subject.[13]

Corbin also assembles a profile, or "social anthropology," of registered prostitutes based on archival documents of vice squads, municipalities, hospitals, and regulationists. Prostitutes functioned within an urban "topology and topography," an organizational hierarchy of legal brothels and other institutions, which were often modeled after the bourgeois salon and the popular café. Corbin examines the diversity of the clientele, the madames or *dame de maisons*, the everyday life of the residents, the pressures of recruiting clients, the development of the health check, the emergence of the hospital, the treatment of prostitutes in prisons and their relations with police officials. Ironically, the regulationist discourse treated prostitutes as a separate category of women, while their very own data revealed that prostitutes were "very much like most other women."[14]

By the 1850s, regulated or enclosed prostitution was in a state of decline. Despite overall population growth, from 1860 to 1914 the number of registered prostitutes and brothels dropped in French cities. Corbin argues that changing patterns of urban consumption between 1896 and 1913 spurred the expansion of unregulated prostitution. In this period of material affluence and economic growth, bourgeois prostitution "found its golden age." The *maison de tolerance* survived but only as "a veritable *maison de debauche*," "a temple to the perversions," satisfying aristocratic and bourgeois clientele "in search of refined eroticism." By the 1880s, unregistered itinerant Parisian prostitutes were found virtually everywhere: railway stations, bus depots, wine shops, vaudeville theaters, clothing shops, tobacco stores, dance halls, public gardens, flower stalls, large and small parks, the *grands boulevards*, even public lavatories.[15]

[13] Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 4–5, 6–7 (Linnaeus), 9–17, 62, 331; Alain Corbin, "Commercial Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France: A System of Images and Regulations," *Representations* 14 (Spring 1986): 209–19. The frequently cited idea of Augustine read: "Abolish the prostitutes and the passions will overthrow the world; give them the rank of honest women and infamy and dishonor will blacken the universe." Quoted in Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 372. On the influence of Parent-Duchatelet or the French system elsewhere, see Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 13; White, *Comforts of Home*, 1–2, 7; Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 16–17, 28, 72, 95, 144–45, 172, 200; Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 253, 262–63; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 36–39, 43–46; Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 128–30; Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 8–33.

[14] Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 30–111, 53 (quote). In analyzing unregistered prostitutes, Corbin relies on hospital records of patients treated for venereal disease. See 161–68.

[15] Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 123, 139–45, 211. By 1920, no more than thirty *maisons de tolerance*

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The failures of regulation stimulated abolitionist and neo-regulationist movements. The former sought the elimination of legalized, regulated, or tolerated forms of prostitution. Abolitionists, while influenced by Josephine Butler's anti-regulationist campaign to repeal Britain's Contagious Diseases Acts, promoted a new sexual order based on individual responsibility, internalized sexual repression, and self-control. Outside the Anglo-American world, however, few were persuaded.[16] By contrast, French neo-regulation represented a new strategy of surveillance. Whereas Parent-Duchatelet had regulated prostitutes for reasons of sexual morality and social order, neo-regulationists feared "white slavery," venereal disease, and "racial degeneracy." The victory of sanitarianism and hygiene after 1900 allowed for supervision without government intervention while maintaining the marginalization of prostitutes. Doctors thus replaced police officers in the surveillance of prostitutes. By the 1920s, even brothel-keepers became sanitarians, emphasizing hygienic facilities with enamel-painted waiting rooms, medical supplies, showers, ultramodern kitchens, and manicure salons.[17] In the end, the language changed, but regulation remained.

Donna J. Guy's *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (1991) and Laurie Bernstein's *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Imperial Russia* (1995) follow in the tradition established by Corbin. Each relies on archival records to explore regulation thematically, particularly the relationship between the national state and the prostitute. Each uses prostitution as a vehicle to integrate gender into political and economic history. Each examines prostitution as both urban and national phenomena. Each offers detailed social profiles of regulated or registered prostitutes. Each finds that prostitution was identified with "other" external groups: foreigners and Jews in the case of Argentina, "westernization" and Jews in Russia. Each shows how prostitutes and women outside traditional family structures were transformed into allegorical threats to the nation. Each argues that efforts to regulate and control commercial sex emerged out of national debates regarding issues of sexuality, family, and even citizenship.[18] Commercial sex thus had multiple meanings from the local to the national level.

Guy places considerable emphasis on the family as a critical ingredient in the ideological construction of Argentine nationalism and citizenship. Prostitution in Argentina was more "wide open" than Europe or the United States, according to Guy. Buenos Aires, identified by Europeans as the "sin city" of South America,

existed in Paris. See Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 336–38. Nineteenth-century New York City exhibited a similar pattern. See Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 29–54, 143–60, 197–223. A recent overview on the relationship of images of prostitution to modern consumer practices is Mary Louise Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture," *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 817–44.

[16] Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 220–34, 311. On the socialist critique, see 234–39. On the weakness of French abolition, see 233–34, 321–26.

[17] Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 297, 308, 332–33, 339–40. For other discussions on neo-regulation, see Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 237–46; Harsin, *Policing Prostitution*, 335–47, 351; Gibson, *Prostitution and the State*.

[18] On social profiles of prostitutes, see Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 41–119; and Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 16, 37–76; Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 42–60; Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 34–65. On the mythic associations attached to prostitutes, see Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 7–8, 161–66, 204–05; and Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 16, 30–35.

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legalized prostitution from 1875 until passage of the Law of Social Prophylaxis banning licensed bordellos in 1936. Peronist forces and policies briefly reenacted legal prostitution in 1954–1955. Whereas Anglo-American and Protestant traditions successfully argued for suppression, Guy documents how Argentine society enthusiastically accepted regulation. Certain Augustinian arguments persuaded Argentine officials that prostitution was a "necessary evil" and a preventive measure against homosexual indulgence. Furthermore, the Argentine system placed greater emphasis on medical regulation. Although French regulation and Parent-Duchatelet were discussed in debates over legal prostitution, Argentine public health physicians (*higienistas*) seeking to limit the spread of venereal disease exerted considerable influence from the inception of legal prostitution. By the 1880s, physicians replaced the police as the enforcers of enclosed prostitution. Even socialist leaders such as Alfredo Palacios accepted legal prostitution, believing "it unrealistic to suppose that a government could eliminate sexual commerce by closing the houses."[19]

Bernstein argues that Russian prostitution followed a different and distinctive pattern. Russian regulation was not directly linked to industrialization, since the era of national regulation from 1843 to 1917 began before the massive economic transformation of the late nineteenth century. The existence of strong patriarchal and paternalistic traditions that lingered into the twentieth century, the absence of legal equality for the majority of Russians, the dearth of Western civil liberties, and the more oppressive and hostile labor conditions for women in Russian cities made regulation simply one more state restriction on an already encumbered populace. Even Russian writers, influenced by "populist" legacies that glorified the peasantry, romanticized prostitutes in ways that departed from European and American counterparts.[20]

Bernstein and Guy insist that debates over regulated prostitution cannot be understood without addressing the expanding political and cultural power of the state. Indeed, Bernstein claims that Russian regulation uniquely embraced larger political questions concerning the role of the tsarist state.[21] Yet such debates regarding the expanding power of the national state appeared in France, Great Britain, Argentina, and Japan.[22] In Argentina, for example, Guy reveals how

[19] Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 13, 29, 35, 37, 50–51, 79–86. Guy awkwardly treats the abolition and social hygiene movements at different points instead of providing a single extensive analysis. See 11–13, 28–29, 42–45, 60–64, 131–33, 182–84; on abolition, see 25–36, 95, 117, 131, 134, 181–84, 189–204. On neo-regulation and the influence of hygienism in France, see Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 378, n. 107. Other important works on prostitution in Latin America include Eileen J. Findlay, "Decency and Democracy: The Politics of Prostitution in Ponce, Puerto Rico, 1890–1900," *Feminist Studies* 23 (Fall 1997): 471–99; David McCreery, "'This Life of Misery and Shame': Female Prostitution in Guatemala City, 1880–1920," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 18 (November 1986): 333–53.

[20] Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 6–9, 17–18, 304. Other important works on prostitution in Russia include Barbara Alpern Engel, "St. Petersburg Prostitutes in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Personal and Social Profile," *Russian Review* 48 (January 1989): 21–44; Laura Engelstein, "Gender and the Juridical Subject: Prostitution and Rape in Nineteenth-Century Russian Criminal Codes," *Journal of Modern History* 60 (September 1988): 458–90; Engelstein, *Keys to Happiness*, 56–95, 128–63, 183–91, 292–98; Elizabeth Waters, "Victim or Villain: Prostitution in Post-revolutionary Russia," in Linda Edmondson, ed., *Women and Society in Russia and the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, 1992), 160–77.

[21] Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 6–9.

[22] For other examples of works integrating debates over prostitution with national and cultural politics, see Corbin, *Women for Hire*; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*; and Sheldon Garon,

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politics and culture intersected, as prostitution enjoyed real and mythical links to anarchism, the cabaret, the *sainete* (one-act burlesque comic farces), and the Argentine novel. Even the Argentine tango originated and initially flourished in the milieu of the late nineteenth-century bordello, much like jazz in the United States.[23] Although Guy and Bernstein describe in detail the international traffic in prostitution and ensuing debates over it, Guy relies more heavily on such sources. Various organizations that promoted "white slavery," namely El Club de los 40 (founded in 1889), the Varsovia Society (1906), the Asquenasum Society, and Zwi Migdel, were disguised as mutual aid societies. Unfortunately, Guy remains ambiguous by arguing that the frequency of white slavery "was highly exaggerated," while organizing much of her narrative around those very sources.[24]

Luise White's twentieth-century ethnographic history, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (1990), departs from earlier works in two notable ways: first, by emphasizing economics, and second, by introducing oral histories to retrieve the voices of prostitutes themselves. For White, prostitution was a "political economy written with women's words." Indeed, her book is very much a work in labor history. The evolution of commercial sex is situated within the changing dynamics of East African agriculture, its labor market, and the transforming impact of British colonization. No other history of prostitution so effectively details the relationship between economic change and the institutional evolution of prostitution.[25]

Prostitution in Nairobi was generated by agricultural crises in East African peasant society. British colonials founded the city in 1899 with no significant industrial economy. They envisioned Nairobi as a place to contain and maintain pools of competitively cheap laborers, a capital city of male migrants who would return to their rural families at the termination of their contracts. The state, however, proved incapable of dominating local or city life. Prostitutes took advantage of opportunities within an informal economy to exploit certain physical and social spaces available to them. White finds numerous instances in which

"The World's Oldest Debate? Prostitution and the State in Imperial Japan, 1900–1945," *AHR* 98 (June 1993): 710–32.

[23] Burton W. Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America* (Urbana, Ill., 1992), 33–36, 48, 124; Peretti, *Jazz in American Culture* (Chicago, 1997), 21–23; William Howland Kenney, *Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History, 1904–1930* (New York, 1993), 23–24, 62–63; Rose, *Storyville*, 103–24; Clora Bryant, *et al.*, eds., *Central Avenue Sounds: Jazz in Los Angeles* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 5, 272, 355.

[24] Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 5–35, 73, 98–102, 111–32, 141, 142–72. Historians remain divided on the issue of white slavery. For an interpretation that treats the phenomenon as mass and media-generated hysteria with little basis in fact, see Connelly, *Response to Prostitution*, 114–35. For views that acknowledge the hyperbole of many reformers but conclude that sexual slavery was a real and "inescapable fact," see Rosen, *Lost Sisterhood*, 112–35; Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*; Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 139, 146–66, 204–05. Corbin claims that police archives indicate that the "white slave" trade was a product of regulation, differing little in structure from the internal trafficking of women in regulationist states. See *Women for Hire*, 280–82, 285–86. This argument, however, fails to explain why significant amounts of trafficking occurred in nations like the United States and Great Britain, which outlawed prostitution.

[25] White, *Comforts of Home*, 21, 221. Other important studies on African prostitution include Elizabeth B. van Heyningen, "The Social Evil in the Cape Colony, 1868–1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Act," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10 (1984): 170–91; Nici Nelson, " 'Selling Her Kiosk': Kikuyu Notions of Sexuality and Sex for Sale in Mathare Valley, Kenya," in Patricia Caplan, ed., *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality* (London, 1987), 217–39.

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prostitution was more a function of access to arable land or the agricultural condition of the woman's family of origin than gender ratios often cited as explanations. Indeed, prostitution combined with other forms of women's work, usually cultivation and gathering, and begot an ongoing relationship between rural and urban Africa. Prostitution was not evidence of social pathology, moral decay, or male dominance. More often, women's desire to *preserve* the family structure induced mothers or daughters to prostitute themselves.[26] Prostitution ultimately represented the restructuring and reconstitution of families, not their breakdown.

Treating prostitution as wage labor enables White to posit a considerable degree of agency by individual prostitutes while challenging the hierarchies historians place on prostitution. Specifically, she disputes arguments that indoor prostitution (brothels or "call girls") was economically superior to outdoor forms such as streetwalking. In Nairobi, indoor prostitutes (*malaya*) usually originated from impoverished Muslim households engaged in subsistence agriculture. These women resorted to indoor prostitution in hopes of establishing themselves as household heads outside the preexisting patrilineages. Indoor prostitutes waited quietly for men to come to them, placed a higher value on "respect," "dignity," and "deference," and sought independent accumulation.[27]

By contrast, "streetwalking" prostitutes (*watembezi*) scorned the passivity of indoor prostitutes and displayed a greater sense of a community among prostitutes, exhibited by shared rooms and work rhythms. Streetwalkers, in fact, enjoyed greater control over their customers than other prostitutes. Whereas brothel prostitutes had sex with whomever paid, streetwalkers picked and chose. Streetwalking was associated with relatively high earnings over short time periods, and involved less labor time than other forms of prostitution. Streetwalkers may have accumulated less capital but only because the bulk of their earnings was spent in financial support of their families, either in their rural hometowns or their newer ones in the city.[28]

White documents a third form of prostitution emerging after 1930. Outdoor (*wazi-wazi*) prostitutes originated from rural, petty bourgeois (often Haya) families engaged in cash-crop production. *Wazi-wazi* were more aggressive, seeking men without secrecy and demanding money in advance. Such prostitutes exerted more control over their clientele and labor time, offered few domestic services, and specialized in brief sexual encounters for a fixed price. Outdoor prostitutes sought

[26] White, *Comforts of Home*, ix, 20, 29–30, 40, 45, 119–20, 125, 221–22, 225–26. For other studies that find the sale of sex combining and merging with other forms of petty trade, see Stansell, *City of Women*, 193–211; Joel Best, "Careers in Brothel Prostitution: St. Paul, 1865–1883," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12 (Spring 1982): 597–619; Gronewald, *Beautiful Merchandise*; Gail Hershatter, "The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution, 1870–1949," *Modern China* 15 (1989): 491–98; McCreery, "'This Life of Misery and Shame,'" 340–43. Bernstein indirectly shows the link with agricultural labor but found that rural migrants worked in other occupations before resorting to prostitution. See *Sonia's Daughters*, 96–97.

[27] For works that place streetwalking at the bottom of the hierarchy of prostitution, see Goldman, *Gold Diggers*, 76–77, 94; Rosen, *Lost Sisterhood*, 107; Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution*, 158–60. White also presents one of the first critiques of the revisionist histories of prostitution that appeared after 1980, noting that earlier studies of prostitution unwittingly incorporated the categories of Parent-Duchatelet and William Acton by employing metaphors of contagion and pollution in their analyses of prostitution. See White, *Comforts of Home*, 2–3, 7; Luise White, "Prostitutes, Reformers, and Historians," *Criminal Justice History* 6 (1985): 201–27.

[28] White, *Comforts of Home*, 12–15, 26.

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wealth not for themselves but rather for their family's declining circumstances. Nairobi women engaged in one type of prostitution not for reasons of status but rather the availability of housing, the cost of rent, and the rate of personal accumulation of wealth. Prostitution was ultimately an economic response to different patterns of accumulation and reinvestment.[29]

Questions of social structures, sexual behaviors, and state reactions are replaced by issues of representation in Judith R. Walkowitz's *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (1992). Like Corbin's Foucauldian deconstruction of the medical and moral discourses on prostitution, Walkowitz focuses on the discursive. Unlike Corbin, however, she organizes her study around multiple images of gender and sexuality. *City of Dreadful Delight* examines William Stead's sensational 1885 exposé of child prostitution in "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," the Men and Women's Club (1885–1889), the medical profession's assault on Georgina Weldon and spiritualism, and the serial murders of five prostitutes in 1888, allegedly by "Jack the Ripper." Walkowitz relies on the "new cultural history" with its emphasis on "discourse analysis," textual examination sometimes labeled the "linguistic turn," and postmodern suspicion of the division between "fact" and "fiction."[30] Walkowitz's analysis, for example, dispenses with clear starting and terminal points, moving instead among a variety of different subjects and themes. Indeed, her conclusion jumps from the 1880s to the 1980s. She resists dichotomous interpretations found in other historical accounts: representation versus reality, elite versus popular culture, the production versus consumption of cultural forms. Rather than showing change over time, she illustrates multiple and simultaneous cultural conflicts. Walkowitz finds that distinct

[29] White, *Comforts of Home*, 19–20, 103, 118–20, 125, 225. Other works that deemphasize the danger of streetwalking include Harsin, *Policing Prostitution*, 148–94; McCreery, " 'This Life of Misery and Shame,' " 339; Hershatter, "Hierarchy," 470. Bernstein makes few explicit comparisons between streetwalking and brothel prostitution, except to conclude that brothel prostitutes tended to be younger. See *Sonia's Daughters*, 99–100. Since most Russian prostitutes worked clandestinely and outside of brothels, streetwalking may have been more attractive. On the other hand, brothel prostitutes appeared to have made more money even though the work was more onerous. Streetwalkers rarely found more than two clients per night while brothel prostitutes serviced ten to twelve men on weekdays, thirty to forty on weekends. See *Sonia's Daughters*, 149–50. In France, surveys in the 1890s estimated the average work load in the licensed house ranged from four to twelve customers daily. On busy days, the number reached from fifteen to twenty-five. See Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 81. By contrast, Japanese evidence indicates that prostitutes on the average met only 1.2 customers per day in 1929, 1.6 in 1935, and 1.9 in 1937. See Garon, "World's Oldest Debate?" 716. For an example detailing the fluidity of brothel and street prostitution in a nineteenth-century city, see Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 163–72.

[30] General discussions of these issues appear in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), intro.; Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994), chap. 6; Sarah Maza, "Stories in History: Cultural Narratives in Recent Works in European History," *AHR* 101 (December 1996): 1493–1515. The term "postmodern" is confusing and slippery. In this essay, I employ the term in reference to more flexible modes of capital accumulation; "time-space compression" in the organization of capital and consumer, image-driven economies; an increasing disorientation of time and space; and the absence of clear beginnings and ends in narrative forms. For a short summary of postmodern theory, see Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* 146 (July–August 1984): 53–93; and David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1989), esp. 9–27. For an overview of the literature in urban history, see Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "White Cities, Linguistic Turns, and Disneylands: Recent Paradigms in Urban History," *Reviews in American History* 26 (March 1998): 175–204.

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social constituencies reached very different interpretations of the same events, with little consensus on their ultimate meaning.[31]

The Ripper story, in particular, presents an ideal subject. First, the case remains unsolved and "popular" more than a century later. The absence of any closure or resolution to the problem of sexual violence imbedded in the Ripper tale accounts for its periodic resurrection. Second, the murders occurred at a critical moment when feminist politics challenged social norms, when Britain witnessed intense conflict over gender and class divisions. Contemporaries used the Ripper murders to explain and symbolize a wide range of social fears: labor unrest; cultural tensions regarding the empire; notions of urban pathology and decline; concerns about new public venues for women in department stores, reform groups, women's schools, "female marriages," and the Salvation Army; police corruption and incompetency; Irish and Jewish immigrants; male sexual predation; issues of sexuality found in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and Richard von Krafft-Ebing; discussions about the "grotesque" female body; the uncontrolled, labyrinthine city; and the anti-medical views of feminists, libertarians, and antivivisectionists. For Walkowitz, the manner in which the events were perceived and interpreted by various "publics" is sometimes more important than the issues themselves. Sensational stories of prostitution and sexual danger thus shaped the way people of all classes interpreted and made sense of their urban environment. Ultimately, these concurrent and sometimes contradictory interpretations transformed the Ripper into a timeless urban parable, a mythic portent to women on the sexual perils of modern life.[32]

City of Dreadful Delight details the multiple ways contemporaries viewed the nineteenth-century urban female. Like the recent arguments advanced by Mary Ryan and others, Walkowitz delineates how women, as "public" figures, were simultaneously viewed as endangered and a source of danger. After 1880, London females broke with their ascribed, bounded roles and moved about in the "wrong" parts of the city. Women occupied multivalent, symbolic positions in this "imaginary landscape," emblems of conspicuous display, lower-class rebellion, and sexual disorder. Sensational tales of child prostitution and serial murders of prostitutes served as "texts" expressing certain "imaginative" views of the city. Urban crime and sexual catastrophe not only haunted urban residents but clarified their conception of the city.[33]

Even historians unsympathetic to postmodernism and "linguistic turns" should contextualize Walkowitz. *City of Dreadful Delight* builds on an empirical foundation laid in Walkowitz's *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (1980). Both works examine

[31] Walkowitz, *City*, 7–10. Also see Judith R. Walkowitz, "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence," *Feminist Studies* 8 (Fall 1982): 543–74; J. Walkowitz, "Male Vice and Female Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson, eds., *Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (London, 1984), 43–61.

[32] Walkowitz, *City*, 2, 24–25, 80, 196–98, 201, 206–09.

[33] Walkowitz, *City*, 21, 41; Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore, Md., 1990); and Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). Recent work employing similar discursive methodologies includes Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago, 1995), esp. 1–8, 64, 273; and Philip J. Ethington, *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850–1900* (New York, 1994), esp. 345, 407–08.

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prostitution, but they ask very different questions about the meaning of commercial sex. The 1980 text offers a more structuralist interpretation, specifically refuting various Victorian myths on prostitution: that prostitution was a product of working-class supply and middle-class demand, that prostitutes were marginalized women even within the world of the laboring poor, and that the wages of sin were death. More accurately, prostitution served as a transitory stage for working-class women, after which they left such work and reintegrated themselves into society.[34] Whereas *Prostitution and Victorian Society* explores how prostitution and commercial sex were organized, *City of Dreadful Delight* investigates the most powerful representations of sexuality and gender in Victorian London.

What Walkowitz accomplishes in two separate studies, Gail Hershatter does in one, combining empirical and discursive methodologies. Influenced by literary and subaltern studies, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (1997) simultaneously fuses an orderly narrative with alternative readings of prostitution. Hershatter insists that readers recognize that history is a "messy process" and always subject to multiple interpretations. That difficulty should not discourage historians from attempting to uncover both the changing configurations of prostitution and the discursive uses others made of prostitutes.[35] Her intelligent and nuanced analysis blends traditional social history, feminist philosophy, and Foucauldian theories about discursive practice. All future historical work on prostitution will have to address, if not model itself after, the methods and questions embedded in *Dangerous Pleasures*.

Labeled "the key to modern China," Shanghai's rapid industrialization transformed the metropolis into one of the "shock cities" of nineteenth and twentieth-century Asia. As a "treaty port" with semi-colonial status, Shanghai experienced extensive exposure to foreign economic and cultural influences. Consequently, prostitution was alternately forbidden and tolerated in the International Settlement and licensed in the French Concession.[36] Hershatter chronicles the changing dynamics of prostitution into the republican and communist periods.

[34] Walkowitz argued in her earlier work that the writings of Parent-Duchatelet, William Acton, William Tait, and other anti-prostitution reformers should be examined as a "literary genre." See *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 46–47. For a similar interpretation in imperial Japan, see Garon, "World's Oldest Debate?" 715–17.

[35] Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 32–33. For other historical work on Asian prostitution, see Philippa Levine, "Venereal Disease, Prostitution, and the Politics of Empire: The Case of British India," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4 (April 1994): 579–602; Veena Talwar Oldenburg, "Lifestyle as Resistance: The Case of the Courtesans of Lucknow, India," *Feminist Studies* 16 (Summer 1990): 259–87; David J. Pivar, "The Military, Prostitution, and Colonized Peoples: India and the Philippines, 1885–1917," *Journal of Sex Research* 17 (1981): 256–69; J. Mark Ramseyer, "Indentured Prostitution in Imperial Japan: Credible Commitments in the Commercial Sex Industry," *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 7 (Spring 1991); James Francis Warren, "Placing Women in Southeast Asian History: The Case of Oichi and the Study of Prostitution in Singapore Society," in Warren, ed., *At the Edge of Southeast Asian History* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1987), 148–64. The classic work in subaltern studies is Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York, 1988).

[36] Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 38, 187, 469; Rhoads Murphey, *Shanghai: Key to Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), quoted in Gail Hershatter, "The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution, 1870–1949," *Modern China* 15 (October 1989): 463. The term "shock cities" was first employed in Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (New York, 1963), 87. Prostitution per se was not illegal in republican China, but trafficking was.

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Like Walkowitz, Hershatter directly confronts the subjectivity of her sources. For example, the categories that nineteenth and twentieth-century Chinese witnesses employed to describe prostitution were not part of a single "palpable structure." Rather, prostitution was more fluid than the sources recognized. Such observations expressed the "shared imaginings" of mostly male authors. Indeed, classification itself was grounded in nostalgia. Guidebooks did not simply provide details about prostitutes, brothels, and their locations but actively shaped the discourse of urban masculinity, provided rules of etiquette for reasons of self-presentation, offered cautionary tales on sexually transmitted disease, presented sentimental views of the past, and served as vehicles for men to remember, classify, and count prostitutes. Hershatter refuses simply to dismiss the notion of a hierarchy within a milieu as complex as prostitution. Instead, she argues that the categories organized around spatial mapping, counting, classifying, and regionalizing constructed and discursively patrolled the borders between different ranks, making the hierarchy a feature of Shanghai life.[37]

Shanghai courtesan houses were complex social and commercial institutions where men behaved according to a set of ritualized proprieties. The world of the courtesan represented "an economy of elite pleasure," often incorporating exotic notions of male fantasy. Courtesans, in effect, became the arbiters of behavior, acting as "bodies of knowledge about urban sophistication." Courtesans were never depicted as exemplifying the seamy or furtive side of Shanghai. Public discussions granted prostitutes a certain status in Shanghai social life. In contrast to the Ripper murders of prostitutes in London, the murder of Shanghai courtesan Lian Ying in 1920 was reported as unwarranted violence against a well-known figure. The homicide never generated a public reflection on the debased lives of prostitutes, their vulnerability, or a need to return women to domestic protection.[38]

At the same time, courtesans were both powerful and subordinated actors, public figures with their own social networks. Hershatter concedes that kidnapping and abduction were common themes in the literature on Shanghai prostitution. Yet many prostitutes maintained close connections with their natal and marital families. Like the prostitutes White described in Nairobi, rural women entered Shanghai prostitution in order to support and maintain their family networks, both financially and socially. A porous and permeable boundary separated prostitution and other

[37] Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 34–65, 129, esp. 34–36; on the multiplicity of representations, see 20. On sources revealing more about the author than the prostitutes, see Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 94. Christian Henriot challenges Hershatter's claim of a hierarchy in Shanghai prostitution, arguing that the organization of prostitution in Shanghai was not rigidly stratified, or organized like a pyramid, as the notion of hierarchy implies. The commercialization and diversification of prostitution from 1850 to 1950 produced a more sophisticated and affluent consumer society in which all the categories of courtesans and prostitutes inescapably melted into the same standardized mold of sex trade. Henriot, however, describes a fluid and permeable hierarchy in which various categories of courtesans and prostitutes overlapped, a large "sex market" existed by the middle of the nineteenth century, and various types of courtesans were collectively pulled down the ladder of prestige to become common prostitutes by the early twentieth century. Prostitutes were divided more by *type* rather than *rank*. See Henriot, "'From a Throne of Glory,'" 132–35; Hershatter, "Hierarchy," 493.

[38] Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 31, 131, 157–65. Hershatter admittedly traverses the border between fictional and nonfictional writing because both forms overlapped and intersected in their discussion of the courtesan. Especially see the extensive endnote of nearly three pages on 416–19.

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forms of city work available to young women. Prostitution was chosen over other forms of labor within the context of family and individual economic needs.[39]

THESE TEXTS UNDER REVIEW illustrate not only the complexity of commercial sex over time and place but also the diversity of interpretive paradigms. Yet some themes recur. First, after 1800, the social structures of prostitution were reorganized primarily to emphasize sexual offerings; domestic and companionship services became less frequent. Second, this literature offers a variety of explanations regarding the expansion of prostitution during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Third, evangelical Christianity exerted surprising influence through the various movements to "abolish" legal and tolerated prostitution. Finally, historians have increasingly associated the rise of prostitution with modernity.

The most striking motif concerns the impact of the market in redefining the social importance of prostitution. "Public" expressions of sexuality were reconfigured between the beginnings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Specifically, market forces, epitomized by the "popularization" or "sexualization" of commercial sex, rearranged not only prostitution but larger patterns of sexual behavior as well. From nineteenth-century Paris to twentieth-century Shanghai and Nairobi, the importance of sociability between prostitutes and their clients effectively declined; greater emphasis was placed on sexual services. Throughout France, Corbin argues, legal brothels survived only because they offered an unusual menu of sexual thrills: group sex, supper orgies, partner swapping (*partie carree*), sadomasochism, bestiality, *tableaux vivants*, even homosexuality. By the twentieth century, individual prostitutes working in a new style of brothel called *maisons d'abattage* (literally, "slaughterhouses") stressed "Taylorized coitus" and "conveyor-belt sex," receiving as many as thirty to fifty clients daily. In Shanghai, the hierarchy of prostitution was undermined by casual and modernized prostitution. Whereas nineteenth-century Chinese men visited brothels primarily to socialize, converse, and listen to music, ensuing generations sought only carnal delights. Courtesan behavior evolved from being a "comprehensive" institution providing sexual *and* social services to one dedicated to primarily sexual purposes. Encounters men once considered "romantic" were transformed into more blatant commercial exchanges.[40]

Likewise, indoor prostitutes in Nairobi provided extensive nonsexual services. Food, bathing, conversation, and even breakfast (if the client spent the night) were available. Indoor women even testified that the form mimicked marriage. By contrast, the outdoor prostitutes were disdained by indoor prostitutes because the former sat on steps or porches outside their rooms and solicited customers. Whereas indoor prostitutes, like courtesans in Shanghai or Paris, offered conversation and company for their clients, outdoor prostitutes specialized in brief sexual encounters. In each case, a more genitally oriented (for men) form of prostitution replaced one emphasizing sociability. Corbin, Hershatter, and Christian Henriot attribute the change to the emergence of an affluent, educated, urban middle class

[39] Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 31, 182–202.

[40] Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 123–26, 336–38. "Popularization" is employed in Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 65. Also see 36–37, 42–45, 57–58; and Henriot, "'From a Throne of Glory,'" 132–36, 154.

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that placed less importance on social pleasantry and more on sexual indulgence; White credits demography and the changing goals of prostitutes.[41] In any case, erotic gratification increasingly supplanted social fulfillment.

Historians also remain divided over certain fundamental causes of prostitution, specifically over sexual demand. Corbin underscores changes in the sexual cravings of nineteenth-century French males to explain the demise of regulated prostitution. For Corbin, "the history of prostitution cannot be written without reference to conjugality." Nineteenth-century urban migration propagated not only gender imbalances but also the formation of a huge male proletariat in a state of sexual privation. After 1880, gender ratios stabilized and prostitution waned. While acknowledging the influence of multiple social and economic forces, Corbin attributes the declining demand for prostitutes to the *embourgeoisment* of French men. Male sexual sensibilities experienced a transformation, irrespective of class, which generated a new kind of demand for prostitution. The popularization of the bourgeois home, the reduction of certain forms of sexual discipline, and new emotional attachments to sexual relations made prostitution more of a last resort.[42]

Corbin exaggerates this argument, at times depicting prostitution as a necessary social behavior.[43] Yet the combination of gender imbalances and changing sexual attitudes appears elsewhere. Hershatter and Guy, for example, borrow elements of Corbin's argument. The former declares that "companionate marriage" grew more commonplace in the twentieth century, transforming the sexual demand for prostitutes. Courtesans were no longer important as educated and sophisticated women relieving the tedium of monogamy. "All that was left for the world of the prostitute was sex." What was a luxury market in courtesans in nineteenth-century Shanghai became a market simply supplying sexual services for growing numbers of commercial and working-class men of the city. Guy argues that, from 1875 to 1936, Buenos Aires experienced a population explosion exceeding 300 percent, with high rates of European immigrants, uneven gender ratios (more men than women), significant industrialization, and low female wage structures.[44]

White, by contrast, minimizes both changes in male sexual demand and male power in Nairobi. The availability of a huge market had little to do with the

[41] White, *Comforts of Home*, 15–16, 19–20, 103–05. Henriot argues that "the sexualization of courtesans accelerated during World War I and was completed by the early 1920s." The ultimate expression of commercialization was the rise of *xiangdaoshe*, or escort services, after 1940. See Henriot, "'From a Throne of Glory,'" 134–35, 138, 143, 145. In emphasizing the leveling qualities of the market, Henriot rejects contemporary descriptions of rigid hierarchies. "In this new social system, only common prostitutes could exist, even if a division of prostitutes into various categories remained." Yet this model posits that the forces of capital and the access to consumption overwhelm all distinctions and categories, effectively ignoring how markets generate new and different hierarchies and inequalities. Such hierarchies may be less rigid and more fluid, but they nonetheless remain categories.

[42] Corbin, *Women for Hire*, xv, 115–18, 187, 189–92, 203, 331.

[43] Corbin argues that "the history of desire, of male fantasies and anxieties, dominated that of the venal woman, registered or unregistered, in the France of regulationism." He later adds that women "of almost every background turned to prostitution because the social structures of the time created an enormous demand." See *Women for Hire*, xiv, 53.

[44] Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 20, 65; Henriot, "'From a Throne of Glory,'" 141. Although Bernstein does not appear to subscribe to an *embourgeoisment* thesis like Corbin, she concludes that gender identification and male subcultures transcended class differences because all male groups consorted with prostitutes. See *Sonia's Daughters*, 304. For a similar conclusion on nineteenth-century New York City, see Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 92–116.

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expansion of prostitution. Rather, the conditions under which prostitution developed in early Nairobi were more influenced by an African's access to arable land than by an imbalanced sex ratio. The absence of pimps at any time in Kenya's history further enabled prostitutes to retain control over their earnings and their customers. More significantly, White argues more broadly that previous historical studies emphasizing male domination and violence in female prostitution inaccurately ignored these factors. The conditions of male domination—specifically pimps and the apparent forcing of women onto the streets—appeared subsequent to the criminalization of prostitution. Ultimately, White concludes, "men and male control enter prostitution only *after* the state does."[45]

White probably inflates her conclusion here. She convincingly shows how women controlled certain forms of prostitution and carved out autonomous social spaces. Yet her data indirectly support the sexual demand thesis. In some periods, for example, men outnumbered women by a ratio of six to one. Similarly, the social structures and organizational forms that allowed for considerable female autonomy in Nairobi were not mirrored elsewhere. More often, they varied over time and place, resisting easy classification. For example, substantial evidence indicates that a visible, well-established system of pimps existed in New York City by the mid-nineteenth century despite the *absence* of regulation and despite minimal state interference. Antebellum commentators frequently employed the term "pimp" as a metaphor in political debates. Other observers noted that the "lovers" of prostitutes "existed on the money gained by prostitution," and that "fancy men . . . strut about the town well dressed, supported by the small change and extras of the frail sisterhood." In 1859, Dr. William Sanger insisted that prostitutes had "protectors" who helped "in any difficulty with strangers" and exercised "an arbitrary and brutal control over her." Even court records late in the century, when toleration of prostitution in New York was described as "wide open," reveal madams employing "pimps" who lived in the brothel, recruited or "seduced" women to work as prostitutes, and enjoyed free "access" to the women.[46]

Despite this criticism, a larger pattern emerges here. In Paris, London, Nairobi,

[45] White, *Comforts of Home*, 1, 4–6, 11, 40. A variety of Americanists similarly deemphasize the importance of pimps, arguing that nineteenth-century prostitutes enjoyed considerable autonomy in their lives and labors, comparable even to artisans. Only with greater police harassment after 1890 did pimps and male dominance of commercial sex appear. See Rosen, *Lost Sisterhood*, 33, 40; Stansell, *City of Women*, 171; Hill, *Their Sisters' Keepers*, 392; John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York, 1988), 136.

[46] On pimps and politics, see *Subterranean*, July 29, 1843; June 7, 1845; August 9, 1845; September 20, 1845; February 14, 1846; July 25, 1846; Harrison Gray Buchanan, *Asmodeus; or, Legends of New York* (New York, 1848), 45; Junius Henri Browne, *The Great Metropolis: A Mirror of New York* (Hartford, Conn., 1869), 69, 433; *National Police Gazette*, January 31, 1880. Also see George Ellington, *The Women of New York; or the Under-world of the Great City* (New York, 1869), 202–03 (lovers); *New York Sporting Whip*, March 4, 1843 (money gained); *True Flash*, December 4, 1841 (fancy men); William W. Sanger, *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes, and Effects throughout the World* (New York, 1859), 486; Testimony of Ferdinand Hansen, pp. 65–67, in "People v. Elizabeth Hartell," April 22, 1895, Box 10100, Location 106231, New York Supreme Court, District Attorney Indictment Papers, New York City Municipal Archives and Records Center. On pimps labeled "broadway statues," "harpies," "roughs," "bullies," and "necessary evil pimps," see Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 76–91, 251–69, 357–58. Pimps in the pre-modern world are discussed in Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Deviant Insiders: Legalized Prostitutes and a Consciousness of Women in Early Modern Seville," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 27 (January 1985): 144–46; Jacques Rossiaud, "Prostitution, Youth, and Society in the Towns of Southeastern France in the Fifteenth Century," in *Deviants and the Abandoned in French*

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Buenos Aires, and Shanghai, industrial and other comparatively new forms of economic development attracted peasant migrants from either nearby or distant rural countrysides. Cities as diverse as Moscow, Buenos Aires, Paris, and Shanghai saw their populations more than double in size from 1850 to 1900. As David Montgomery has argued, the nineteenth and early twentieth-century industrial world consisted of interlocking geographic regions. An industrial core bounded by Chicago and St. Louis in the west, by Toronto, Glasgow, and Berlin in the north, by Warsaw, Łódź, and Budapest in the east, and by Milan, Barcelona, Richmond, and Louisville in the south attracted rural migrants from the surrounding agricultural domain, which roughly extended across Canada and Scandinavia to the north, Russia and Hungary to the east, Croatia-Slovenia, Greece, Italy, Spain, the former Confederate States, and Mexico across the south, and Canton and Japan to the west.[47] The urban migration of so many rural laborers and peasants ultimately created conditions that generated similar structural patterns of prostitution in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

Comparison of these and other works testifies to the "globalization" of evangelical Christianity by the early twentieth century. In the British Empire and continental Europe, in semi-colonial Shanghai and recently independent Buenos Aires, abolitionist movements influenced by evangelical Christianity exemplified how prostitution broke down traditional national boundaries. Josephine Butler led and organized attacks on regulation in both Britain and continental Europe beginning in the 1860s, arguing that it enslaved women and encouraged immorality in men. French abolition, however, differed from Butler's anti-regulationism in that it was liberal but not libertarian, with roots in the left-wing hatred of the Versailles government and police repression. The primary goal was eliminating registration and destroying the legal brothel. Abolitionists argued that regulation dishonored the police, compromised the judiciary, and established inequality between men and women. They favored female emancipation, but for the purpose of allowing them to become wives.[48] Differences aside, abolition emerged as a reaction to regulation, not as a human rights issue as in the late twentieth century.[49]

In China, Argentina, and Japan, abolition was associated with campaigns to build a modern, twentieth-century state. In Shanghai, foreign missionaries, women reformers (such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union), and even regulators equated prostitution with an ebbing of national strength and attempted to ameliorate its impact. Reformers blended Christian and nationalist ideologies. Hershatter finds that writers increasingly linked prostitution with sexually transmitted disease and the health of the Chinese body politic. Ultimately, all Shanghai

Society: Selections from the "Annales," Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1978), 1–31.

[47] Adna Ferrin Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1899), 405; David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925* (Cambridge, 1987), 70–71.

[48] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 97–136, 139–47; Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 214–34, 311. On the socialist critique, see Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 234–39. In pre-Fascist Italy, abolitionists insisted on eliminating government intervention in areas of prostitution and extramarital sexuality. See Gibson, *Prostitution and the State*, 48–51, 91–92.

[49] See Kathleen Barry, *Female Sexual Slavery* (1979; rpt. edn., New York, 1984).

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reform and regulatory movements before 1950 were thwarted by weak municipal governments, a refusal to acknowledge the many vested interests in prostitution, and the absence of a comprehensive welfare plan. Even the communist-sponsored campaigns of the 1950s (which caused publicly visible prostitution to disappear from Shanghai for almost three decades) revealed a tension between aspirations of improving the status of women through education and employment and other yearnings for national stability by requiring women to embrace familial authority.[50]

Although Argentina and Russia eventually abolished legal prostitution, the evolution in each followed more unusual patterns. Josephine Butler exerted minimal influence, and Roman Catholic, Augustinian, and medical views on prostitution did little to challenge regulation. Both nations lacked a feminist voice like Britain's Ladies' National Association. Groups such as the Argentine National Committee against White Slavery (Asociación Nacional Argentina contra la Trata de Blancas, 1902) and the Argentine Committee on Public Morality (Comité Argentino de Moralidad Pública, 1908) appeared only in the twentieth century. Russia had *no* abolitionist organizations. In Argentina, even socialists such as Alfredo Palacios attacked white slavery and the importation of foreign prostitutes while simultaneously supporting legal prostitution. When Argentina outlawed prostitution in 1936, the legislation was at once part of an anti–venereal disease program and linked to censorship campaigns attacking "degenerate" cultural practices: the tango, the cabaret, movies, homosexuality, and pornography.[51]

In light of the international influence of abolition, one wonders why it enjoyed so little influence in colonial Nairobi. Probably the absence of Christian missionaries contributed (although this did not seem to affect Japan or China), along with a regulationist ideology based on the rhetoric of medicine and sanitation, which dominated from Nairobi's founding in 1899. According to White, few questioned the examination, quarantining, and physical segregation of prostitutes, who were essential components of the migrant male labor system. Ultimately, medical evidence provided the legal means for the removal and segregation of African populations. Prostitution was viewed as a residential problem under the "containment" policies of colonial medical authorities.[52]

Paradoxically, abolition achieved pyrrhic victories in most places. Great Britain in 1883, Russia in 1917, Argentina in 1936 and 1955, and China after 1949 either ended regulation or outlawed prostitution. French legislators prohibited brothels in 1946 and criminalized procuring in 1960. Abolition's triumph, however, was more often attributable to the failures of regulation than the persuasiveness of abolitionist arguments. Regulation, for example, failed to address problems related to unregistered, casual, and clandestine prostitution. In most places that legalized commercial sex, only a minority of women who worked as prostitutes registered with government authorities. Furthermore, physicians routinely misdiagnosed

[50] Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 32, 201, 271–303, 465–66. On the influence of evangelical Christianity, the WCTU, and the Salvation Army in an abolitionist movement in Japan, and its similarity to movements in both China and Argentina, see Garon, "World's Oldest Debate?" 717–27.

[51] Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 25–36, 95, 117, 131, 134, 181–84, 189–204; Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 266–95.

[52] White, *Comforts of Home*, 46, 65–67. In British East Africa, prostitution was not a crime, but soliciting was.

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venereal diseases, male customers were rarely examined, and medical facilities were unhygienic. With improved medical treatments after 1930, venereal disease declined as a health threat. Regulation, according to one British opponent, was like attempting "to stop a river in its course by damming it halfway across."[53]

If Josephine Butler or any of her abolitionist allies rose from the dead, their greatest surprise might be the association of prostitution with "the modern." Whereas popular culture and media-driven images identify the prostitute with decadence and decline, recent historians equate prostitution with modernity. Although many associate the origins of this idea with Michel Foucault, the psychologist Havelock Ellis argued nearly a century ago that urbanity itself fostered prostitution. The severe competition, dull work, monotony of life, intense social intercourse, and difficulty and expense of marriage combined to stimulate more and more demand for sexual substitutes. Ellis asserted that prostitution was a product of "civilization."[54]

In some sense, the historians reviewed above concur. Each acknowledges that prostitution had a long history in the African, Asian, and Western worlds. Yet commercial sex assumed new forms after 1800. As urban capitalism generated new middle and mobile working classes, men delayed marriage and patronized prostitutes in exceptional numbers. Industrialization and economic transformations created a ready supply of migratory, independent, low-wage-earning women, many of whom viewed prostitution as a viable economic alternative to poverty. Not only were these male and female subcultures unprecedented in scope, but they were embedded in popular, modern, consumer cultures that countenanced new behaviors of sexual expression and purchase. Prostitution was no longer associated with the "sacred," as in the temple prostitution of ancient Egypt, Greece, or India, nor was it regulated according to certain religious doctrines like those of Augustine or Thomas Aquinas in pre-modern Europe. Commercial sex was increasingly structured by the market, the state, sanitarianism, and institutions that ensured commercial efficiency and publicity.[55]

Also, the new structures of prostitution are attributed, at least in part, to modernity. Even while prostitution was ubiquitous in earlier societies, modern capitalism widened the gap between rich and poor and generated new cultural patterns. Corbin, for example, argues that, after 1860, the modernity of urban life undermined earlier elements of regulationism and rendered methods of supervision obsolete. By introducing new images, new practices, and new anxieties, modernity necessitated changes in the system. In Argentina and Japan, prostitution was

[53] Charles Bell Taylor, *The Contagious Diseases Acts* (London, 1870), 32, quoted in E. M. Sigsworth and T. J. Wyke, "A Study of Victorian Prostitution and Venereal Disease," in Martha Vicinus, ed., *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington, Ind., 1972), 96; Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 57, 66–67; Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 3, 41, 82–84, 94, 237, 266–95; Harsin, *Policing Prostitution*, 241–42, Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 349–52, 381, n. 50; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 245; Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 304–06.

[54] Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, rev. edn., vol. 4 (New York, 1936), 304; Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 437; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: *An Introduction*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1980), 17–35.

[55] For discussions of temple prostitution in Greece and India, see Henriques, *Prostitution and Society*, 21–88, 140–203; Fernando Henriques, *Modern Sexuality* (London, 1968), 307–17. For other, noncommercial social views of prostitution, see Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, 242–49; Rossiaud, "Prostitution, Youth, and Society," 1–31.

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explicitly connected to modernity through new and controversial cultural practices. In Argentina, the tango, the cabaret, the cinema, and the *sainete* were initially identified as both modern and the place of the prostitute. Likewise, Japanese cafés and dance halls were simultaneously associated with prostitution, modernism, individualism, and Western-style romantic relations between the sexes. In Russia, the regulation of prostitution occurred in conjunction with the rise of the modern state. For Walkowitz, Jack the Ripper represents a continually resurrected warning to women about the sexual dangers of the modern city. Hershatter is the most emphatic. The adoption of Western clothing, dress, and fashion enabled prostitutes to display not only refinement but also knowledge of the modern. Among elites, debates over prostitution and sexuality occurred within national and regional publications, thereby revealing the contours of conflicts about gender and modernity. In sum, middle-class pursuit of prostitution became a characteristic feature of modern society in Asia, Europe, and America.[56]

But are prostitutes metaphors of modernity? Surely, commercialization and female independence in cities (which enabled women to live apart from familial control) rose after 1800. Yet the characteristics through which historians link prostitution and modernity are not peculiar to contemporary history. Recent research increasingly reveals that issues of regulating female sexuality, licensing brothels, restraining male promiscuity, and maintaining the "social order" were significant components of pre-modern societies. For example, sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish officials, as Mary Perry has shown, argued that prostitutes were to be "enclosed" in part because they were a danger to public health. In other medieval European cities, commercial sex was municipally regulated and taxed, red-light districts were established, municipal brothels were instituted, and large numbers of single, independent women migrated from other places. Prostitutes were effectively treated as necessary, integrated parts of those communities. Furthermore, while the scope of urban migration exploded after 1800, it was hardly unique to the modern world.[57] If pre-modern prostitution was a regulated, institutionalized, and integrated feature within the dominant culture, then what is unique or "modern" about prostitution in the past two centuries?

Historians of recent prostitution need to be more fastidious in linking commercial sex and modernity. The "modern," "modernity," and "modernization" are vague and confusing terms, inconsistently applied by numerous writers throughout history. Relying on such terminology, historians of recent prostitution (myself included) sometimes present a confusing picture. Undoubtedly, debates over regulation, neo-regulation, and abolition represent new strategies of supervision and changing discourses on prostitution. Hershatter, for instance, shows that the

[56] Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 42, 47, 141–73; Garon, "World's Oldest Debate?" 726–27; Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 303; Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 7–8, 83–84, 93–94, 116–18, 141, 156, 252–53, 324; Henriot, " 'From a Throne of Glory,' " 156; Corbin, *Women for Hire*, xiv. Corbin reargues this thesis in "Backstage," in Michelle Perrot, ed., *A History of Private Life*, Vol. 4: *From the Fires of the Revolution to the Great War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 589–90, 611–13.

[57] For examples, see Perry, "Deviant Insiders," 138–58; Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 20–26, 63–65; Ruth Mazo Karras, "The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England," *Signs* 14 (Winter 1989): 399–425; Mark D. Meyerson, "Prostitution of Muslim Women in the Kingdom of Valencia: Religious and Sexual Discrimination in a Medieval Plural Society," in Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Ryerson, eds., *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts* (St. Cloud, Minn., 1988), 87–95.

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Chinese term for prostitute in the modern era—*jinu*—replaced the earlier *mingji*. Like Roland Barthes, she argues that an analysis of codes and semiotics is better than an analysis of the "signifieds," which "often appear as trans-historical, belonging more to an anthropological base than to a proper history." Nevertheless, modernity too often assumes a simplistic, dichotomous division from the "pre-modern" world, reminiscent of the weaknesses posed by Ferdinand Tönnies's model of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (1887).[58] Emphasis on the modern ignores important continuities in the structural features of prostitution over time. Specifically, what is unique about prostitution in the modern era? What institutional structures does prostitution share or not share with earlier periods and different cultures? Do certain social structures or perceptions of prostitutes embody paradigms of social control that transcend time, place, or gender? The growing body of literature on the subject points to a need for more precise comparisons about prostitution over time and among a variety of Western and non-Western communities.

HISTORIANS HAVE INDEED UNEARTHED more information on prostitution than ever before. Yet the prostitute remains an elusive historical character. For example, the social profiles of prostitutes in France, Argentina, and Russia provided by Corbin, Guy, and Bernstein represent some of the earliest and best empirical examinations of that milieu. Yet each relies on licensed or registered prostitutes. The authors admit to the unrepresentative quality of this "social anthropology." Furthermore, at certain points, their emphasis on state regulation pushes prostitutes off the center stage. Rarely is an individual landlord, madam, prostitute, pimp, or client to these all-enveloping systems discussed. Each historian more effectively articulates the ideas of reformers such as France's Yves Guyot, Argentina's Rosalie Leighton Robinson, and Russia's Mariia Pokrovskaia than the experience of anyone directly involved in the system they describe. One searches in vain for an exemplifying individual or narrative that personifies the complexity of the prostitute's world. Who exactly were some of these individuals? Too often, these authors refer to Emile Zola's Nana or F. M. Dostoyevsky's Sonia for an answer.[59]

In fairness, however, one must recognize the inherent empirical limits for such studies. Prostitutes represent one of the ultimate subaltern subjects, outcasts from

[58] Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 9; Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, Stephen Heath, trans. (New York, 1977), 31. For critiques of Tönnies, see Olivier Zunz, "The Synthesis of Social Change: Reflections on American Social History," in Zunz, ed., *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 73–75; Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1978).

[59] On social profiles, see note 18 and Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 93–115, 274–78, 284–90. For references to Nana in Emile Zola's *Nana* (1880), see Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 29, 104, 130, 135, 139, 141, 176, 197. For references to Sonia Marmeladova in Feodor Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (1866), see Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 1, 11–12, 39, 113–14, 277. Bernstein offers the most nuanced and detailed social profiles of the works under review. Corbin also accepts a dichotomous or "bipolar" view of Victorian sexuality, an argument increasingly challenged in recent work. See Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience*, Vol. 1: *Education of the Senses* (New York, 1984); Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience*, Vol. 2: *The Tender Passion* (New York, 1986). A recent first-hand account of nineteenth-century prostitution is Josie Washburn, *The Underworld Sewer: A Prostitute Reflects on Life in the Trade, 1871–1909*, Sharon E. Wood, ed. (1909; Lincoln, Neb., 1997).

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not only the dominant culture but often those subcultures labeled "subordinate"—women, working classes, social minorities, radicals, religious dissidents. Source materials that articulate the voices of prostitutes simply do not exist in many cases. Virtually all studies of prostitutes suffer obstacles in identifying the precise populations of prostitutes. What is a prostitute? How does the historian count? One instance? Occasional? "Professional"? Registered? Since contemporaries often equated all extramarital sex with prostitution, precision is impossible, maybe even *pointless.*

Nevertheless, historians would be remiss to dismiss empirical investigations of prostitution. Despite the attention to market forces in structurally shaping prostitution, for example, few examine the role of property. Only White explores in any detail the relationship between real property and prostitution, arguing convincingly that sex work in Nairobi attracted women partly because of its access to housing and property ownership. Guy finds that tax revenues from legal prostitution in 1902, while representing only 2 percent of businesses, generated 21 percent of commercial and industrial license fees in Buenos Aires. Bernstein offers brief discussions of landlords and brothel-keepers. Corbin even identifies lists documenting specific individual owners, but he never explores who they were. In some cases, brothel-keepers owned several houses, hired managers to run the business, and attracted upholsterers, decorators, and other wealthy individuals as investors. Yet, despite the high levels of revenue present, none of these investigators explores in detail the economic structures that organized these profits, specifically the relationship between prostitution and various informal economies that emerged in nineteenth and twentieth-century cities. What landlords were involved? Did ownership patterns ever shift? What levels of revenues and profits did renting to prostitutes generate? What relationships existed between medical authorities and landlords? Did they overlap? These questions seek information about the operation of "underground" or "alternative" economies that emerged in nineteenth and twentieth-century cities.[60] They remain unanswered.

Furthermore, the literature on prostitution speaks to larger methodological conflicts within the historical profession. Ironically, historians have begun uncovering the particular configurations and significant networks that shaped commercial sex at the very moment that structural history has fallen into disfavor. Archival and empirically focused study has been increasingly replaced by greater emphasis on representations and discourse. One danger here is that historians may leapfrog over structural analysis and proceed to deconstruct commercial sex before they have established the composition and construction of prostitution.

At the same time, historians of prostitution confront great difficulties in reconstructing accurate accounts of that past, due to the added layers of myth and fabrication. Because the "whore" was also a metaphor, commercial sex was transformed into a vehicle by which elites and middle classes articulated their social boundaries, problems, fears, agendas, and visions. Consequently, most sources are

[60] White, *Comforts of Home*, 20; Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 53; Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 64–68, 77–79. Jill Harsin discusses profits in greater depth and departs from Corbin by arguing that the decline of the *maison de tolerance* was a product of new patterns of policing. See *Policing Prostitution*, 282–97, 307, 322, 345. For a study that examines the relationship between real property and prostitution, see Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 42–54, 119–27, 265–68, 317–20, 338–39.

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so embedded in discourses of pleasure, reform, and regulation that any effort to reconstruct the lived experiences of these women is nearly impossible. Assiduous, energetic historians may dig up neglected documents, hoping to make audible previously inaudible voices. But no clear boundary separates such "facts" from their production. Historians of prostitution are thus doomed by the subjectivity of their sources, "products of a nexus of relationships that can be only dimly apprehended or guessed at across the enforced distance of time," laments Hershatter. Even the numerous and detailed oral histories of Nairobi prostitutes collected by White are ultimately mediated by self-perceptions, which are constructed in part by other voices and institutions. Indeed, the most famous courtesans with the most details "disappear most thoroughly into their own stories."[61]

Even feminists remain divided about prostitution. While certain members of the English-speaking world may accept masturbation, premarital intercourse, homosexuality, and artificial contraception as legitimate forms of sexual expression and pleasure, debate continues over whether to extend the same to prostitution. Is prostitution a recognizable profession or a form of proletarian exploitation? Is prostitution the ultimate form of sexual enslavement or a profound rejection of male domination? Is it symbolic of capitalist domination or a rejection of the monotony of the capitalist workplace? Do prostitutes embody a form of self-destruction or an expressed desire for an eroticized lifestyle?[62]

The difficulty of such questions and the ambiguity attached to the evidence, however, should not excuse historians from addressing commercial sex. More than most fields of history, studies of prostitution have confronted fundamental methodological questions raised by recent literary theories. Is the testimony on prostitution more a reflection of discourse rather than "real" historical practices? Are all primary materials simply texts revealing less than they purport? Indeed, if the sources on prostitution are simply evidence of discourses, not highly disparate material circumstances, the same can be said for *most* historical documents. Are slave narratives, elite memoirs, and oral histories of illiterate sharecroppers or peasants simply the discursive reverberations of ghost writers, journalists, and interviewers? The search for the "subaltern voice" may be frustrating, agrees Hershatter, but disregarding guidebooks or newspapers would foolishly trap historians in a circuitous universe of limited materials. Difficult as they may be, the sources on prostitution nevertheless represent clues to social conditions that are little understood and long disappeared. At the very least, they are guideposts for comprehending the preoccupations of writers.[63] Historians of prostitution may be

[61] Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 4, 24, 164–65, 212, 328. On seduction myths, see Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 106–07. On the interpretive difficulty of primary sources on prostitution, see Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 70, 566; Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, 94–96. For American examples blurring fictional and nonfictional writings on prostitutes, see Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 143–60.

[62] Good summaries of these divisions appear in Priscilla Alexander, "Prostitution: A Difficult Issue for Feminists," Frederique Delacoste and Priscilla Alexander, eds., *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1987); Noah D. Zatz, "Sex Work/Sex Act: Law, Labor, and Desire in Constructions of Prostitution," *Signs* 22 (Winter 1997): 277–308; Christine Overall, "What's Wrong with Prostitution? Evaluating Sex Work," *Signs* 17 (Summer 1992): 705–724; Judy Coffin, "Artisans of the Sidewalk," *Radical History Review* 26 (1982): 89–101; Laurie Shrage, *Moral Dilemmas of Feminism: Prostitution, Adultery, and Abortion* (New York, 1994); and Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 365–67, 444.

[63] Gail Hershatter, "A Response," *Modern China* 22 (April 1996): 164–65.

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perplexed about the origins and meanings of these sources, maybe even less confident about their subject. Ultimately, they must simply live with paradox: the more they "know" prostitution, the less they actually understand it.

GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB LAMENTS THAT social history's recent emphasis on the trinity of race, class, and gender comes at the expense of politics. Too often, such history makes "the social reality so comprehensive and ubiquitous that any form of government, any law or political institution, is automatically perceived as a form of 'social control.'" Such a conclusion applied to the recent literature on prostitution, however, confuses the cosmetic with the substantive. Studies of prostitution are indeed about sex, class and, gender. Yet historians of commercial sex have hardly devalued the political realm. Despite being labeled "social history," these works have longer and more detailed discussions about politics, economics, and the state than about prostitutes themselves. Historians increasingly link sexual behavior and ideologies to local and national politics. Just as much as older history, these books ask "What happened?" and "How did it happen?" Indeed, they have to. Most of the detail surrounding this subject remains unexplored, confined to dusty shelves in libraries and decaying boxes in municipal archives. Their added virtue is that they also attempt to explain why it happened.[64]

More significantly, prostitution is no longer treated as an isolated phenomenon but as a portal to wider historical trends. Prostitution has a historical meaning broader than biological sex or genital gratification. For Corbin, prostitution provides "a particularly fruitful means" of understanding modern France. White reveals the relationship between prostitution and British colonial policy, specifically how the latter mobilized and utilized African wage labor. Guy argues that the structures of prostitution are a direct reflection of gender ideologies, sexual politics, and national identity in Argentina. Indeed, legalized prostitution suggests that the roots of Argentine authoritarianism are located in the gendered structures of democratic societies, not just the anti-democratic military. For Hershatter, prostitution is a social barometer measuring not only the shifting meanings of nationhood but the essence of Chinese urbanity in the twentieth century as well. "If Shanghai is the key to modern China," she concludes, "prostitution is one of the keys to modern Shanghai."[65]

Few subjects have moved so dramatically from the margins to the center of historical study as prostitution. A wide variety of interpretive categories now incorporate prostitution in historical narratives: a source of urban pleasure, an entrepreneurial profession, a site of moral danger and physical disease, a painful economic option for women and their families, a marker of national decay, a component of national identity, and the epitome of modernity. Recent examinations employ commercial sex as a vehicle not only to explore sexuality and gender

[64] Himmelfarb, *New History and the Old*, 4, 17, 18, 34.

[65] Corbin, *Women for Hire*, xvii; White, *Comforts of Home*, 221; Guy, *Sex and Danger*, 208–09; Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 304; Hershatter, "Shanghai Prostitution," 33, 463–64. For a similar argument on the larger meaning of Shanghai prostitution, see Henriot, "'From a Throne of Glory,'" 157.

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but also the evolution of state power and modernity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Rather than representing social history with the politics left out, prostitution exposes ambitions by the state to extend government authority into new realms of urban or national life. Admittedly, groups long labeled "deviant" are now more widely studied, reflecting the influence of Foucault and others.[66] But only occasional topics have attached themselves to as many historical questions and issues as prostitutes.

[66] For examples, see George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York, 1994); Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York, 1976); Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac* (New York, 1983); Elizabeth Lepovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York, 1993); D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

MICHAEL A. AUNG-THWIN. *Myth and History in the Historiography of Early Burma: Paradigms, Primary Sources, and Prejudices*. (Monographs in International Studies; Southeast Asia Series, number 102.) Athens: Ohio University Press, in association with the Ohio University Center for International Studies. 1998. Pp. xi, 220. $25.00.

The Union of Myanmar (known during the colonial period as Burma) is historiographically among the least exploited in any region of Southeast Asia, and its history is among the least understood. Responsibility for the former condition must be apportioned among colonial and post-independence governments, which have not accorded a high priority to secular humanistic studies; to seemingly irreparable lacunae in the sources; and to the need to control an array of formidably intractable texts. The defects in understanding, by contrast, are largely attributable to the circumstance that important events in Myanmar were invariably construed in accord with the operation of stratified resonances, which allowed objects and happenings belonging to the same class, under appropriate conditions, to energize each other. The narratives comprising this discourse, cast typically in terms of historical tropes, were not only intertextual but also expressed in multiple media, notably language, ritualistic behavior, government protocol, and even architecture. The conventions governing these narratives have gone virtually unrecognized by nineteenth and twentieth-century historians of Myanmar, and it is Michael A. Aung-Thwin's purpose to alert us to the resultant mythologizing of Myanmar history.

As the vehicle for his exposition, Aung-Thwin has selected the classical period in Myanmar history as represented by the kingdom of Pagan that from the middle of the ninth to the beginning of the fourteenth century exerted a powerful influence on the cultural trajectory of mainland Southeast Asia. It is also a period whose political dynamics the author has elucidated in more conventional terms in a previous volume (*Pagan: The Origins of Modern Burma* [1985]). In the present work, Aung-Thwin analyzes the insidiously subversive process by which overly facile readings of five ancient texts have combined to distort the received version of Pagan's history. In the first scenario, the simple misattribution of a toponym mentioned in early sources afforded support for a series of "contingent assumptions, analyses, interpretations, readings, and conclusions" (p. 8) that were eventually melded into the myth of a Sinhalese sack of Pagan in A.D. 1165. In a second example, misreadings of Chinese sources prompted the conclusion that the Pagan dynasty had ended with the Mongol invasion of 1287, which in turn nourished the derivative notion—a superfetation of myth on myth, as it were—that Burmese political power and cultural traditions had been replaced by those of the Shan. Deriving directly from this myth is the almost total suppression in modern Myanmar historiography of the reign of King Klawcwa, even though he figures in Old Burmese inscriptions, later Burmese histories, and Chinese sources. A fourth myth was born in 1883 when, by ascribing Shan origins to three powerful ministers at the Pagan court, Sir Arthur Phayre shaped for more than a century the periodization of Myanmar history in terms of competing ethnicities. These four myths were creations of colonial historiography, but a fifth, purporting to explain how the sobriquet "The King who Fled the Chinese" became attached to the style of King Narathihapade, dated from the fourteenth century and was only slightly elaborated in recent times. It almost certainly stemmed from the widespread belief that ritualized royal behavior exerted a direct effect on the natural order.

Aung-Thwin has rendered inestimable service by reminding us of the true nature of Myanmar historical texts, but not the least interesting part of his book is a short concluding section showing how contemporary power struggles are reproducing traditional patterns of conflict and alliance, only partly masked by appeals to current ideologies. In view of the manner in which Myanmar chronicles are structured around dynastic struggles, the reader would have benefited from some focused discussion of their authors' understanding of the nature of power (existential, homogeneous, constant in quantity, without moral implication?), of their conceptualization of time (cyclically recurrent, with all that would imply for the perception of change?), and of their notions of causality (circumambient and hierarchically fluctuating?). I also wished for more help

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with the pronunciation of Burmese names: the Okell system of phonetic transcription works well enough with Myanmar, but Klawcwa does not correspond in any obvious way to the regnal style usually rendered in English-language histories as something close to Kyawswa.

Aung-Thwin has not only "put on record what is myth and what is history" (p. 159) and thereby initiated a major reorientation of Myanmar historiography; he has also revealed the processes by which historical myths are even now being created. Of course, the selective reordering of historical events to validate a culturally sanctioned higher truth has not been peculiar to Myanmar. A work to be read in conjunction with the present volume because it focuses on social frameworks of intelligibility in another Theravada Buddhist country, although from a different perspective, is readily to hand in James S. Duncan's *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom* (1990).

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CHANDRA MUKERJI. *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles*. (Cambridge Cultural Social Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xxiv, 393.

What is territorial policy, and does it have a history? Chandra Mukerji makes a bold effort to pose and answer these questions, which extends the interest of this book beyond the issues of the seventeenth century that provide the evidence for its argument. There are two dimensions to this review, as there are to the book: a discussion of territorial design in relation to politics and material culture, and an explanation of Louis XIV's France.

Fortuitously, this book appears during an important phase in the development of territorial policy. Mukerji argues that Louis XIV was the first to develop a territorial policy, the better to strengthen the power and increase the wealth of France in its rivalry with the smaller but more productive economies of England and the Netherlands. This concept of competition remains current, but the terms of reference have changed in ways that create stark contrasts with the era of Louis XIV, and by implication, with state-centered policy then and since. Globalization and the creation of transnational economic regions have shifted much of the focus of competitive advantage from the state to the city. How the forces of growth differ at the regional and at the national levels is not only an academic question but also one of policy relevance. Territorial policy today accepts and seeks to exploit diversity in place of uniformity; it uses public policy to strengthen local initiative and strategic planning. Without other historical examples to explore, however, Mukerji gives the impression that territorial policy is exploitative and artificial by definition, because that is what it was under Louis XIV. Ironically, some of the contemporary concepts currently applied to the analysis of space in political economy today, and especially polarizing dichotomies (of which core/periphery is the best known) so common in postmodernist discourse, may be more applicable to the past than to the present. Territorial policy itself remains an unfamiliar term, but whether it is applied in the centralized framework of the nation-state or in more decentralized structures, its basic goal is the same: to develop the potential of the human resources and enhance the environmental assets of places, given that these are distributed unequally and in unique patterns.

The larger purpose of this book is to illuminate material culture through territoriality. Mukerji may be making an unexceptionable statement when she writes that "human life has a material dimension" and goes on to claim that it "is usually not taken seriously" (p. 37). However basic food, clothes and shelter may be to life, the histories of gastronomy, of fashion, and of architecture have remained peripheral to the mainstream of academic work, as if somehow an interest in things ephemeral or pleasurable or decorative is frivolous. Mukerji therefore has a double objective: to show that material culture is a significant, independent variable and that territoriality is a part of it. In fact, she does not so much use material culture to validate territoriality as proceed from territoriality to an understanding of material culture. What is the link? Territorial development involves transforming the land through tools as abstract as surveying and as practical as horticulture. This is essentially a material transformation, one guided not only by skills and knowledge but also by political means and goals, imagination and sensibility. On this point, Mukerji is convincing. She is not interested in ideal or fictitious landscapes but in the remaking of cities and the countryside through the conscious ordering of tacit and formal knowledge, the mobilization of finance and manpower, and the articulation of meanings through art and design.

The territorial policy of Louis XIV, Mukerji argues, changed France into something closer to an ideal of what France should be; the story had its sequel during the 1750s, the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods, the 1840s and 1880s, and the 1960s, just to mention the most intense decades. Mukerji, however, does not explore the links between the era of Louis XIV and successive historical periods. Her book layers a reading of the meaning of landscape design and of the experience that people of the day would have had in the gardens of Versailles between historical explanations of how the gardens themselves were designed and constructed. Her point about Versailles is that the process of its development involved the same techniques as were applied to the transformation of the country as a whole, to make France more orderly, better protected, and wealthier. As Mukerji perceptively observes, the failure to see territorial policy in the handiwork of the state indicates an intellectual bias that involves both the selection of evidence as well as

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its interpretation. Chapter two, "Military ambitions and territorial gardens," is not only a superbly sensitive interpretation of many elements of the gardens of Versailles but is also a wonderful text that teaches the reader how to learn visually and how to think in spatial terms.

To make her case, Mukerji discusses the interdependence between science and the state, the classical heritage in design, the use of engineering, developments in gardening, often bringing little-known information or new perspectives to bear on what might otherwise seem a familiar subject. The large number of illustrations, including both period documents and contemporary photographs, are invaluable accompaniments. The shortcomings of this book relate mainly to the inadequate treatment of other scholarly interpretations of the reign of Louis XIV, and to the weak sense of chronology. As a result, the larger economic and political contexts of policy and its impact are evoked incompletely. Mukerji is to be commended for tackling a large and complex subject for which an extensive historiographical literature exists. The point, of course, is that this is not the history of a reign but of a highly creative, original, sustained, and improvised effort to change a country. More analytical than narrative, this book is occasionally repetitive and sometimes introduces fascinating and important arguments at seemingly random points. Thus, a discussion of the originality of design and of the role of improvisation, key themes, appears late in the book, whereas it would have informed the evidence with greater impact had it appeared at the beginning. If this is the inevitable shortcoming of a book that blends the conceptual and the empirical, it is one worth having.

Given the importance of Louis XIV's reign, the specialist on the early modern period cannot but be interested in this fresh and incisive discussion of how the transformation of France and of the French state were mutually reinforcing parts of a single process. The success of French efforts at fashioning a territorial policy served to legitimize such a policy, perhaps for the first time in the West on such a scale since the Roman Empire. The full history of territorial policy remains to be written and contains many more failures than successes; it would be a bold effort in comparative history if it could be undertaken. It is enough for now that this book raises important and fundamental questions about territorial policy as well as adding to our understanding of its role in the making of the modern state.

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ANTOINE DE BAECQUE. *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800.* Translated by CHARLOTTE MANDELL. Mestizo Spaces/Espaces (Métissés.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 363. Cloth $55.00, paper $18.95.

At least since the appearance of Mary Douglas's *Natural Symbols* (1970), scholars in many disciplines have become attuned to the powerful metaphorical uses to which the human body has been put in conceptualizing social organization and the distribution of power. Historians have perhaps been slower than others to espy the possibilities of "corporeal metaphor," but, as the field often denominated "the history of the body" extends its range, ever more studies have appeared that examine the ways in which bodily metaphors have been manipulated in the service of diverse political and ideological ends. French history, especially of the eighteenth century, has yielded a wealth of such studies, thanks in part to the theoretical proclivities of those who write it and in part to the richness of the subject material. Michel Foucault's foundational texts have gained, of course, the greatest notoriety, but one has only to think of the contributions of scholars so otherwise incommensurable as Lynn Hunt and Barbara Maria Stafford to recognize the range of possibilities opened once the body assumed analytical primacy.

Antoine de Baecque's new work explores uses of the "corporeal metaphor" in the late *ancien régime* and French Revolution, a period (and set of sources) one might have imagined already thoroughly plumbed for their insights. Yet de Baecque finds much that is new and valuable to say on the uses to which the body was put in the 1780s by critics of the monarchy and during the revolution, when the political imagination of competing factions yielded a riot of fantastic, often brutal, metaphorized bodies. De Baecque divides his work into three major sections entitled "The State-Body," focused on contested images of sovereignty; "The Narrative Body," which examines fictionalized representations of the "new man" created by the revolution; and "The Body as Spectacle," which explores ways in which physical appearance circumscribed and defined revolutionary loyalties.

Some of the material that de Baecque examines is by now well known. The first chapter, devoted to representations of the impotence of Louis XVI and the "uterine fury" of Marie Antoinette, for example, adds little to what has been written by the historians of *ancien régime* pornography. Similarly, the chapter on denunciation, although freshly focused on techniques of "reading the body," seems little more than a sideline to the central story, already well told, of the revolutionary ideal of "transparency." But elsewhere de Baecque offers much that is fresh, sometimes amazing. His analysis of Emmanuel Sieyès's "metaphor of the great body of the citizens" illuminates the underanalyzed body imagery of liberals who sought to destroy the old organicist metaphor of corporate hierarchy while retaining "intermediary bodies" between sovereign and people. His unearthing of the multiple origins—in antiquity, the Bible, the literature of the "fantastic," the science of teratology—of the "monsters" who embodied enemies of every ideological cast is nuanced and erudite. His emphasis on revolutionary

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"laughter," provoked by ironic, grotesque, and finally blasphemous gestures, is a welcome counter to overemphasis on the puritanical spirit of the radical revolution. Much of this rich harvest results from de Baecque's close reading of thousands of revolutionary era pamphlets, whose titles alone ("The head and ear of the [king-]pig," "The union of the three orders and boiled chicken," "The Spanish Fly of the nation, or The operator-dentist-doctor of the clergy of France") should convince the skeptical that corporeal imagery was an essential feature of revolutionary discourse.

As with all histories presented in the hermeneutic mode, de Baecque draws few analytical conclusions of the sort still thought important by historians interested in cause and effect, impact and influence. Except for the "great men" of his account (Sieyès, Jacques-Louis David, the Comte de Mirabeau), he makes little attempt to tell us who produced the materials he examines. Still less is he interested in who read them or how one might gauge with some precision the degree of their impact. De Baecque's account is punctuated by the "ruptures," "accidents," and "convulsions" that substitute, in this historiographic domain, for the intentions, decisions, and choices of consciously motivated historical actors. The limitations of this approach are too well understood now to belabor. If its merits are not always equally clear, they are nonetheless nicely on display in this work: a heightened sensitivity to the ill-appreciated source, an infallible sense for the telling detail, and an uncanny skill at defamiliarizing the putatively familiar. Given such virtues, it is perhaps churlish to lament that, in the absence of any defined ideological or moral perspective, the story of the French Revolution has become, as de Baecque himself somewhat mournfully puts the matter, "untellable in its unity" (p. 13).

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Karen O'Brien. *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon*. (Cambridge studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature, number 34.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 249. $59.95.

Karen O'Brien has written an insightful and well-informed account of both the style and ideological foundations of eighteenth-century historiography. Its thesis is based on a meticulous examination of the histories of Voltaire, David Hume, William Robertson, Edward Gibbon, and the American historian, David Ramsay. O'Brien interprets these historians as products of their time who were not merely tendentious—building a stage to support their philosophy and politics—but also literary artists who wrote to inspire their audiences using the rhetoric of fiction. Early in the century, Joseph Addison intended his readers to be drawn into the narrative of history with such passion that they might feel like actual spectators. In subsequent chapters, O'Brien asks us to contemplate Robertson's description of Balboa on a mountain peak in Darien or Gibbon's ability to sweep us up in lush descriptions of Constantinople.

Enlightenment ideology is evident in the works of Voltaire, the first historian whom O'Brien examines. Throughout his historical works, Voltaire wrote as a polemicist, promoting the cause of civilization. While *Le siècle de Louis XIV* (1751) is a celebration of enlightened monarchy, particularly in the development of French culture, the king's reign is seen in the context of interdependent European states. O'Brien tracks the revisions, which become increasingly cosmopolitan, until Voltaire finally appends the history to *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756–1759), his masterwork of international history.

O'Brien's sentences are sometimes overly complicated, but her thesis is clear and cogent. The common denominator for these historians was their commitment to write cosmopolitan history designed to bring the nation-states of Europe together in one European civilization. The most convincing arguments are made on behalf of Scottish historians. Robertson was able to write a national history that attempted to place provincial Scotland in the mainstream of the European Enlightenment. Similarly, no matter how preoccupied Hume was with the intricacies of the historical evolution of England as a nation, his goal was to have Scotland join England in politics and culture. The French historian, Paul de Rapin, became the object of Hume's vitriol because he accepted and promoted the Whig myth and ethnocentric English history. In tracing the evolution of Hume's political philosophy within the context of *The History of England* (1754–1762), O'Brien emphasizes the cosmopolitan framework that distinguished Hume's work from his slavishly nationalist contemporaries.

It certainly serves O'Brien's purpose that the first modern historian of Scotland wanted nothing more than to reinforce the Union with England and the Revolution of 1688. Robertson could not go quite as far as Hume in demonizing Mary, Queen of Scots, as destructive, selfish, and irresponsible, but he discredited her as icon of the reactionary Scottish Jacobites. Because of Scotland's romantic fascination with its past and with Highland culture, it was more difficult for Robertson to place Scottish history in a European context, but he never let up in challenging the myopic Scots Whigs and evangelicals, urging them to renounce their parochialism and embrace the culture of England and Europe.

The discussions of Gibbon and Ramsay strain the author's thesis. Gibbon shares the values of the others, but his love of cosmopolitan culture is located too long ago and too far away. As a result, O'Brien's case lacks the immediacy she obtains with Voltaire, Hermes, and Robertson. The argument on behalf of Ramsay, the early patriot historian, is more difficult to accept because he was not able to assimilate American cultural traditions such as expansionism or slavery. His

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desire to graft the culture of the new nation onto that of Europe appears a bit naïve.

This is an ambitious piece of refined scholarship that probes and joins the work of the major figures in Enlightenment historiography. O'Brien has provided us with a strong thesis that will hold up under scrutiny.

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LARRY D. ELDRIDGE, editor. *Women and Freedom in Early America*. New York: New York University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 354. Cloth $55.00, paper $20.00.

If we could jump in a time machine and travel back to seventeenth and eighteenth-century North America to interview women from a wide variety of backgrounds, asking them how much "freedom" they had as women might elicit puzzled responses. Our late twentieth-century consciousness of personal autonomy rests on paradigmatic shifts in the West's understandings of politics, labor, and psychology (to name but a few arenas) that occurred from the late 1700s on. I wish that Larry D. Eldridge had explored this juxtaposition in his introduction. Instead, the theme of freedom is vaguely defined at the outset, and the concept serves at best as a weak link among the sixteen newly solicited essays represented in the volume.

The book is more successful at illustrating a second theme introduced by Eldridge in the opening pages: that to study women in early America is to recognize the "remarkable diversity" of their experiences (p. 3). The editor's hope is to offer "challenging, enlightening" essays in women's history that will spark discussion in undergraduate classrooms (p. xi); hence, the essays are all quite short (10–19 pages) and are geared to non-specialist readers. They are organized into five topical sections: race, ethnicity, and gender; religion; work and the colonial economy; marriage and the family; society and the courts. Provided also are a bibliography (up to date as of 1995) and an index that covers subject areas but not places or names.

Teachers may find that the most useful essays here for the classroom are the five that offer good synthetic views of particular groups of women who were not part of the British migration. In fact, the concept of freedom is used most explicitly and helpfully in this book by Lillian Ashcroft-Eason and Gretchen L. Green in their respective essays to demonstrate that European ideas of unfreedom and gender hierarchy were a mismatch with West African and Iroquois notions. Instructors seeking secondary material on contact zones and borderlands should note Eirlys M. Barker's overview of "White Perceptions of Southeastern Indian Women to 1770"; Terrence A. Crowley's explanation of why Canadian-born women were attracted to the Catholic orders and confraternities of New France; and Jan V. Noel's informative analysis of the public activities undertaken by women belonging to New France's ruling caste.

For specialists, two essays, those by Karin A. Wulf and Ruth Wallis Herndon, stand out in that they draw on heretofore unplumbed manuscript sources and offer fresh interpretations of specific aspects of women's experience. Wulf brings to light the extraordinary, unpublished poems of Susanna Wright, a wealthy, public-minded Philadelphia woman who defended her unmarried state in her prerevolutionary writings and encouraged other women in her literary circle to remain independent. Wulf locates the intellectual underpinnings of Wright's forthright rejection of men's "Right to Govern womankind" in both Quaker beliefs and the Enlightenment appeal to reason (p. 93). Wulf's archival sleuthing suggests that Wright deserves to be studied alongside other, better-known Western women who challenged prevailing gender norms, such as Mary Wollstonecraft and the Quaker activists of the nineteenth century.

Herndon introduces us to an excellent social history source that illuminates town officials' responses to the growing problem of female poverty and transiency in late eighteenth-century New England. Having found and analyzed over 700 transcripts of interviews conducted by Rhode Island councilmen with transients, Herndon is able to sketch this population in far more detail than previous scholars have. Besides outlining the types of female migrants and the anxieties that authorities expressed over "masterless" women, Herndon delineates the strategies of resistance offered by women to the prospect of being forcibly booted out of town. Her most important finding is that town officials' scrutiny increasingly focused over time on migrant "persons of color," even though African Americans and Native Americans constituted a small proportion of the state's population. This is a reminder that the sources exist for much-needed research into the kinship networks, mobility and labor patterns, and social survival strategies of the many black and Indian women in the North who, as Herndon puts it, presented "a double affront to patriarchy" by their seeming lack of subordination to husbands or white masters (p. 285).

Given the explosion of anthologies available in gender history and just about every other field of history, it may be worthwhile pondering what makes a strong entrant. In terms of the scholar contemplating contributing to an essay collection, three caveats come to mind. First, it is not enough merely to tell stories or to offer a string of stories, especially if those rely on a literal reading of historical documents. Undergraduate readers need to see the historian as interpreter at work—ferreting out nuances in the records, distinguishing between formulaic and idiosyncratic language, and explaining how particular narratives get generated and preserved. Second, the depth of scholarship and degree of sophistication in the field of early American women's history in the 1990s renders anachronistic and unsatisfying the smorgasboard approach, in which an essay surveys the contributions that women made to society and economy in a particular locale and

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does so largely by jumping to a new topic in each paragraph. Finally, in anthologies meant for non-specialists, footnotes are critical resources alerting readers to the best recent scholarship. All too often in this volume, the essays omit citations to the most pertinent, topical monographs. If the contributors were operating under an editorial mandate to keep citations to a minimum, that is regrettable.

My conclusion is that the field of women's history has indeed become so productive—and thus diverse in its topics and methodological approaches—that an anthology that tries to embrace *all of it*, around a vague theme like "freedom," will lack clout. A more fruitful approach entails selecting a topical theme within gender history that calls out for renewed scholarly attention (for example, poverty and transiency, sexuality, contact among ethnic and racial groups) and putting together a collection of essays whose authors engage in conversations with one another. As we all know, it is that latter feat that is the hardest of all to pull off.

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ERIC T. DEAN, JR. *Shook Over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress, Vietnam, and the Civil War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 315. $35.00.

This is a genuinely new look at the experience of soldiering in the Civil War. Eric T. Dean, Jr., examines the psychiatry of war by grounding his investigation in the twentieth century and then digging into previously unused sources to find evidence of psychological trauma among a selected group of northern soldiers in the Civil War. Dean believes that post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) has been overblown in the public view as it relates to the veterans of the Vietnam War and that they did not suffer from it in unusually high numbers compared to veterans of previous twentieth-century conflicts. The political climate of the era led to the view of the Vietnam veteran as unique in his or her battlefield suffering. PTSD is evident among the veterans of all recent wars, including the Civil War. Thus Dean smoothes out our understanding of this complicated symptom of battle, establishing its common appearance among at least a minority of soldiers in every war.

The book is at heart a Civil War study, even though about a third of its pages are devoted to more recent conflicts. Dean has done a great job of culling evidence from pension records and asylum commitment papers, both of which have largely been overlooked by previous historians. Since PTSD can best be traced in postwar records, Dean's use of letters and diaries from the war years is minimal.

It would have been dangerous for Dean to assume too much about his evidence, but fortunately he adopts an even-handed and careful approach. Dean avoids hyperbole, contenting himself with conclusions based only on what he can clearly prove. He has grounded his work securely on an understanding of psychological concepts, making his book a true multidisciplinary study. His appendixes superbly spell out his methodology, explaining how he obtained and evaluated the data relating to a group of 291 Indiana soldiers, the heart of his evidence. Dean offers some intriguing suggestions for researching similar evidence relating to Confederate veterans.

Dean breaks completely new ground, and he does it with a reassuring confidence. I shuddered a bit when contemplating this book, knowing how easy it would be for someone to take the politically correct line and assume that all Civil War veterans were victims of the horrible nature of warfare. But Dean is something of a revisionist; he refuses to accept stereotypes and prefers to take the evidence as his guide. His stern adherence to this standard prevents him from making too much of his subject while illuminating a dark corner of Civil War studies. This is an excellent piece of work that should influence all students who want to understand the experience of combat in the Civil War.

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VANESSA R. SCHWARTZ. *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 230. $35.00.

Reading this book, one is immediately struck by how much fun it must have been to research and write, a comment very far from most serious scholarship. Yet Vanessa R. Schwartz's examination of morgues, panoramas, early cinema, and the popular press in *fin-de-siècle* Paris is indeed serious fun. How to resist these acute analyses of nineteenth-century consumer culture, urban space, crowd sociology, wax celebrities, and dead babies? Schwartz matches her high-concept theorizing about epistemologies of vision and pleasure with sensational scandal, bloody crime, and histories both grand and forgettable. She urges us to see the Musée Grevin waxworks or the public display of corpses at the city morgue as paradigmatic sites and moments where a truly mass culture suited to a spectacular metropolis was born. Her book could be said to find its genealogy in a "foundations of modernity" line of historical investigation—an archaeology of our own late twentieth-century media universe of mass entertainment, straining after the virtual and longing for "the authentic."

As an investigation of popular entertainments organized around a general thesis of Paris as "spectacle," the book acknowledges now venerable works such as T. J. Clark's *The Painting of Modern Life* (1984). Schwartz re-reads some similar themes through the latest in postmodern critical literature, extending them in unexpected ways to discuss gender, empire, and a sliding scale of class identifications among the French bourgeoisie and laboring population. What Schwartz correctly forsees is the charmingly macabre turn that many amusements take in a mass media culture, and

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she ably dissects the pedagogical and commercial strategies of corpse exhibition or waxworks display from the multiple views of city officials, entrepreneurs, curious citizens, and, especially, publicists and journalists, who always seem ready to sensationalize any bit of news with stupefying exaggeration.

To her credit, Schwartz's writing imitates her subjects' enthusiasms but not their excesses, and the cool sophistication of her readings keeps the narrative moving. Some of the analysis is quite subtle. In describing tableaux at the Musée Grevin for example, Schwartz explains not only who is in the arrangments of figures but also the "mechanics of positioning," whereby the spectator's approach to the display is controlled so as to create intimacy, collusion, even conspiracy with the mannequins. Each chapter is full of such details and reads something like one of the *faits divers* she describes early on, a little bit of odd news with unexpected implications, framed by the general news of the day.

I should not suggest that the book is simply, or even principally, about strangeness. Schwartz proposes a historical sociology of urban life in the most straightforward sense, with a broad enough theoretical structure to distinguish the specifics from a mere illustrated catalogue of amusements. Schwartz's strength is her ability to take familiar theses and bend them around unexpected sources and insights. From these, the author makes some bold claims, including the idea that "spectacular realities" in urban culture need to be added to such processes as the democratization of politics, the fruitlessness of mass uprisings, and increased standards of living as part of the foundations of "mass society" (p. 6). The claim is large but creatively researched and, as noted above, has solid intellectual precedents. How large and what kind of political role these spectacles played are more open questions. In what ways were they "revolutionary," and in what ways did they "displace" class conflict? Much will depend on the reader's own politics, particularly regarding media and entertainment in the late twentieth century. This is a book to be read with an eye on the present.

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HANS ULRICH GUMBRECHT. *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 505. Cloth $49.95, paper $22.95.

This book is important in so far as it defamiliarizes the modernist historical text with its structure of fifty-one entries presented alphabetically under such sections as Arrays, Codes, Codes Collapsed, and Frames, all introduced by a User's Manual. The entries deal with a variety of topics ranging from airplanes, Americans in Paris, and wireless in the section called Arrays, to a number of polarities like action vs. impotence, immanence vs. transcendence, uncertainty vs. reality under Codes, with some of these polarities revisited in the third section called Codes Collapsed. These three sections are the levels on which the author, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, presents the objects and configurations "that appeared central within the every-day worlds of 1926" (p. 435). In the final section, Frames, the author talks directly to the reader (primarily the professional historian) about what we can do when we can no longer learn from history. Here Gumbrecht surveys the present state of history as a legitimate discipline and offers a justification for the book's self-proclaimed experimental nature in the post-totalizing universe of history writing, and offers three test cases through which to make present the world of 1926 (from the works of Martin Heidegger, Hans Friedrich Blunck, and Carl Van Vechten).

The central question addressed in the book is the in(ter)vention of the form in the writing of history. Gumbrecht argues we cannot learn from history if thinking and representing it remain associated with the discredited narrative form. But it is clear from the outset that the author has chosen to ignore the other side to this fundamental matter of form and content: the epistemological and methodological question, that history is inferential and, therefore, always and unavoidably a second-order access to reality. Consequently the book neglects the question of whether playing with form is in and of itself enough to pose basic questions about the nature of history, and it ends up as a fairly "straight" history accompanied by a commentary on method.

Although the book's structure of alphabetic entries does break up the traditional narrative (not defined by Gumbrecht, but which I take to be a connected prose version of "this happened, then that" supported by wedges of contextualizing sources), its potential as an experiment is then spoiled because of the author's belief that the reader must have the explanatory User's Manual and afterword. Gumbrecht's suggestion that these need not be read is, unfortunately, not experimental enough for this reviewer. The entries are cut dazzlingly at times, so why not leave me to make up my own mind as to their ontological or epistemological status? Do I really need an explanatory introduction and closure? After all, there are plenty of examples these days of nonconventional or, what I have called elsewhere, late modernist history that allows the reader to explore for themselves the constructedness of what they are reading.

On the one hand, Gumbrecht claims that history has lost its legitimacy (p. 411), yet he still believes we can locate it by different means—by postmodernist forms, if you like. Gumbrecht seeks an answer to all the problems posed by the postmodern critique of history (a truly modernist pursuit), asking why we need past reality as history at all. This is a very good question. Gumbrecht's weak answer is that it is a basic human need to "know the worlds that existed before we were born and experience them directly" (p. 419). We now live simultaneously with the past as the knowing subject that has been decentered. This is a much better

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answer. Gumbrecht says his book offers no model for the representation of everyday worlds by means of its form, and this is true. It does not break the mold of the self-referential didactic history text, and so it is not a radical experiment.

Indeed, the author neatly summarizes his own lack of adventure when he says the book "tries to re-present the reality of a past world despite (or because of) its fundamental awareness that such a re-presentation is impossible"(p. 436). I am taken with Keith Jenkins' suggestion that we should not worry about representing past reality but perhaps experiment with living in time but out of history (*Why History* [1998]). No matter how well done—and the entries are upon occasion brilliantly executed—experiments with form are not enough if they do not immanently question (ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically) the notion of a knowable historical reality.

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NEIL FOLEY. *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*. (American Crossroads, number 2.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 326. $29.95.

This is an important study and deserves to be read by all social scientists concerned with the history of blacks, Mexicans, Texans, cotton culture, the South, the Southwest, and the formation and importance of racial and ethnic categories.

Neil Foley sets out to bridge the chasm between southern history (black-white) and southwestern history (Mexican-American). For Foley, as for other recent authors on "whiteness," such dichotomies are unsatisfactory; they wish to transcend the black-white dichotomy to explore how class and ethnicity mark gradations within the previously homogenous but artificial conception of whiteness.

The selection of Texas is crucial, because Foley rightly sees the huge state as a border between three distinct cultures: southern, western, and Mexican. The south-central region (the "shatterbelt") is even more critical because it marks the intersection of east Texas, with its ties to southern cotton culture, populated by poor whites and blacks (mostly tenants and sharecroppers) from the Deep South; west Texas, with its planters, tenants, and hill-country whites; and south Texas, with its ranch culture, few blacks, and close knowledge of Mexican traditions. Foley chose the "shatterbelt" because the "heterogeneity and hybridity of whiteness became more transparent in this region, where whites were both the most successful landowners and among the most impoverished sharecroppers." The cotton culture of the region was "not racially static or bipartite" but was, rather, the focal point of "multiple and heterogeneous borders where different languages, experiences, histories, and voices intermingled" (p. 7). Foley is concerned not only with the impact of different ethnicities on conceptions of whiteness within this crucible but also with the process that some individuals used to construct identities as "pure" whites—Nordics or Anglo-Saxons—as opposed to the mongrelized Mexican "whites," thus securing power and privilege for themselves.

On some level, the book is a response to the 1940 Edward Everett Davis novel whose title Foley borrowed. Davis lamented the South's reliance on a cotton culture, what he called its "scourge," because it "attracted 'white trash' like 'iron filings to a magnet' " and provided a means of subsistence for "lowly blacks, peonized Mexicans, and moronic whites" (p. 6). The product of Irish-Mexican ancestors, Foley is responding, in part, to this eugenicist conviction that the survival of the lowest forms of whiteness imperiled "better" whites everywhere. Largely informed by conceptions of proletarian and bourgeois society, Foley seeks to describe deficiencies in a social and economic system that conferred privilege on some while blaming the poverty and powerlessness of others on their allegedly indigenous laziness, incompetence, or degradation.

The book is divided into several almost discrete articles. Foley describes how the Texas Revolution and the Mexican War were instrumental in racializing Mexicans as "nonwhites," thus damning them as "inferiors." In south-central Texas, cotton displaced cattle, and Mexican sharecroppers displaced white tenants. Mexican immigration rendered the traditional southern black-white dichotomy inadequate; many "pure-blood" whites saw Mexicans as a mongrelized breed polluted by Indian blood. Foley examines separate and unequal agricultural ladders of mobility as he examines land-tenure agreements, landlord-tenant relations, and credit practices as affected by race, class, and gender.

Further chapters explore the Texas Socialist Party, a failed biracial experiment led by white supremacist and Irish immigrant Tom Hickey; changing farm technology as a means of social control over blacks, Mexicans, and poor whites; yeoman manhood as the linchpin of gendered conceptions of whiteness; New Deal farm dislocation; and the limits of biracial unionism. Foley makes the point that women in the "shatterbelt" simultaneously held overlapping identities as women, wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, owners, sharecroppers, tenants, and wage workers. To this list might be added almost any number of civic or religious memberships. Taken to its logical extreme, such analysis is perilous, because it sows the seeds for reducing the discussion to a useless level. How to talk about the importance of anything like race, class, or gender when both men and women may be viewed as the complex sum of all of discrete memberships in many ethnic, class, racial, religious, gender, age, geographical, educational, and income groups? Is the only level of legitimate analysis, then, the complex individual? And, if so, how useful is such an analysis?

Although readers may quibble with some particulars or conclude that the deck was stacked by the author's

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selection of a unique and, therefore, not very representative geographic region, there is little doubt that Foley has succeeded in writing a very important book. His work is imaginative and his analysis evocative. Students of southern and southwestern history as well as of race and ethnicity should consult this valuable work.

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THOMAS LAHUSEN. *How Life Writes the Book: Real Socialism and Socialist Realism in Stalin's Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 247. $29.95.

Opening once-closed Soviet archives has solved many historical mysteries, but far from all of them. Most elusive, perhaps, remains the issue of what people were thinking as they endured the Stalinist order and what, in fact, they were thinking as they built it.

One recent contribution to the study of Soviet subjectivity (the socially constructed aspect of personality) is a collection of archival diaries, edited and translated by Veronique Garros, Natalia Korenevskaya, and Thomas Lahusen, entitled *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s* (1995). Written by a cross section of Soviet citizens including, among others, a collectivized peasant, a ranking bureaucrat, and an industrial manager's wife, the diaries suggest how deeply citizens were affected by the Stalinist state and the diversity of their reactions to the experience. The diaries are private documents, yet they suggest that not only were subjects shaped by the state, but the engagement in turn stimulated and shaped state culture.

Historians interested in subjectivity should be wary of pitfalls, some common to all cultures, some unique to Soviet Russia. Subjectivity is slippery to pin down for an individual, all the more for an entire society. Stalinist Russia offers little help. Surveillance compromised most interpersonal exchanges; cultural production was thoroughly controlled. Psychiatry was effectively banned, and citizens adapted to the repressive state by habitual lying. No matter how many new archives open, none will have a section on subjectivity.

Among the many things it is, Thomas Lahusen's new book is an attempt to draw a complex map of one thoroughly Soviet subjectivity, that of Vasilii Azhaev, the author of *Far From Moscow* (1948), which won a Stalin Prize in 1949. The topic is well chosen. Lahusen rereads the novel, long ago consigned to oblivion as hackwork, as a web of correspondences between the fictional and the real (the "Real Socialism and Socialist Realism" of the subtitle). A tedious book comes alive when it finds a reader able to decipher references to the ongoing historical reality. Speaking through an intrusive narrative self, Lahusen tracks down the code to Siberia, where the pipeline construction narrated in the novel takes place, and where the fledgling writer Azhaev was imprisoned in 1934. By reanimating the links between these two narrative planes, one articulated and the other repressed, Lahusen reconstructs the ideal Soviet reader and text.

Among the rich strands in this book, several merit particular attention. It is, first of all, a solid work of historical investigation. Lahusen mines the local archives and periodical press, providing vivid pictures of 1930s Siberia and of the intense, often vicious literary life of the provinces. His treatment of the gulag is itself worth the read. Lahusen points to Azhaev as an alternative gulag writer and discovers a coded critique of Azhaev in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Lidiia Chukovskaia. Whereas these writers used the camps to condemn Stalinism, Azhaev, who underwent the classic Soviet redemption, graduating to People's Commissiariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) cultural-educational worker, transformed the camps into a utopia of socialist labor.

The most challenging scholarship begins at the point when Azhaev was released from camp and went to Moscow to pursue a literary career. Traumatized by his camp stay and semilegal status, Azhaev transmuted his experience into fiction. Lahusen is aided here by his discovery of the Azhaev literary archive, including prison documents, drafts of the novel, and letters from readers. Azhaev transferred raw materials from the pipeline into the novel, coding them for a tangle of reasons. The pipeline was a classified secret; but, more to the point, Azhaev wished to "generalize" his historical experience to speak for a whole generation. Generalization brought Azhaev into conflict with his own experience (e.g. he could not mention that his characters were prisoners), causing textual disjunctures that Lahusen neatly exploits. He treats Azhaev's desire to scrub his own subjectivity from the text not as cowardice but as a map of the traumatized Stalinist subject. Gaps appear when Azhaev tries to mask or transfer unrepressed desires. For example, Lahusen notes the poorly integrated love themes (remarked by editors and readers) and redirects our attention to "homosocialist" desire—an uncomfortable attraction to male communist role models.

The most striking gap is the fact that the archive was created *after* the fact of the writing, to justify and conceal the textual disjunctures. The author's intention, it seems, was not political compliance but utopian imagination. *Far from Moscow*, as Lahusen points out, is a "no-place," with terminal referents in the "official geography" of the Soviet Union and the real, harsh geography of the Siberian pipeline. Azhaev's draft shows the difficulty of uniting the two, finding a beginning and end for the narrative and blending their discordant voices into a single text. Moments of rupture represent less aesthetic clumsiness than a violent gap between word and deed, promise and delivery, desire and reality. There are long stretches of arrhythmia, vocal dissonance, narrative heterogeneity (which Lahusen tries to match in his own narrative) that poke through the utopic shell. Azhaev, perhaps because of

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his Siberian trauma, perhaps because he lacked talent, was a writer who could not conquer disjuncture.

The final element in the picture of Soviet subjectivity is the reader. Lahusen begins by offering Azhaev an ideal reader who seems to be himself, Lahusen, an expedient if not satisfactory solution. Once he has cracked the codes, he modestly steps aside and allows the historical Soviet reader—a blend of myth and reality—to speak through the transcripts of "reader conferences" (themselves cleaned up by their recorders) and through the more intimate form of the letter. Forced into an active role by textual gaps, these readers (including the Dzherzhinsky Book Club of the Ministry of State Security!) probe the text for echoes of their own reality and experience. They complain of unnamed "bad feelings" aroused by rough text, and even refuse to understand uncomfortable echoes.

Lahusen has written a very daring and complex book. At times, the disciplinary underpinning grows thin—for example, the sociological theory, drawn mostly from Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's classic *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966), is out of the tune with the rest of the book—yet the author has a gift for writing clearly, with a dash of wit. As a probe into a new topic, the book is very interesting, and I advise all Russianists, and others interested in the history of culture, to read it.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

Peregrine Horden and Richard Smith, editors. *The Locus of Care: Families, Communities, Institutions, and the Provision of Welfare Since Antiquity*. (Studies in the Social History of Medicine.) New York: Routledge. 1998. Pp. x, 287. $24.99.

Politics, so the saying goes, often makes for strange bedfellows. Some of the prevailing notions about the history of the welfare state are a case in point. Beginning with the Reagan administration, conservative policy makers have linked their quest to dismantle the welfare state to a call to return to an idealized "golden age" in the American past when public was public, private was private, and communities cared for their own. Government funding, we are told, has undermined the spirit of self-help that made the country great. Ironically, liberal historians have added fuel to these ideas. Until very recently, historical depictions of the rise of government-funded services traced a straight line from familial mutual aid to the creation of formal charities and, finally, to the advent of government welfare in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Western industrialized states. Counterpointing this "poor law to welfare state model" were Marxist analyses that celebrated a pristine "world we have lost," a time when landholdings were small, workers independent, and family life untainted by government, capitalist incursions, or unwonted bourgeois largesse. Charity, by these interpretations, was a one-way street on which the rich exercised social control for their own gratification, to the detriment of the poor. This collection of essays edited by Peregrine Horden and Richard Smith presents an important challenge to these assumptions.

Initially presented at a 1992 conference on "Communities, Caring and Institutions" sponsored by the Society for the Social History of Medicine, the essays collectively challenge the notion that welfare provision shifted from informal "care dominated by the extended family . . . to institutional care directed and funded by the state." Instead, the contributors found that the "supposedly golden age of kin-based welfare provision" never materialized in many Western European countries (p. 1). Other myths that the authors attempt to dismantle include the ideas that "the extra-familial community" was of minimal importance "until the emergence of so-called welfare states"; "the roles of family and state" were "inversely related"—"as one declined the other expanded"; family and state were "unproblematic pairs of categories"; and "the change from family to state provision" was confined to "westernized economies" (p. 3).

Horden and Smith's introduction and Horden's essay in part one set the tone for the discussions by stressing continuities rather than change over several centuries of informal care. According to the editors, extended kinship networks never cared exclusively for the poor, whether "in Mediterranean antiquity or the European Middle Ages" (p. 9). Instead, families cobbled together impromptu systems of support, sometimes relying on kin, sometimes on charities and public aid. What emerges, then, is "a complicated and shifting 'mixed economy of care, in which the role of the *immediate* family may have been overestimated—a mixed economy' discernible as far back in time as there is evidence of welfare provision" (p. 9). Religious disparities have also been overdrawn according to Horden. Thus, "*local* inflections" rather than denominational policies, ultimately determined the scope and quality of the available care (p. 25).

The ensuing essays elaborate on these themes. Part two focuses on networks and institutions in western Europe between 1500 and 1800. Marjorie McIntosh finds that "no one was thinking in terms of the categories that have characterized most historical study" in sixteenth-century Suffolk (p. 72). Instead, welfare recipients blended the resources of friends, kin, charity, and towns. Elizabethan poor relief supplemented rather than supplanted familial care.

Sandra Cavallo's essay on Northern Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries evinces a similar pattern. Tracing the inmate records of Turin's Ospidale de Carita over two centuries, she concludes that "contrary to what the stereotype of the Italian family might suggest . . . many domestic and kinship groups were unable to shoulder the burden of providing for their aged and infirm relations" (p. 93). Instead, families deposited children and elders at the asylum,

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periodically retrieving them during periods when their labor was needed in the home. Thus, "although the institution did not entirely replace a pauper's family it constituted . . . an important extension of it" (p. 95).

Martin Dinges's article on "Self-Help and Reciprocity in Parish Assistance: Bordeaux in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" reveals a comparable mix of familial, parish, and public support in France, while Amanda Barry's essay on "Community Sponsorship and the Hospital Patient in Late Eighteenth-Century England" scrutinizes the sources of charitable funding. Contrary to the prevailing equation of individual giving with social control, Berry found that a whole array of backers supported the three hospitals she studied. Individuals, business firms, friendly societies: all funded subscriptions that allowed them to nominate their colleagues and employees for hospital care.

Part three, "Beyond the Asylum: Mental Health in Britain *c.* 1700–1939," continues these themes, as Akihito Suzuki, David Wright, and Mathew Thomson trace the mixed economy of public, private, and familial support and public/private partnerships through three centuries of British social welfare. Although some of the language in this section is jarring—for example, the term "idiot children" is no longer common usage—each of the essays succeeds in illustrating the extent to which "the central state, local government, and voluntary organizations interacted and overlapped" in the provision of services for the mentally ill (p. 212).

The final section, which deals with the history of care for children and the elderly in the twentieth century, is the least cohesive and therefore the least successful. In an effort to move beyond an exclusive focus on Western Europe, the editors concluded the volume with essays from England, South Africa, and China. Lara Marks's essay, which traces variations in the levels of public and private support for child welfare services in four London boroughs of differing wealth, fits reasonably well with the preceding essays. Not surprisingly, she finds that charities played a greater role in wealthier neighborhoods and government in poor areas. All relied on a blend of public and private support, with government filling the gaps left by private initiatives. Conversely, Sandra Burman and Patricia van der Spuy's fascinating article on the impact of apartheid policies on South African child care services seems slightly out of place, emphasizing the role of value systems and race in shaping social welfare policies. Similarly, Zhongwei Zhao's predictions about future policies for old age support in China are interesting in their own right but somewhat dissonant within the context of a collection of historical essays.

Caveats aside, this volume introduces a number of significant issues. Rather than viewing public and private services as oppositional, it issues a clarion call for closer consideration of public/private partnerships and the "mixed economy of care" on which the destitute and disadvantaged have drawn in times of need. It provides fresh perspectives on the place of religion in the provision of services over several centuries. It illustrates the challenges—and pitfalls—of pursuing comparisons on a global rather than a regional scale. And it counters the image of a better, mythological past that has colored the writings of welfare critics from both the left and right. To quote Horden and Smith, we need to avoid "stereotypes of pauper solidarity" (p. 9) if we are to understand the complex interrelationships that have historically determined the social welfare imperatives of local communities, the poor, and the state.

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DAVID BUISSERET, editor. *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography*. (The Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 181. $50.00.

It is appropriate that Chicago, which gave us the skyscraper and much of modern urban theory, should be the place of publication of this collection edited by David Buisseret. This is the eighth volume of Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures published for the Herman Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library by the University of Chicago Press. Other volumes in the series have covered map collecting, map printing, art and cartography, and political maps.

Cartography, which is technological in nature, has attributes of both art and science, but it is the scientific aspects that have dominated the literature of the subject in recent decades. It is therefore refreshing to have a collection in which three of the contributors are art historians and the other three, including the editor, are more general humanistic scholars. Understandably, the work is more concerned with the aesthetics of the representation of urban centers and social conditions in the region where the maps were produced than with central place theory and the functional areas of the city, which have been the basis of much recent scholarship. Implicitly or explicitly, however, these last topics have not been altogether neglected.

We might not expect to find a theme common to all of the studies in a multi-authored work on Chinese urban cartography, representations of Renaissance cities, civic plans and models of fortified places, and delineations of an idealistic community. There is, however, a central idea in the six essays: namely, point of view or aspect. Thus, as Buisseret informs us in the introduction, the representation may be in vertical or plan view; in bird's eye or oblique view; or in profile or side elevation. The three-dimensional model permits appreciation of any of these points of view, depending on the orientation or location of the viewer.

In the first essay, "Mapping the Chinese City," Nancy Steinhardt is concerned with the image of the Oriental capital city as drawn, compared with the

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reality of the city as built. The role of geomancy and the variety of materials used for the delineations—metal, especially bronze, silk, wood, and paper (invented in China)—are discussed. It is well to recall, with Joseph Needham (whom the author obviously admires), that the printed map in China anticipated that in Europe by over three centuries.

The rediscovery and translation into Latin of Ptolemy's *Geography* in the European Renaissance, with special reference to the urban maps attached to this work, is the subject of the second essay by Naomi Miller. These urban views are not nearly as well-known as the world and regional maps of Ptolemy, and it is good to find so many of them—including Venice, Florence, Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Cairo, and Alexandria—illustrated and discussed in this essay. The originals are in manuscript form but some are copies. Maps printed in Europe, of which the earliest example, a T-O map of 1472, is illustrated, made cartography, including city maps, much more available than previously to an educated public.

Some of the same themes are evident in Richard Kagan's essay on urban maps in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain. This is not surprising since many of the cartographers working in this region at this time were not Spanish. There are differences, however: for example, religious iconography is more prominent in the Iberian cityscapes than in those of other areas.

The idea of plan, oblique view, and profile is most clearly brought out in the fourth essay, "Military Architecture and Cartography in the Design of the Early Modern City," by Martha Pollack. The widespread use of gunpowder in Europe at this period brought about morphological changes in both citadel and city construction. As indicated, some of the most important figures in the Renaissance, including Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer, were involved in the design and delineation aspects of this transformation.

Chapter five, "Modeling Cities in Early Modern Europe," is by Buisseret. Although, as he points out, models of cities were made in earlier times, the golden age of model making appears to be from 1650 to 1850. This is before the advent of aerial photography, although some models were produced and used as late as the World War II period. Problems associated with the maintenance and storage of models, of which scores still exist of French cities, limit their usefulness, but they are well worth study as Napoleon and others appreciated.

The last chapter examines Daniel H. Burnham's *Plan of Chicago* (1909), a catalyst that influenced the development not only of that city but, to some extent, of other important urban centers in the United States. In his practice, Burnham collaborated with or supervised the work of John Root, Frederick Law Olmsted, and Jules Guerin. The last produced plate 1 of the plan, a bird's-eye view of Chicago and its hinterland, and also drawings of various locations within the city. Upon the prior, rectilinear United States Public Land Survey (USPLS) of the region, a series of radiating streets would be imposed that focused on a civic center open to the shore of Lake Michigan, as shown by maps and views. As in the case of the representations from early China and also subsequent examples from Renaissance Europe and later, the delineations in the *Plan of Chicago* differ markedly from what was actually constructed. Nevertheless, such representations provided inspiration for civic development.

The book contains over 100 black and white illustrations that complement the text well. There is no formal bibliography, but informational and bibliographic endnotes accompany each essay. It is not in any way encyclopedic, but no single author could have written this book, whose value derives from the researches of each of the contributors. Although not designed as a reference tool, this well-edited, well-indexed work should be available in both specialized and large general collections as well as in college and university libraries.

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ANNE SALMOND. *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans, 1773–1815*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1997. Pp. 590. $45.00.

This handsomely produced volume is the sequel to Anne Salmond's acclaimed but controversial *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642–1772* (1991). Like its predecessor, this new book describes perilous voyages across space and time and the hazards of meetings between strangers. Salmond skillfully navigates the reader through the choppy waters of cross-cultural comparison between Te Ao Maori (the Maori "world") and the "world" of Europeans. The hand on the tiller steers a course through different narratives by attributing, as far as sources allow, equal weight to different voices. Maori histories are put on a par with European, if not privileged, to redress a colonial imbalance. The result is an impressive, although uneven, historical anthropological addition to a now well-established genre that attributes as much importance to the agency of the peoples on Pacific shores as the occupants of the European vessels that landed there.

Salmond's book is divided into three sections. In the first, we become reacquainted with the scientific voyages of Captain James Cook, his visits with Maori fellow travelers to other parts of Polynesia, and the later arrival of Spanish and French explorers. Much of this terrain has been well traversed by others. However, Salmond's technique is to confront the European written sources with the Maori oral (and written) record, to relate events using her own understanding of the beliefs that the actors in the situations would have drawn on, and to place this intricate local weave in a broader regional and global mesh. She thus confirms, extends, or reinterprets specific events and

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places, drawing on her representations from "both sides" of the encounters, using the filters of contemporary European and Maori ways of knowing. Through this device, the author reveals the stumbling and faltering meetings of alternative protocols, the forced and shared intimacies of cultural and sexual intermixing, and the aversions, sometimes violent, of respective ethnocentricities.

This book can be placed within the expanding historical literature on the links between science and empire, although its emphasis is more on the interplay at the "coastal frontier" than in metropolitan home ports. Salmond rarely alludes to the recent, lively debate about whether imperial science was passively diffused from the core or was actively fashioned, in part, on the peripheries. Nevertheless, the importance of scientific exploration as a vital precursor and ongoing stimulant to capitalist endeavor underpins the analysis of trading landfalls in the second section of the book. Here the founding of penal settlements on Norfolk Island, the trade in flax, timber, seals, and whales, and Maori experiences of "other worlds" as guests or labor on European vessels are deftly interlaced. The treatment of Chief Te Pahi's cross-cultural journeys and his relations with Governor Phillip Gidley King is particularly illuminating. A series of voyages and episodes are linked together, revealing the overlap of geopolitics, trade, and technological innovation and how these build and destroy networks of strategic and less calculated relations between peoples.

Boundary crossing occurred on many levels. In the final section on evangelical voyages, tapu is set beside religion as the sacred is perceived through both indigenous and missionary eyes. Repeating the formula used to explore other encounters, Salmond is mainly concerned with negotiated practices, but whether these arise despite or because of the collision or elision of different beliefs is tantalizingly unclear. Overall, the author clearly supports commensurability. To do otherwise would be to render her task impossible.

This is a big book that encompasses many voyages. Some of them evoke considerable tension. On one level, Salmond provides a fine-grained, in-depth description and analysis of the meetings (and sometimes re-encounters) between various types of seafarers and the differentiated indigenes they met in discrete places at specific moments. Here the author is sensitive to the particularities of the placement of diverse actors in multiple worlds.

On another level, Salmond, in self-acknowledged cursory reflective style, provides some thoughts on her own philosophical journey into the formidable question of what is it to be human. This second voyage is far less compelling, partly because of the brevity of her introductions and conclusions but more because of the lapse into generalities that jar with the far more nuanced analysis of the substantive chapters. Most striking is the juxtaposition of "European Enlightenment" thinking as a homogeneous, uncontested series of binaries entrapping the "savage" within the confines of "civility" with a more inclusive Maori conception of reciprocity and balanced exchange. Yet Enlightenment thought always contained a deep ambivalence concerning the exclusive instrumentality of reason and the emancipatory impulse of an openness to the universality of sense data. This double edge goes largely unrecognized, as do the implications of not interrogating Maori epistemologies with the same Foucauldian inspired critique as European projects. If knowledge is power, were Maori more free through having different ways of knowing?

Salmond has moved from two worlds to between worlds. If the destination is sometimes chimerical, the journey still much enriches us.

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DAVID A. CHAPPELL. *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships*. (Sources and Studies in World History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1997. Pp. xix, 231. $60.95.

This book by David A. Chappell gathers the names and notices of over 250 Pacific Islanders (kanakas, or "people") involved in Euroamerican maritime trades from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the present and is extraordinarily inclusive. It is a good book in the moral sense of doing the pious work of history: remembering the names and lives of the dead, particularly the unfamous lives and unrepeated names. It is less good intellectually because of the absence of a packaging idea to guide readers toward an understanding of the lives figuring in this volume.

In the introduction, Chappell announces that he will use the three stages of initiation rituals described by Victor Turner (originally by Arnold Van Gennep) as a format for the book. Fortunately, he does not do this; instead the material is organized chronologically. The word "limen" is brought in when significance or coherence is needed in the recitation of names, places, and voyages. For example, we read that "the shipboard *limen* bred innovations" (p. 19), that "Size and strength had *mana* on the liminal deck," (p. 70), and that "he [Tupaia] revealed his own autonomy in the *limen*" (p. 75).

Although the value of this compenium does not depend on its organizing idea or image (the boundary, or limen), it is curious how a metaphor that casts such light when applied to transitions of age, state, and status casts such darkness when applied to the lives of kanaka seamen, missionaries, trappers, traders, harpooners, and boatmen. The always perceptive anthropologist Frederick Barth found a rule useful in his interpretation of the metaphors used in Baktaman (New Guinea) ritual: a metaphor illuminates the domain to which it is applied, not the domain from which it is taken. "Love is a rose" tells us something about love, nothing about gardening. This book illustrates what happens when Barth's rule is contravened, when

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a metaphor taken from the domain of travel (passage between boundaries) is used to explicate the lives of travelers who professionally pass over boundaries: nothing. At its base, a metaphor uses one thing to illuminate something else that it is *not*. Love, actually, is not a rose. In this book, a metaphor (passage) is used to illuminate what it *is*, the experience of travelers. Finally, an effective metaphor uses something tangible and known to configure something less tangible and known. Here, something ineffable and difficult to define—liminality—is used to configure the substance of travelers' lives that escape our definitions and categories. The thesis makes these travelers triple ghosts, removed from their homes, not Europeans, and appendages of a misapplied metaphor.

This book also reveals the obscurity resulting from the application of our dominant intellectual paradigm—culture—to lives lived before the invention and diffusion of the concept. The kanakas who served aboard European and American ships were not passing liminally between different cultures so much as leaving their home and entering a worldwide economic regime (capitalism) that consisted of a number of professions: merchants, seamen, brokers and factors, and shipbuilders. Chappell is prevented from looking into this transcultural regime as kanaka voyagers learned and adapted to it, quite sucessfully apparently, for they were in great demand for their skills as hunters, trappers, and boatmen and also for their easygoing reputation as good shipmates. The thesis prevents the author from dealing with what he has. The names of these voyagers are themselves interesting, revealing of identifications laid on and accepted, showing how a place of origin becomes a permanent identification of those who leave it and acquire an "of," "von," or "de" as a middle name. Chappell uses the names not as a window into the accumulated identities of his subjects but to note, once more, a feature of "liminality": renaming. Many opportunities are lost in this book because of a misapplied thesis.

The obscurity that the thesis casts on the subjects of the book does not change the fact that this volume is the definitive compendium of kanaka voyagers persisting in the oral and written literature. The research does not have to be done again and will be useful to anyone interested in transnational regimes of trade and labor created in the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries.

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Alan Macfarlane. *The Savage Wars of Peace: England, Japan and the Malthusian Trap*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1997. Pp. xiii, 427. $59.95.

Under this dramatic and unrevealing title, one of the most accomplished anthropological historians of our time addresses two critical historical questions. How could any traditional, pre-industrial society spontaneously escape from the Malthusian trap? How far can that question be answered by comparative analysis of the only two instances of countries that accomplished the feat: that is to say, England and Japan? The book appears to be the crescendo of a highly successful writing career which began in 1976 with a monograph on the Gurungs of Nepal, followed two years later by perhaps the most radical study ever made of a subject in British social history, *The Origins of English Individualism*. Within a decade, two further highly original and iconoclastic studies appeared, *Marriage and Love in England* (1986) and *The Culture of Capitalism* (1987). The conventionally minded historian a decade further on now faced with the present title might cry out "He's at it again! What next?"

These are not quite the appropriate exclamations, because there are no historians' holy cows trampling the field of analysis as to how the menace of overpopulation was originally overcome nor as to why the two nominated countries managed it, although they had such vividly contrasting cultures,. Insofar as there is an accepted solution to the crux between population and subsistence in England, it is industrialization itself which is invoked. Indeed, as Tony Wrigley has insisted, Thomas Malthus was the first to recognize and describe the dilemma at just the time and in when the country where it was being overcome by spontaneous industrialization, something which Malthus himself did not identify. But Japan did not undergo indigenous industrialization and when that development came, it was mimetic of the by then well established, originally English model.

These are circumstances which complicate Macfarlane's intricate problems even further. But he is extraordinarily effective in threading his way through the complications, showing a mastery of an enormous range of detail, technical and otherwise; ideological, productive, economic, dietetic, medical, epidemiological, agricultural, military, political—the list goes on and on. He carries his reader with him, however, at all points, and his lengthy text is full of illuminating, original, and surprising things. He is, for example, the first writer about the past, as far as I know, to venture a chapter on human excrement, that extremely valuable nutrient for crops, which underwrote the Japanese food supply, though it was rejected as disgusting by the English. So carefully was it treasured in Japan, he tells us, that a would-be bridegroom was reminded as he went away from a courtship visit to be sure to piddle on a family field if he was taken short on his way home. In that society, Macfarlane says, though I find it hard to believe, the smell of shit was not repellent.

There are other inconsistencies between his two cases. But the features he finds to be in common decidedly carry the day. He takes as his framework the inventory set out by Malthus himself of the catastrophes inevitably ensuing in a traditional society from its uncontrollable numbers, war, disease, and famine in all their manifestations. These elements are trailed through what seems to be every single minute detail of the two economies, societies, and ideologies, with

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persuasive judgments at each particular point as to how the threat posed was warded off. Some of the conclusions may seem to be trivial; indeed, one of them—that the two societies were shielded from sickness and starvation by drinking tea—has been laughed at by one or two reviewers.

Let it be said that the adoption of the cup that cheers is not proposed as the crucial reason why these two developments occurred; if only because the whole discussion is directed against monocausal explanations. Great pains are taken to order the minutiae as to their significance in the analysis and the commanding likenesses between England and Japan, their status as islands, their early freedom from epidemic diseases, especially the plague, their avoidance of armed domestic conflict and conquest from overseas. The whole case is not set out as what might be called theoretical architecture, systematically relating the myriad items to an overall hypothesis. It is rather an anatomy of what might be called a syndrome, a syndrome the full understanding of which has yet to be arrived at. Such a judgement may well be rejected by the author, because in his final chapter on chance and change he sets out to convince you that after all he is dealing with a single highly complex causal network. Judgment on this claim must be left to his readers, who will find the argument a fascinating one, though I confess to a feeling that he has set himself a well nigh impossible task. Nevertheless, this is a very remarkable book by a very remarkable man.

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ROMANA FALCÓN. *Las rasgaduras de la descolonización: Españoles y mexicanos a mediados del siglo XIX*. Mexico City: Colegio de México. 1997. Pp. 368.

This study of Spanish-Mexican relations during mid-nineteenth-century conflicts that determined whether Mexico would be monarchist or republican goes beyond the actions of diplomats to analyze concrete relations between peoples, specifically Spanish immigrants and their Mexican working-class dependents and neighbors. Amply revealed is the persistence of "racial" conflict and of the colonial mentality characteristic of virtually all factions in Spain.

Romana Falcón focuses on at least three facets of her subject: Spanish visions of Mexico and Mexicans and the defense of Spanish civilization's legacy; the thinking of Spanish and Mexican elites amid social tensions; and the frustrations of diplomatic contact between the two nations, culminating in threats of intervention. Moving beyond economic relations, Falcón considers principles, values, and ideas. Two dramatic case studies begin the work: conflict in Yucatán between the local elite and the Maya, who, during repeated periods of violent upheaval, were being sold into slavery in Cuba; and persistent anti-*gachupín* (Spaniard) violence in the sugar-growing zones of the *tierra caliente*.

Falcón argues that Spain acted from ideological motives—the desire to reestablish its national prestige in Europe and America—and to preserve the conservative legacy of Hispanic civilization. Spain viewed Mexico as a potential barrier to the advance of the "Anglo-Saxon race" and Protestantism, which threatened the "Latin race" and Catholicism. The ultimate concern was the disintegration of Mexico. Spanish representatives repeatedly sought compensation for ill treatment of Spaniards by workers, bandits, and military officers. Falcón demonstrates that Spaniards usually had conservative ties and involved themselves in factional conflicts, attracting Mexican wrath.

The period studied is roughly the late 1840s to 1867, ending with the collapse of Maximilian's monarchy and the triumph of the Liberals. Falcón provides a thorough discussion of the slave trade in Mayans to Cuba and the elite's defense of it. She demonstrates that the critical English view of this trade was correct, while among Mexico's leaders, only Benito Juárez (an Indian) denounced the exploitative practice.

In southern Mexico's *tierra caliente*, sugar production was undergoing modernization. Here, owners or managers were often Spaniards with a record of haughtiness and cruelty in the treatment of laborers; workers were lashed and denied access to farm plots on haciendas, and village lands and traditional water rights were usurped. Such actions led to longstanding hatred and frequent violence. Seemingly oblivious to these realities, Spaniards continued to open shops and seek employment on Spanish estates. General Juan Alvarez, the perennial rebel from the Guerrero region, stood accused of fomenting anti-Spanish assaults. Spanish sugar producers applied "methods" learned in Cuba, and Falcón should have noted that many of the mistreated workers were the descendants of African slaves.

By 1858, during the War of the Reform, conservative authorities and their troops were also guilty of targeting Spaniards. In response to the federal government's impotence, and debt service suspension, Spain broke off relations, leaving the despised Spaniards without representation in Mexico City. Spain contemplated naval bombardment of Veracruz port, and hostile relations with Juárez escalated, while the Spaniards sided with the conservative Miramón. Juárez expelled the Spanish ambassador.

The tripartite occupation of Veracruz in 1862, followed by the French intervention and the imposition of Maximilian, proved awkward for Spanish residents and for Spain. When General Juan Prim withdrew, Spanish opinion polarized over the French effort at monarchy. Once again, Spanish residents proved vulnerable, although they were initially enthusiastic about the new empire. But Prim's withdrawal improved relations between Juárez and the Spanish government.

As the French and Maximilian proved incapable of subduing Mexico, Spaniards were victimized by both

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liberal and conservative officers. Again, Spanish complaints proved ineffective. Resident Spaniards were soon disillusioned with Maximilian, the French, and Mexican conservatives. In 1867, the victorious Juárez expelled the foreign representatives who had favored the empire.

In the end, two competing Spanish visions of Mexican reality persisted: one monarchist, which saw "civilization versus barbarism" as the issue, and the other republican, which perceived Mexico and Juárez as fellow republicans defending their nation against foreign usurpers. The book ends without conclusions, although there are persistent patterns of thinking here that could have been pinpointed in a summary. This work advances our understanding of anti-*gachupinismo* in Mexico.

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ALICE L. CONKLIN. *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 367. $55.00.

Imperial powers since the days of Rome have always justified their conquests in terms of the benefits that their superior civilization conferred upon the conquered, but few did so more stridently than the Third French Republic. References to the *mission civilisatrice* abounded in both the speeches and the policy papers of republican politicians and senior officials. What is more, as Alice L. Conklin demonstrates in this careful study of how the civilizing mission was implemented in French West Africa, ministers and governors-general often meant what they said. Prompted by their profound belief in the superiority of French culture and the possibility of progress through the rational application of scientific techniques, they set out to improve the material and moral condition of the indigenous population by developing West Africa's natural and human resources. Under the governorship of Ernest Roume (1902–1908), the *mission civilisatrice* was interpreted to mean the creation of an infrastructure through an ambitious program of railway building, a scientific campaign against the endemic diseases that periodically ravaged the Federation, the spread of education in the French language, a reorganization of the native justice system, and a determined assault on the institution of slavery through the abolition of its legal status. Under Roume's successor as governor-general, William Ponty (1908–1914), a systematic effort to undermine the position of the Federation's traditional "feudal" elites and an attempt to bring French administration more directly into contact with the mass of the population were also added to the mix. As a result of World War I, however, the emphasis in the civilizing mission, according to Conklin, shifted significantly, although the mission itself was never abandoned. Mass resistance to wartime conscription and demands for increased production, as well as the growing assertiveness of the *évolué* elite, called into question the more egalitarian and "liberating" elements of prewar policy and encouraged a much more conservative interpretation of the *mission civilisatrice*. As the region's precolonial civilizations came to be more appreciated, so too did the legitimacy of its traditional aristocracy. Prewar attacks on "feudalism" were abandoned, and the chiefs were brought more closely into the colonial administration. Attitudes to the mass of the African population also changed as the need to make "lazy natives" work productively became one of the government's chief preoccupations. Indeed, this emphasis on labor mobilization—including the use of forced labor both for local public works and for private European firms—made the interwar years "among the most coercive of the colonial period" (p. 247).

Conklin's argument is cogently presented, and much of it is quite persuasive. In one or two respects, however, it remains less than completely convincing. Although some aspects of French policy in the decade before World War I were certainly influenced by the commitment to a *mission civilisatrice*, some of its key elements were arguably the product of much more mundane and practical considerations. If colonies were not to remain a burden on the metropolis, they had to be developed, and development at the end of the nineteenth century meant above all the construction of railways, roads, and harbors, as well as the eradication of disease. And if the emphasis after the war shifted to "human" *mise en valeur*, this shift was probably caused more by the lack of capital available for large-scale public works projects than by any disillusionment with the more liberal aspects of the prewar civilizing mission. The same point can be made about the author's contention that conservative interpretation of that mission after 1918 reflected the growing illiberalism of postwar France. One could argue just as convincingly that, regardless of political trends, the immense economic problems confronting France between the wars made it all the more essential to increase colonial production, which in turn entailed the increased exploitation of African labor. Conklin's suggestions that "the revolts of the colonized [in West Africa] contributed as much as developments in Europe itself to the increasingly conservative politics and culture of metropolitan France" and that "disillusionment with republicanization overseas . . . helped to create suspicion of democratic values in the metropole" (pp. 252–53) are even more debatable. There were many reasons for the rightward shift in French politics after the war, but developments in West Africa—about which most Frenchmen, including French politicians, knew virtually nothing—were hardly among them. Still, questions like these would not have been prompted by a more cautious approach to the subject: indeed they underscore the fact that Conklin has written an important, thought-provoking, and original book. Students of modern France as well

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as of West Africa can gain a great deal from reading it.

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David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt, editors. *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776.* (Publications of the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 373. $64.95.

If one could see oneself as others see one, one saying goes, one would not see oneself at all. Certainly, Germans and Americans have had difficulty apprehending each other over the last two hundred years. Armed with the conceit of being part of a New World, Americans have generally lost Germans in the ethnic hodge-podge of the Old Europe. Germans, for their part, caught in their linguistic obsession, have had trouble separating the mother tongue from its offspring, that is, differentiating the American from the English. Every generation, to be sure, has seen periods of intense preoccupation with the other (e.g. 1776–1780, 1819–1823, 1848–1852, 1898–1903, 1914–1919, 1924–1929, 1941–1949, and 1989–1990) followed by longer stretches filled with indifferent stereotypes, clichés, images, and prejudices. Caught in the middle has been the German-American, who has played various roles: the "poor Palatine" refugee of colonial times, the beer-swilling, Sabbath-desecrating "damned Dutchman" of the mid-nineteenth century, the discomforted Goethe-quoting, Wagner-touting hyphenate of World War I, culminating in a Houdini-like disappearing act of the ethnic German-American in the return to normalcy after 1920.

The seventeen essays in this volume, admirably edited by David Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt ably document the surge of interest in "transatlantic perception research." The contributors are divided equally between the two nationalities, but it is soon apparent that it is the Germans who are wrestling most acutely with the issues of national stereotyping. It is clear from these essays with their fulsome citations that the United States is finally being written into the history of late modern Germany.

Whereas the twentieth-century contributions remain (with the exception of one essay on Hollywood images of Germans) focused on leaders and elites, the nineteenth-century research has fruitfully exploited immigrant letters to project a view from below. The 5 1/2 million German emigrants between 1820 and 1914 dispatched some 100 million personal letters to Germany. Gregg Roeber sets the stage by tracing the breakdown of the initial religious letter-writing network between 1776 and 1806. Walter D. Kamphoefner then uses letters to argue against both immigrant political passivity and the view that the Forty-Eighters spoke only to themselves and for themselves. While a vast, largely underground lower-class dialogue was proceeding across the Atlantic, Wolfgang Helbich probes the schizophrenia that allowed official German culture to all but ignore America in schools, journals, and the like.

Just as German romantic weariness with Europe flipped over into "realist" weariness with America, so the American love affair with German *Kultur* turned sour by the turn of the century. The great ideological confrontation of World War I is the focus of a second set of essays, but in addressing the "now-it-can-be-said" mood, the temptation becomes irresistible to turn the stereotype into the villain of the piece rather than the consequence of the clash. Instead of casting the Second (and later the Third) Reich as the principal opponent of the "American century," the confrontation is trivialized into a misunderstanding. Peter Krüger rightly finds wartime Germany caught in the "besieged nation syndrome," yet at the same time the *Mitteleuropa* scheme pointed to a nascent fortress Europe, a German Monroe Doctrine. Just as paranoids can have enemies, so negative stereotypes can express authentic concerns. But as the volume accentuates the positive, the thrust of analysis shifts to the hopeful German-American rapprochement of the Dawes Plan, with Glaser-Schmidt skillfully dissecting the views of the key American players. The collapse of the American model in the Great Depression gains treatment in Philipp Gassert's essay, which follows the shift among the champions of Fordism in the 1920s to an embrace of Nazi autarky in the 1930s. The Nazi mixture of rivalry, admiration, and contempt for America is clearly recapitulated by Detlef Junker, with Marion Deshmukh touching on the artistic exodus to the New World.

The issue of the "Americanization" of West Germany is skirted in the final set of essays on the Cold War. Instead, the essays focus on the fashioning of images, either by political leaders or in Hollywood, where German shame and American pride were inextricably linked. Hans-Jürgen Schröder praises Konrad Adenauer's pro-Americanism, while Konrad Jarausch champions President George Bush's German policy in 1989–1990. The latter analysis suffers from too much emphasis on the Other and too little on the Others. Germany was reunited in an international revolution, for once the German nation-state was not out of step. Frank Trommler adds a concluding caution: German scholarship may have discovered America, but with the fall of the Berlin Wall, American interest seems also to have fallen.

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H. Arnold Barton. *A Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 403.

H. Arnold Barton's book offers a different kind of history. Rather than a traditional account of emigration and immigration detailing the exodus of a national

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group or focusing on the necessary adjustments made by immigrants in the New World, Barton has written a book that examines the cultural connections between Sweden and Swedish America. He asks what happens to a people when they become divided and separated through a great overseas migration and, more specifically, how these people relate to each other over time and what processes contribute to their separate development? Barton examines what he calls "a complex love-hate relationship between those who sought new lives in the New World and those who remained in the old homeland" (p. x). In doing so, he demonstrates his remarkable breadth of knowledge on Swedish-American history through a comprehensive analysis of its cultural history. Using church records, several newspaper collections, and the voluminous travel literature, Barton examines the multifaceted immigrant gem known as Swedish America. But even more impressive is the way Barton is able to weave his comprehensive knowledge of the history of Sweden and to connect this with developments in Swedish America.

Although he builds on the earlier work of Swedish and Swedish-American scholars Tell G. Dahllöf, Franklin D. Scott, Sten Carlsson, Harald Runblom, and Dag Blanck, Barton presents a new kind of immigrant history by looking at two cultures as they developed complementary of, yet also contrary to, each other. From the earliest Swedish contacts with the New World in the colonial period through the first half of the twentieth century, travelers in both directions have left extensive accounts of their experiences. Swedish immigrants in the nineteenth century, of course, developed institutions such as churches, newspapers, and fraternal organizations, all of which helped make their transition to America easier. This very transition, more than the emigration itself, according to Barton, contributed to the gradual separation of the two cultures. Increasingly, separate development also led to increased tensions as the ideas of what Sweden and America were for each group also changed. Probably only a scholar like Barton, firmly rooted in the study of the histories of Sweden and the United States, could achieve such an elegant and commanding study of the historical connections between Sweden and Swedish America. One cannot really understand one without also understanding the other. Consequently, this is an important study that can also inform American historians generally about what Barton calls "the emotion-laden ambivalent struggle between unrelenting modernization and nostalgic antimodernism, between past and present" that we find in numerous aspects of American society today (p. 339).

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IAN KERSHAW and MOSHE LEWIN, editors. *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 369. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

This is an interesting and important volume of scholarly essays that resulted from a 1991 conference of historians of the Soviet Union and of the Third Reich. Despite the subtitle, editors Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin make clear that the contributions to the volume are not essentially comparative and are meant instead to provide perspectives for a comparative history yet to be written. The editors are modest in their claims. Michael Mann does provide an explicit and workable model of comparing the inherent contradictions in the two systems, and Kershaw and Lewin themselves conclude the volume with a series of useful "afterthoughts" on the similarities and differences between Joseph Stalin and Adolf Hitler and between Stalinist and Nazi societies.

The articles in the volume are organized into three parts. The first looks at the emergence and functioning of the new state systems themselves. Ronald G. Suny capably leads us through the stages of Stalin's ascendancy, from his coming to power in the 1920s through the Great Purges and World War II. Lewin explores the ways in which Stalin's increasingly despotic leadership came into conflict with the requirements of the Soviet bureaucracy for structure and regularity. Hans Mommsen's contribution on the suicidal elements of the Nazi dictatorship parallels Lewin's essay, though he emphasizes the purely "parasitical" and self-destructive character of Nazism while Lewin (like Mommsen) believes that the Soviet system itself was capable of change and reform. Kershaw follows up on this theme in his analysis of "the nature of the Hitler dictatorship." Both he and Mommsen make the very persuasive case that Hitler's Third Reich hurtled toward its own destruction by obliterating "'rational' structures of rule" and "'ordered' government" (pp. 89–90). The horrific counterfactual—what if Hitler had won the Battle of Moscow and quickly concluded the war in the East?—does not seem to have a place in this analysis.

Comparing Mommsen and Kershaw's essays on Hitler and Nazism with Lewin's on Stalin ("Stalin in the Mirror of the Other") makes clear just how paltry the sources are for our judgments on the nature of Stalin's rule in the 1930s and 1940s when juxtaposed against the rich contours of German historiography of the Third Reich. Lewin has to rely primarily on the recollections of Stalin by the Soviet writer Konstantin Simonov and the pioneering, if tendentious and highly selective, archivally based biography of Stalin by Dmitri Volkogonov (*Triumf i tragediia: I. V. Stalin* [1989]). Lewin sees Stalin's Russia as an "agrarian despotism"—a "deified autocracy"—that had little or nothing to do with Bolshevism or the Russian Revolution. In his view, Stalin hijacked the revolution from its course, changed it into something completely different, and created the Stalin cult, the terror, and the Stalinist system as a way to cover up his original crime (pp. 110–111). Maybe. But there is enough honest disagreement among historians of the Soviet Union on this question and enough ambiguous evidence to war-

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rant serious consideration of the counter-argument that Stalinism represented a logical stage of the Bolshevik revolution rather than its criminalization. In his article, "The Contradictions of Continuous Revolution," Mann implies as much. Developing the concept of "regimes of continuous revolution," Mann steps away from the use of "totalitarian" theory while emphasizing the common revolutionary traditions of both Stalinism and Nazism. In these cases, Mann argues, "one party despotism" could become institutionalized, while at the same time weakened and ultimately destroyed by "the contradiction between institutionalizing party rule and achieving the party's goal, continuous revolution" (p. 155).

If the first section of the book is the most inherently controversial and speculative, the second—on World War II itself—contains the most empirically rich materials. Omer Bartov's contribution on blitzkrieg makes a clear argument based on convincing evidence that representations of blitzkrieg among both the Germans and their enemies during the war (and since) have obscured its direct ties to total war and genocide. Bernd Bonwetsch's article on Stalin's interference in wartime military decisions and Jacques Sapir's on the shifting relationship between Soviet military doctrine and issues of economic development make important contributions to the historiography of the "Great Patriotic War." Both use Soviet memoirs and published documents to very good effect. Yet in these articles, as well as those on Stalin, the reader notices the gap between the recent publication of the book (1997) and the date of the conference (1991). New archival sources are changing the landscape of Russian historiography; new documents have been published; and new monographs explore little-known aspects of the wartime Soviet system.

That the book is somewhat dated is also evident in the third section of the volume, which contains otherwise superb articles on the historiography of the Stalin and Hitler periods. George Steinmetz offers a fascinating and convincing analysis of the ways in which German politics and the inherent problems of historicizing the Holocaust influence debates about German exceptionalism. But his account stops short of the Daniel J. Goldhagen debate and its stunning impact on post-unification German historiography. Mary Nolan provides a comprehensive review of the recent social history of the Third Reich, focusing primarily on issues of class, especially of the working class, and of gender as they relate to the racial ideology and content of the Nazi state and society. The depth of research and the sophistication of the historiographical arguments in the German case are not yet replicated in Soviet historiography. Still, the most serious structural failing in the volume, in my view, is the absence of a companion piece to Nolan's fine article, which would explore the relatively new and pioneering contributions to the social history of Stalinism by Robert Davies, Sheila Fitzpatrick, David Hoffmann, Stephen Kotkin, Hiroaki Kuromiya, Moshe Lewin, Roberta Manning, Lewis Siegelbaum, Lynn Viola, and Elena Zubkova, among others.

Mark von Hagen does contribute two learned articles on the Soviet side, one on the changing historiography of World War II in the perestroika and post-1991 periods and the second on "post-Soviet" reevaluations of Stalinism. In the former, von Hagen demonstrates that a serious critical historiography of World War II has emerged both from a healthy lack of consensus about the role of Russia in the post-Cold War world and from the development of non-Russian versions of the wartime experience. In the latter, von Hagen applies to good effect the "intentionalist-structuralist" debate in German historiography about Nazism to emerging Russian historiographical arguments about Stalin and Stalinism. Among the most significant trends identified by von Hagen is the new willingness of Russian historians to deal honestly with difficult and sensitive nationality questions as they relate to the war. At long last, Russian historiography of World War II is leaving behind the persistent Soviet shibboleths about the "Great Patriotic War" and the "friendship of peoples."

The editors of the volume are to be congratulated in getting past the political objections to comparing Nazism and Stalinism, Hitler and Stalin, and exploring the hard questions of why these two tyrants and the ideologies they espoused were able to dominate their countries and our century. In doing so, they have provided building blocks for understanding both Stalinist Russia and the Third Reich, and they have offered suggestions for avenues of further research. This is an important book for historians and scholars interested in understanding both Stalinism and Nazism. Despite some weaknesses, the copyediting included, no serious student of these questions will want to miss it.

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ASIA

JACQUES M. DOWNS. *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844*. Cranbury: Lehigh University Press. 1997. Pp. 495. $69.50.

After the mid-eighteenth century, when the Qing dynasty limited all trade to the southern port of Canton, Western trade with China was conducted within the confines of the "Canton system." As it became increasingly formalized and stereotyped, this system was characterized by a comfortable *modus operandi* between two monopolies, the British East India Company on one side and the Chinese security merchant system ("Cohong") on the other. Americans, at first excluded from Canton as private British subjects, joined the trade in 1784, when the first American ship, the *Empress of China*, arrived on the south China coast. From that point on, private American traders

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became vigorous participants in the Canton system. Opium was just then emerging as a significant component of the China trade, and American firms were soon heavily involved in the illicit drug.

Picking up the story with the arrival of the Americans in 1784, Jacques M. Downs examines in great detail the American merchant community in Canton and its contribution to the formulation of an American China policy, culminating in the negotiation of the unequal treaties ending the Opium War in 1842–1844.

As Downs admits in his introduction, this book might have become three or four separate monographs. Part one ("The Golden Ghetto") describes the Canton system and daily life in the commercial enclave, the conduct and scope of American trade, and the development of the Americans' involvement in the opium traffic from about 1804. Opium sales reversed the balance of payments, and the Americans' adoption of bills of exchange on London to replace specie imports became the principal instrument for the remittance of profits from China.

Part two comprises extensive descriptions of the major and minor American trading firms at Canton, and the principal merchants who founded them. Particularly interesting is chapter six ("The China Trader"), which examines the social origins and backgrounds of the American traders and what they did with their repatriated wealth when they returned to the United States after earning their "competencies" at Canton.

Finally, in part three, Downs offers a careful analysis of the background and preparation of Caleb Cushing's mission to China and the negotiation of the Treaty of Wanghsia in 1844. What ties these three rather disparate parts together is the thesis that the private American commercial community at Canton shaped the articulation of American China policy and molded American attitudes toward China from the Opium War era through the end of the nineteenth century. It is especially ironic, therefore, that these Americans were unapologetic drug smugglers. In his epilogue, Downs, to his credit, offers an unequivocal moral indictment of the cultural attitudes fostered among both merchants and missionaries by the corrupting influence of the opium trade.

This book is probably the most detailed treatment of its subject in existence. As such, it is a *tour de force*, both important and interesting, but also unfortunately tedious at times. The complex comings and goings of traders between China and America and their various alliances (documented in part two) often seem to lack a point. The book's weakness in conceptualization and generalization is most evident in the absence of any general context for the Canton trade—its historical background, the origins of the Canton system, Qing policy toward trade, and opium production.

In looking at the rich detail, Downs seems sometimes to forget the larger view. One has the impression of one of those intimate conversations among cognoscenti who are so familiar with a subject that much of the context is taken for granted. The outsider is left to guess at the connecting links. Thus, in Downs's privileged conversation, the reader may be puzzled by incomplete references and omissions. George Chinnery, the influential expatriate English painter, is mentioned (p. 42), but the accompanying note gives no sources. In a brief discussion of missionaries at Canton, there is no mention of Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, and there are only a couple of references to him elsewhere (and none in the index), although he was a pioneer in the study of China and influenced the missionaries who followed him. Who are the "Perkinses" referred to (p. 106)? What is "SR" (mentioned on p. 112)—a unit of currency? The distinction between Bengal and Malwa opium, and their relationship with Turkish opium, require explanation. More seriously, the implications for China of extraterritoriality, though mentioned as critical, are never explained (see pp. 288–89, 305). Cushing's treaty prohibited Americans from dealing in opium, but the subsequent ramifications of this provision—or the lack thereof—are not addressed.

The writing of this book has clearly occupied many years, perhaps decades, and Downs's research is impressive. Appendix seven ("A Note on Sources") provides a fascinating and engaging tour of the dispersed manuscript collections, great and small, that are this work's foundation. And even so, the author suggests, others may yet turn up in old trunks or attics somewhere.

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ROGER B. JEANS, JR. *Democracy and Socialism in Republican China: The Politics of Zhang Junmai (Carsun Chang), 1906–1941*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1997. Pp. xv, 369. Cloth $64.00, paper $23.95.

Zhang Junmai (1887–1969) is perhaps best known abroad as Carsun Chang, an alternate spelling of his original name and the name under which he published *Third Force in China* in 1952. To many observers, he epitomizes the tragedy of those Chinese who could not side with either of the two major contenders for political power during his lifetime, the Guomindang of Chiang Kai-shek or the Chinese Communist Party of Mao Zedong. Zhang spent much of his life in a futile effort to define a third way for China and to build a third party that might lead the country along that path. He and others who fought for a third way took big risks and paid heavy prices for their efforts. Many were people of passionate commitment and noble ideals, burning with concern for China's future well-being. Theirs was an all too familiar story of moderate people caught up in a revolutionary time, their appeals for gradualism and constitutional government unheard in the din of civil wars fought ruthlessly to a finish.

Zhang's tragedy was this and more. Broadly educated, he received enough classical training to pass the

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first level of the old regime's civil service examinations in 1902, and he also studied at one of the new Western-style schools, where he began to learn English. In 1906, he went to Japan, as thousands of other Chinese did, hoping to learn the secrets of Japan's rapid transformation. But unlike many others, Zhang stayed long enough and worked hard enough to earn a B.A. degree. He also plunged into the hot political debates among Chinese students over the merits of gradualist reform versus violent revolution. Zhang returned to China in time to witness the fall of the last dynasty and the founding of a republic in 1911–1912. For the next forty years, he was rarely far from the center of Chinese events. Even when he went abroad—studying in Germany and visiting Russia, attending the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, visiting Germany and Russia again—he returned with new ideas about China's possible use of foreign models.

Through all of this, Zhang agonized about the problem of reconciling his admiration for the modern West with his deep attachment to his own culture. Zhang became a spokesman for the rule of law and the importance of constitutional government, but he retained a strong sense that China's problems were unique and required a reconciliation of Western principles with Confucian values. In 1923, he was prominent in one of the great intellectual debates of the century, on "Science and the Philosophy of Life." Zhang found himself labeled a metaphysician and an enemy of science. The labels stuck, and Zhang's standing in the Chinese intellectual community was permanently damaged.

For the next twenty-five years, Zhang's life was dominated by other problems, notably China's political disunity, internal warfare, and the question of how an effective central government could be formed and made to work. As the Guomindang gained strength and the Chinese Communist Party struggled to compete in the late 1920s and the 1930s, Zhang sought to define a democratic socialist path as a peaceful alternative to the two contending parties. His search is the major subject of Roger B. Jeans's book, which is a collection of essays dealing with the period 1906–1941 but concentrating heavily on the 1920s and 1930s.

Jeans began working on Zhang for his doctoral dissertation (1974), and in this book he provides a generous sampling of Zhang's writings on many subjects. The themes that come through most strongly are Zhang's militant but oddly contradictory anticommunism and, above all, his fervent patriotism. Although Jeans implies otherwise in his title, this book tells me that Zhang's devotion to democracy and socialism was trumped by his near-obsession with China's need for unity, strong government, and a strong leader (or what Jeans sums up as a "concentration of authority"). Zhang claimed to have invented a "third type of government," combining the best features of democracy and dictatorship, but his hybrid construct was widely regarded as empty and muddled theorizing and was almost universally ignored. It did not help Zhang's claim that despite his outspoken anticommunism, he was also a vocal admirer of V. I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and Joseph Stalin, or that he found much to praise on a 1931 visit to the Soviet Union, including its economic planning. When Mao Zedong offered his own version of a "people's democratic dictatorship," much in the spirit of Lenin and Stalin, Zhang spurned him. Zhang's search for a third way finally led him into a life of exile after 1950.

All this may be seen as a rather small chapter in the larger history of Chinese democracy and socialism, which is being ably written by scholars such as Andrew Nathan, Maurice Meisner, John Fincher, Arif Dirlik, and others. But Jeans has wisely called our attention to a serious man whose dedicated efforts, and failures, have much to teach us about the course of modern Chinese history. The dilemmas and contradictions that haunted Zhang Junmai fifty years ago continue to plague those in China who yearn for national unity and a democratic socialism.

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JEFFREY P. MASS, editor. *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 504. $65.00.

When did the Japanese medieval age begin? Conventionally, the origins of feudalism in the archipelago have been traced to the rise of the Kamakura shogunate, Japan's first warrior government, in the late twelfth century. But for Jeffrey P. Mass and his collaborators (who avoid the term "feudalism" so scrupulously that it does not merit an index entry), the decisive moment came some hundred and fifty years later. Only in the 1330s, after an attempt to restore direct imperial rule backfired, did warriors muscle their way directly into Kyoto. The failed coup by Emperor Go-Daigo—whose staggering visions of imperial grandeur are captured in a vivid essay by Andrew Goble—had the inadvertent effect of breaking the spell of courtly culture, rendering past precedent merely one among many potential guides to action. For this reason, Mass insists, "the origins of Japan's medieval experience merit being pushed forward, to the end rather than the beginning of the Kamakura age" (p. 2).

The notion of a fourteenth-century watershed runs throughout this erudite collection. Through close examination of disparate historical themes—from the rhetoric of loyalty to the conventions of elite portraiture, from the politics of succession to those of poetry, and from peasant mobilization to sectarian strife—thirteen empirical studies portray the 1300s as a tumultuous time that called for charismatic leadership and innovative action. Among those who flourished in this uncertain climate were the new Ashikaga ruling house and their allies, a warrior elite whose conduct and culture are the subject of several early chapters.

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As depicted in Thomas Conlan's fascinating essay on loyalty and Thomas Nelson's painstaking reconstruction of the Ashikaga alliance, the successful warriors of the day were those who adopted a pragmatic approach to power: pledging allegiance only in exchange for rewards, and learning to coopt and compensate autonomous outsiders rather than compete with them. Once they had gained wealth and position, however, they quickly turned their attention to the blandishments of life at court. H. Paul Varley finds the tastes of the fourteenth-century warrior elite to have been luxurious and flamboyant, if not always refined. (Ashikaga Takauji's first legal code inveighed against ornate silver swords and elegant brocade attire as well as against gambling at tea competitions and "consorting with loose women" [p. 194].) Yet while he might be criticized for his excesses, the new warrior was clearly expected to cultivate the civil as well as the military arts; as G. Cameron Hurst III argues, "mastery of [ceremonial] was the outward demonstration of the warriors' right to rule" (p. 230).

Naturally, Ashikaga ascendancy came at a cost to many former power holders. Notable for their decline in the fourteenth century were the hereditary courtiers, whose eroding monopoly on elite culture is attested in Robert Huey's analysis of growing warrior control over imperial poetry anthologies; certain local warrior families like the Kikuchi of Kyushu and their enemies, whom Seno Seiichirō depicts as unable to overcome their mutual antipathies long enough for any one clan to establish supremacy over the area; long-established Buddhist complexes like Enryakuji, whose determined fight to defend its erstwhile prerogatives is illuminated by Mikael Adolfson; and, finally, elite women, whose voices and bodies alike are shown by Hitomi Tonomura to have been steadily subordinated to those of men. Based on a careful reading of the final aristocratic diary written by a woman, as well as broad shifts in marriage practices and motherhood discourse, Tonomura concludes that "in post-fourteenth-century Japan, saturated with instability and unpredictability, the female body increasingly became a ground on which to attempt a new sort of social order" (p. 169).

Yet not all female fortunes were declining. "Just when the elite women's rights were diminishing in quantity," Tonomura tells us, "female commoners' rights made [an] upward jump" (p. 158). Indeed, peasants as a whole made significant strides during this era, at least in central Honshu. In a masterful overview of social developments in the countryside near Kyoto, Kristina Kade Troost documents a burst of agricultural intensification, the founding of thousands of permanent nucleated villages, and the flexing of unprecedented economic muscle by peasants vis-à-vis their proprietary overlords. Clearly, warriors were not the sole agents of the fourteenth-century transition. Nor were warriors and peasants its sole beneficiaries: also profitting handsomely from the social changes of the day were Zen clerics like Musō Soseki, whose rise to prominence under Ashikaga patronage is traced in an elegant essay by Martin Collcutt, or Kokan Shiren, whose "ingenious solution to the dilemma [of] Zen apologetics" (p. 317) is appreciatively dissected by Carl Bielefeldt.

Yet how are we finally to understand the fourteenth-century watershed? Does this epochal moment truly represent "the origins of Japan's medieval world"? The two historiographical essays that conclude the volume, especially Ōyama Kyōhei's sweeping overview of twentieth-century Japanese medieval studies, suggest there may still be room for debate. Particularly provocative is the work of Amino Yoshihiko, a prolific and creative historian of popular culture whose work is discussed toward the end of Ōyama's essay. Like Mass, Amino argues that the fourteenth century was a major hinge in Japanese history, but his markers—and his temporal categories—are different. Amino particularly stresses what he sees as a widespread epistemological shift in the 1300s from a magical to a secular worldview. The latter was manifest in new structures of discrimination against foreigners, outcasts, and prostitutes, all of whom were now stripped of the fearful aura that their professions had provoked in the past, to be regarded instead with simple disgust.

To be sure, Amino's innovative ethnographic approach has yielded rich support for the notion of a fourteenth-century divide. Yet it also poses a problem: in what sense can the era that began in the 1300s be called "medieval"? Like the new structures of discrimination documented by Amino, many of the developments cited in this collection as hallmarks of the medieval transition carried through the succeeding Tokugawa period (1600–1868) as well. Some authors acknowledge as much; Troost, for instance, writes that the "new forms of social, political, and geographical organization" pioneered in the fourteenth-century countryside "continued to characterize rural Japan through much of the Tokugawa age" (p. 91). But surely the same could be said of many developments in elite culture as well. The formation of strategic alliances between erstwhile enemies, the fusing of civil and military virtues into one ruling-class ideal, the hardening of various schools of Buddhist thought into distinct sects, the subordination of clerics and courtiers to warrior control, and the virtual disappearance of women from public life—all prominent themes of this book—are also familiar features of Tokugawa history. Even the historical empiricism of the seventeenth-century scholar Yamaga Sokō, identified by I. J. McMullen as "an early, perhaps precocious, exemplar of a trend in Tokugawa thought toward intellectual modernity" (p. 343), is foreshadowed in the fourteenth-century Zen apologetics of Kokan Shiren, whose key innovation was to adopt a historical approach to the evolution of Buddhism in Japan. Given these striking continuities between the Ashikaga and Tokugawa worlds, could it not be argued that the fourteenth century marked the origins not of a "medieval world" but of Japanese "early modernity"?

To reformulate this question more productively may

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require stepping outside the framework of national historiography. The final medievalist considered in Ōyama's essay, Murai Shōsuke, has done just that, recasting Japanese history in an East Asian context. Murai's work on fourteenth-century maritime exchanges (including piracy and plunder as well as diplomacy and monastic missions) is part of a larger effort to expand the geographical horizons of Japanese history—an effort that is simultaneously underscoring the autonomy and diversity of subregions within the archipelago, many of which maintained their own connections to neighboring areas of Asia well into historical times. Murai's emphasis on transoceanic linkages also strikes a chord with recent work in world history, where periodization is increasingly defined in terms of transnational communication and exchange and where the period known to European historians as "early modernity" is increasingly conceptualized, to borrow J. B. Owens's formulation, as "the first global age." Whether or not such a schema appeals to historians of fourteenth-century Japan, it does call attention to the fact that period and place are inextricably linked, with the corollary that different spatial horizons call for different temporal frameworks. One may hope that such a recognition will further expand the terms of the debate that this volume has done so much to advance.

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SUSAN B. HANLEY. *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan: The Hidden Legacy of Material Culture*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 213. $35.00.

Susan B. Hanley makes an ingenious and compelling argument in this book. She uses initially unpromising evidence on the material culture of early modern Japan (1600–1868) to address a longstanding and important question among economic historians: how did Japan industrialize so rapidly at the end of the nineteenth century? Was its economy far more robust and better organized than it appears at first glance? Yes, she argues and, further, Westerners were unable to perceive Japan's high level of economic development because the material culture that it produced was so unfamiliar to their eyes.

By "material culture," Hanley means the state of health; the quality of housing, furnishings, and clothing; the composition of the diet; marriage, birth, and death rates; and the cleanliness of life in large cities. Those who have kept up with Japanese economic history over the past several years will be familiar with some of these arguments, but for those new to the literature on Japan this book should provide a compelling introduction to a new way of understanding economic history and of conceptualizing and measuring economic development.

Hanley argues that the standard measures of economic development such as gross domestic product and per capita income, which are accurate and easy to calculate for late twentieth-century societies, are inaccurate and difficult to calculate for places like early modern Japan. In addition, such figures cannot tell us how equitably income was distributed across the population. Therefore, it is necessary to look for other kinds of evidence on the consumption and savings side of the equation rather than on the income side (p. 13). On the basis of the former kind of evidence, Hanley argues that the Japanese economy grew consistently from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. By the 1860s, the Japanese standard of living was equivalent to that of England at the time it began its industrialization.

Why, for example, are there so few houses in Japan predating 1700, while there are many in Europe? It is not, Hanley argues, because Japanese houses are inherently impermanent, but because only the transformation of Japan's economy over the succeeding two centuries made possible the construction of housing that was of high quality and filled with a great variety of consumer goods. Only at that time did ordinary people's houses begin to be built of more durable materials following precise measurements. They became significantly larger, and floors were added, making them warmer, drier, and more healthy. (The wealth of contemporary surveys on aspects of material culture such as house size is astonishing.) The most ingenious part of Hanley's argument, however, is her use of changes in furnishings to demonstrate changes in economic development. Methods of storage proliferated. Commoners acquired chests for clothing, cupboards for bedding, and detached fireproof storehouses. All of these imply that they had goods, and more goods as time passed, to put into them. Historians of Japanese architecture and furniture have long recognized the magnitude of these changes; economic historians, with their insistence on the fugitive quantitative economic data available from this period, have missed them.

Those who read this book will enjoy a clear and well-documented excursion into a new way of thinking about economic history. The quality of Hanley's writing and her detailed examples will make it a rewarding experience for both those who want to perceive a very different early modern material culture and those who wish to argue about the process of economic development.

LAUREL L. CORNELL
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DAVID HARDIMAN. *Feeding the Baniya: Peasants and Usurers in Western India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 368. $35.00.

The relationship between peasants and moneylenders has a long history in India and is still of some significance at present. The kind of closely supervised credit provided by the moneylender cannot easily be replaced by institutional credit. The cost of supervision

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is high, but there is also a considerable flexibility in this "informal" relationship. The nominal interest rates are often extremely high, but effective interest rates are usually lower, as the creditor must see to it that his debtor survives.

David Hardiman has shed a great deal of light on the intricacies of this relationship. He begins his account in precolonial times and shows that a state dependent on land revenue collection relied throughout on the *baniya* (moneylender) as crucial intermediary. With the rise of tax farming and the spread of the "commercialization of power," some moneylenders achieved great prominence, but, as Hardiman stresses, moneylenders and traders as a class never aspired to the kind of political power attained by the European bourgeoisie. They knew their limits. In an illuminating chapter on "The Baniya's Life and Faith," he describes these limits. There was a strong solidarity among *baniyas* and a deep consciousness of *abru,* which means both honor and credit-worthiness. The peasant also cherished his *abru* but conceived of it in terms of his standing in his rural community. This depended on his control of land, on marrying his children well, and on his access to credit. As far as the latter was concerned, he relied on the moneylender and would normally refrain from offending him.

British colonial rulers made full use of the symbiotic relationship between peasant and moneylender, because it helped them to collect their land revenue. They strenghtened the grip of the moneylender by introducing a law that had fortified the security of credit in their own country. It assumed that debtor and creditor were contracting partners of equal stature, which, of course, did not apply to Indian peasants and moneylenders. Nevertheless, this theory was upheld for a long time, until peasant indebtedness and the transfer of land to moneylenders emerged as a political danger to colonial rule. Unfortunately, Hardiman does not deal with this aspect in detail. He neglects the available literature on the debates preceding the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act and similar measures. As a "subaltern" historian, Hardiman is more interested in the articulation of peasant resistance. He devotes much effort to showing that the "Deccan Riots" of 1875 were not riots but a peasant revolt; he also documents that this revolt was not an isolated instance but that there were similar revolts before and after 1875. In tracing the evidence for such revolts, Hardiman is at his best.

Chapter thirteen, "Usury Under Late Colonial Rule," is more sketchy. Hardiman almost completely ignores the impact of the Great Depression, which forced the British to interfere with the business of the *baniya* in various ways by introducing debt conciliation and registering moneylenders. At the same time, the fall in prices completely ruined the British land revenue system. In earlier times, the peasant had been able to resort to the moneylender whenever the revenue demand was due, but this mechanism broke down. Moreover, the connection between credit and the trade in grain was interrupted by panic sales at the time of the Depression. A look at the relevant literature would have helped Hardiman to improve this chapter. It would have also provided some background for his interesting description of the decline of the business of village moneylenders.

In his final chapter, Hardiman discusses "The Metamorphosis of Usury" and arrives at the conclusion that although the old-style *baniya* is only of marginal importance nowadays, there has been a "baniyaization" of the new rural middle class, which uses credit to tighten its hold on dwarfholders who must offer their labor to richer neighbors. In conclusion, Hardiman returns to the theme of hegemony taken up in his introduction. Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony has been debated by "subaltern" historians. Some of them have argued that neither any one class nor the colonial nor the postcolonial state has achieved hegemony in India on Gramsci's terms. These historians have not stated whether this finding would also make the category "subaltern" meaningless in the Indian context, because the subaltern is defined as one who accepts hegemony. Hardiman is careful in his use of these terms. He agrees that India never produced a bourgoisie of the European type, and instead of speaking of the "subaltern" position, he stresses the "mentality of dependence on the superior provider" (p. 336). This fits in well with his study of the *baniya*, but he has also shown that this mentality can occasionally turn into a spirit of revolt. This spirit rarely persists for long, as the facts of life reassert themselves. The *baniyas* knew this; they ususally refused to give evidence against rebellious peasants and returned to do business as usual. By providing such insights, Hardiman greatly enriches the knowledge of his readers.

DIETMAR ROTHERMUND
University of Heidelberg

SAURABH DUBE. *Untouchable Pasts: Religion, Identity, and Power among a Central Indian Community, 1780–1950.* (SUNY Series in Hindu Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 308. $23.95.

Saurabh Dube aimed to produce "more than an Indian history," "an ethnographic history that works with South Asian materials, articulating a wider set of concerns" to carve out a theoretical third position, apart from "Eurocentric imaginings" and also from "anti-Enlightenment rhetoric" (p. xi). He wanted to show "the construction of multiple Hindu identities . . . particularly by groups and communities who stood on the margins" (p. 5), by exploring the past of an untouchable subcaste that is also a guru-led sect, the Satnamis of Central India, from 1780 to 1950. Dube is a captivating writer who promises much in his introductory chapter.

Significant tensions in Dube's endeavor needed fuller discussion. The tension between sources produced by outsiders (colonial officials and interested

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others) and insiders, (Satnamis themselves) should be addressed in the text, not in scattered footnotes. If Satnami illiteracy empowered others to write about them, why not make more use of Satnami oral testimonies or tell us why that was thought unnecessary or proved too difficult? The tension between the young educated male Brahman interviewer and the Satnami untouchable informants is hinted at but remains undiscussed because of Dube's stance against "self-indulgent solipsism" (p. 218). Finally, Dube's introduction promises a sophisticated treatment of gender issues, but, although he states that Satnami myths focus on female (*gurumata*) sexuality and give it a "masculinist representation," (p. 137), he reinforces that view (pp. 115, 142, 219) by providing no alternatives to it. He also views *churi* or secondary marriage, available to both men and women, as a flexible practice allowing women space to negotiate and sometimes subvert patrilineal and patrilocal principles (pp. 113, 218). The lengthy example he offers, however, ends with the murder of the woman (pp. 108–112).

The book proceeds more or less chronologically. Chapter one outlines the theoretical issues and chapter two, 1780–1850, sets the founding guru, Ghasidas, and his movement in its Maratha and early British political contexts. Chapter three, 1850–1900, traces changes in the socioeconomic context and Satnami religious organization and takes up encounters with Christian missionaries. Chapter four, 1900–1950, treats the Satnamis as a caste but neglects them as a sect (there is no mention of the gurus) as Dube tries to assess benefits and losses to the Satnamis under British rule. Chapter five disrupts the periodization to focus on Satnami myths, but it really focuses on a single manuscript about the Satnamis. Produced in the late 1920s by Baba Ramchandra, a political leader from north India drawn to Central India by the Indian nationalist movement, this manuscript was taken north a few years later and found again in the 1970s. Baba Ramchandra actually published a later work about the Satnamis, but Dube prefers the earlier manuscript and gives it an interesting reading. It is sometimes hard to differentiate between Dube's accounts of the myths and his comments on them, but in this case both emphasize the untamed female sexuality that produced disorder and divisions among gurus. (Since Dube privileges this particular source of Satnami myths, much of the material could have been presented earlier to give a fuller picture of the sect's development.) Chapter six, 1925–1950, moves to formal institutionalized politics (the context which produced Ramchandra's manuscript). Diverse Hindu, Arya Samaj, Indian National Congress, and Depressed Classes Association groups and leaders are rather abruptly introduced and linked to contending groups, leaders, and gurus within the Satnami community (the Satnami Mahasabha, involving the guru Agamdas and aligned with the Indian National Congress, the Shri Path Pradarshak Samaj, and a third group involving the guru Muktavandas and aligned with the All-India Scheduled Caste Federation). Determinedly leaving this lively political scene in 1950, Dube moves on in chapter seven to analyze old and new Satnami histories, the interplay between various texts and contexts. In the course of this, Dube remarks that the guru Muktavandas had been imprisoned for fourteen years on a murder charge (p. 200), thus reminding this reader, whose curiosity about attempts on the founding guru's life "prompted by upper-caste hatred" (p. 40) had not been satisfied, that much has been omitted in favor of analysis of texts which may or may not be well-informed about, or relevant within, the Satnami community. A brief final chapter, in which Dube successfully stakes out a third position, contains what I would term overstatements. "The shape of the stories was well known through their being told across generations and served to organize the memory of the group as a bounded community" (p. 221), for example, implies that Dube utilized Satnami oral testimonies as his primary sources.

Dube used archival records, government publications, oral testimonies, and a few newspapers, journals, and vernacular tracts as well as secondary works. There are important omissions, notably of A. M. Hocart's work (1950) on royal rituals and caste ideologies and practices based on political power, work that would have helped Dube to integrate his own thinking along those lines with Louis Dumont's work (1970) on purity and pollution. Although Dube decries the lack of relevant research on caste, he overlooks books by Frank Conlon (1977), Adrian Mayer (1960), and Stephen Fuchs (1951). Conlon's history of a guru-headed caste-become-sect founded in Maratha territory covers almost the same time period, and Mayer and Fuchs have written about caste in Central India, the latter on untouchables. Dube includes a map and a genealogy of the Satnami gurus, both inadequate. One needs a larger map of India to locate his map, and it does not include the centers of rival claimants to the guruship; the genealogy does not provide even approximate dates for its four generations, and it does not come down to the present. Declining to list the "numerous oral informants whose testimonies have been rehearsed" in the book, Dube provides instead a one-page discussion of his research methodology and time in the field. He does cite interviews in some footnotes.

This engaging book contains fascinating, though often fragmentary, confusing, and contradictory information: there is no space to go into the many issues with which the reader, like the Satnamis apparently, must grapple over and over again. Dube's ethnographic findings on politically contested practices (relations with other castes, particularly low and untouchable ones; the wearing of the sacred thread; the initiation rite or rites; the marriage practices) are elusive. The book is, in fact, not a historical or anthropological investigation of the Satnami past, as Dube tells us himself. His book "constructs a history of the Satnamis"; it is not "a mere unfolding of a chronologically sequential set of events" but "an inter-

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pretive exercise" (p. 2). In both history and anthropology, one still needs to present coherently at least enough evidence and discussion of it for a reader to feel confident about one's conclusions. Dube promises exploration of "Satnami strategies and struggles, renderings of Hindu identities by the Satnamis" (pp. 6–7), and he writes persuasively, but one does not feel that he achieved those goals.

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TAZEEN M. MURSHID. *The Sacred and the Secular: Bengal Muslim Discourses, 1871–1977.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 492. $39.95.

Few regions of the world witnessed such rapid transformations in their national identities as did eastern Bengal in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Originally part of a united British India, eastern Bengal split from western Bengal in 1947 to become a part of the new state of Pakistan. In the midst of civil war and a state-directed campaign of ruthless repression, East Pakistan split from Pakistan in 1971–1972 to become the independent state of Bangladesh. In this study, Tazeen M. Murshid examines the "discourses" of the Muslim intelligentsia in Bengal in order to understand their relationship to these momentous changes.

As the title suggests, Murshid's book is concerned in particular with "the persistent tension between a religious and a secular outlook" in the activities and consciousness of this intelligentsia (p. 1). In defining this as a central tension of Bengali intellectual life, Murshid taps into a language of analysis that has long been used to characterize the conflicts that have shaped modern Bengali history. The tension between Muslim/religious identity and Bengali/secular identity has sometimes been used by historians to characterize the competing visions of identity that led Muslim Bengalis first into Pakistan in 1947 and then into an independent, secular Bangladesh in 1971. These visions of identity continue to influence controversy in contemporary Bangladesh. In offering a sustained discussion of this tension in the discourse of the Muslim intelligentsia over a period of more than a century, Murshid's book represents an important contribution to the literature.

Yet at the same time, her book suggests the difficulty in using this terminology to make sense of the Bengali experience. First, of course, is the problem of defining the "intelligentsia." Murshid sees the intelligentsia, quoting Karl Mannheim, as those "whose special task it is to provide an interpretation of the world" for their societies (p. 10). This, of course, is an extremely open-ended definition. Murshid devotes considerable attention at places in her book to giving this category social definition by discussing the changing structure of education and employment in Bengal. But although useful, this is hardly sufficient to provide a sustained social analysis of the intelligentsia or of its relation to politics or society. In the end, she rightly treats "intelligentsia" as a loose category of analysis that carries only a limited analytical weight in her study. Her main conclusion about the intelligentsia, in fact, is that it was divided in a variety of ways and that it is difficult to generalize about it at all.

This being the case, the structure of Murshid's analysis depends heavily on her treatment of the "discourses" of the "secular and sacred" as they have operated historically in literate Bengal. But here also, terminology presents severe problems. Although Murshid makes some attempt to delineate at the start the meaning of these terms, they are used in a myriad of different ways throughout the book.

Most telling, the very nature of the "tension" between the religious and the secular is presented in shifting terms. It is at times treated as a tension between differing orientations held by different groups of people. Sometimes these orientations are treated as products of cultural background or education, as in the differences between the *ashraf*, who idealized cultural origins outside Bengal, and the "vernacular intelligentsia," whose cultural world view (and language) was distinctly Bengali. At other times, Murshid sees differing orientations as products of differing socioeconomic backgrounds, urban/rural connections, or relations with the state. At still other points, Murshid tries to schematize the interactions between secular and religious outlooks in the separate realms of "personal life decisions" and "political decisions" to show how these interactions produced individuals with a range of different orientations (p. 363). Perhaps most strikingly, she at times treats the dichotomy between secular and religious values as a tension within the Bengali Muslim "mind," shaping in the intelligentsia a "schizophrenic or culturally-ambivalent self image" (p. 286). Her concluding language suggests an effort to conflate all of these approaches: "This book has attempted to show the variations which characterize the Muslim mind in specific contexts" (p. 433).

Murshid is in fact most successful in showing that the dichotomy between the sacred and the secular was historically shifting and complex. But beyond this, her book has little clear argument. Murshid's own analysis never fully escapes from the language she analyzes, for she never defines a unifying theoretical framework to focus her analysis. For all the nuanced detail she provides in criticism of simplistic dichotomies, we are left, in the end, with the fundamental dichotomy between secular and religious outlooks as the only organizing framework for the book. Although rich in research and scholarship, Murshid's book dramatizes the inherent limitations in using such terminology to make sense of Bengal's modern cultural history.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

JOY DAMOUSI. *Depraved and Disorderly: Female Convicts, Sexuality and Gender in Colonial Australia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 221. Cloth $64.95, paper $18.95.

"No, no—surely not! My God—not more of those damned whores! Never have I known worse women!" The epithet, leveled by Lt. Ralph Clark of the First Fleet against convict women who arrived, via the *Lady Juliana* of the Second Fleet, on the shores of Australia in 1790 has become an archetypal expression for the "bad" women who helped to found the colony. Anne Summers took it as the title for her groundbreaking, second-wave feminist study *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia* (1975). A number of historians since Summers have studied Australia's convict history and in particular the experiences of convict women (Deborah Oxley, *Convict Maids: The Forced Migration of Women to Australia* [1996]; Babette Smith, *A Cargo of Women: Susannah Watson and the Convicts of the* Princess Royal [1988]; Portia Robinson, *The Hatch and Brood of Time: A Study of the First Generation of Native-Born White Australians, 1788–1828* [1985]; Monica Perrott, *A Tolerable Good Success: Economic Opportunity for Women in New South Wales, 1788–1830* [1983]; and Annette Salt, *These Outcast Women: The Parramatta Female Factory, 1821–1848* [1981]). Joy Damousi adds depth to the mainly empirical interest of the earlier texts by addressing broader themes of sexual and gender disorder as well as race and class dynamics within the new colony.

Between 1788 and 1868, Britain transported close to 160,000 convicts to Australia. Of these, about 25,000 were women. Most women convicts were transported for a seven-year term (usually for theft), although some had received sentences of fourteen years or life. Transportation reached its peak between 1820 and 1840, the period on which this book focuses.

Damousi's study departs from those of her predecessors. Whereas they sought evidence to support or deny received historical understandings—whether or not the convict women were uniformly "damned whores," if and how they were victims of patriarchy, whether they were treated better or worse than their sisters in Britain, whether they were doomed to depravity by hellish penal conditions or redeemed as industrious workers after their release to seed the success of the new colony—she studies the ways in which their experiences are attached to broader social and cultural meanings. This approach enables Damousi to posit "how ideas about masculinity, femininity, and sexuality are shaped and defined and how convict women dealt with their relationships with the convict men and their commanders in order to be autonomous and create a space for themselves" (p. 3). Damousi achieves this by attending specifically to issues such as male fears of female deviance and depravity; the defemininzing practice of headshaving as a punishment for recalcitrant prisoners; the convict women's disruptive acts of laughter and play; the incarceration and treatment of abandoned children in orphan schools; and their subversive use of rumor to challenge sexually abusive caretakers. Her study reveals considerable anxieties, tensions, and contradictions in colonial Australia around notions of masculinity, femininity, motherhood, marriage, and childhood. In addition, it teases out the heterogeneity of experience based on differential power relations and their effects on free and bound settlers as well as on convict and Aboriginal women.

Although the book unsettles previous histories by "looking beyond surface meanings" (p. 172), there are times when the analysis could have been pushed further. For example, when examining male fears of female sexuality, Damousi pays scant regard to distinctions among the male writers under review: their positions in colonial society, their audiences, and the genres in which they wrote. A sensationalist, melodramatic account of depraved sexuality ("Their open and shameless vice must not be told. Their fierce and untamable audacity would not be believed") in a novel penned by a colonial magistrate whose malevolent attitude to convict women caused his dismissal (p. 36) might have different effects than, say, a surgeon's evangelical Christian sermon directed paternalistically at convict ship passengers (p. 26), or a Select Committee report about the pernicious effects of convict vice on future generations of colonists (p. 46), or a personal journal entry revealing a marine lieutenant ambivalent sexual fantasies, fears, and desires (p. 40). Damousi's intention is to read across the genres to detect similarities in the male writers' metaphorical association of sexuality with deviance, pollution, disorder, and savagery. She effectively achieves this while also arguing that female behaviors unsettled masculine control and challenged colonial authority. Her somewhat uniform analysis of the rhetoric of the varied textual sources, however, limits the scope of her more broadly cultural investigations.

Nonetheless, this is a compelling study that makes an important contribution to knowledge about Australia's colonial past. In particular, the voices of the convict women, whose lives are rendered with sensitivity and compassion, will continue to haunt the reader.

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ROBIN F. HAINES. *Emigration and the Labouring Poor: Australian Recruitment and Ireland, 1831–60*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. xvi, 397. $69.95.

Was Australia an alternative America? Here is an Australian history book that should interest American scholars.

True, the numbers travelling to Australia were "a minor trickle compared with the pulsating streams, rivers, and occasional tidal waves, surging across the

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Atlantic" (p. 10), as Robin F. Haines recognizes. Still, 1.5 million people should not be ignored. At times (1853–1860), nearly one half of all English, Welsh, and Scottish emigrants chose Australasia as their destination. Who were these people, why did they leave, and why did they choose to journey to the distant antipodes? Were they a spillover from the over-full Atlantic flow? Unwanted souls, surplus to British requirements? Adventurous and energetic, or semi-criminal rejects and indigents who would only be acceptable in a former penal station?

These are some of the central questions addressed in this book. The work focuses on the years 1831–1860 and deals with government-assisted emigrants. Travel to Australia was costly, and (excluding convicts) forty-seven percent of all British and Irish emigrants to Australia in the nineteenth century were financially assisted with Australian colonial funds. The most generous of these were labeled "free passages" and were supposed to be restricted to individuals and families who met specific criteria: age (productive), sex (balanced), occupations (those in demand), and families (small). In this way, the Australian colonies would receive workers at the peak of their productivity, appropriately trained as domestic and farm servants, agricultural laborers, mechanics, and in a range of pre-industrial crafts, with few dependants at either end of the age spectrum and with at least as many women as men to compensate for the pro-male bias in the existing colonial population.

Perversely, influential Australian historians have derided assisted immigrants as useless destitutes and free-loaders. They cast assisted immigration as pseudo-penal transportation, a British government policy for ridding the United Kingdom of its semi-criminal undesirables while paying lip-service to selection criteria. In this manner, immigrants are removed from the Great Australian Story. Carefully and methodically, Haines destroys this vision through a three-fold attack.

First, Haines unpacks the beliefs governing British policy making, which was concerned with creating a viable British colony that would provide a market for British manufactures, a source of raw materials, and a place safely to sink investment funds. Labor was a vital element in this equation. Over time, control of policy and recruitment shifted seamlessly from British to colonial hands, suggesting a commonality of purpose.

Second, the immigration agents' annual statistical reports are employed to analyze the economic qualities of those immigrants who arrived in Australia, demonstrating that outcomes were matched to expressed requirements. Detailed breakdowns are given of geographic origins and destinations (there were five main colonies involved), of occupational structure (by industry and by status), age, family make up, and literacy (particularly important for individuals reading about possible places to emigrate to, and fundamentally important for worker productivity). These government emigrants were young, literate, and well-informed; from low-wage rural areas, they made choices about which destinations best suited their talents.

Third, Haines mounts an important argument about the costs of assisted passages and the processes involved in obtaining assistance. Internal travel to port and the costs of purchasing the requisite "kit" insisted on by the authorities meant that even a free passage was a costly affair, on par with an unassisted steerage passage to New York, New Brunswick, or St. John's. Potential emigrants had to be cashed up, or have access to additional financial support, through the shrewd use of philanthropic emigration societies. It was not the destitute but the "respectable poor" with the appropriate profile who could secure the necessary four character witnesses to gain government assistance, plus further support from exacting philanthropic societies. Far from shoveling out its paupers, Britain was running a scheme that required significant personal resources, financial and otherwise.

Haines turns much of the existing Australian historiography on its head and, in so doing, also makes a valuable contribution to the international literature on nineteenth-century migration. For example, she demonstrates that southern England's rural workers were seeking to emigrate, although not to America. America and Australia had different occupational structures and immigrant flows. Perhaps the dynamic behind Australian immigration was not land acquisition but opportunity for waged work, reflecting varied desires between dispossessed peasants and unemployed agricultural labourers.

This book is a rich read based on a wealth of sources, many unique to Australia and all elegantly handled in this comprehensive work. The book rehabilitates assisted immigrants and their roles in colonial Australia. In this, it shares much with recent work on Australia's other great migration story, convict transportation, a similarity unrecognized by Haines. In all other respects, the book is firmly grounded in the extensive and important literature on immigration studies, among which it is about to take its place.

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DIANE KIRKBY. *Barmaids: A History of Women's Work in Pubs*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 244. Cloth $64.95, paper $24.95.

The tavern is more than just an unusual space, at the same time public and intimate, disordered and policed; it could also, in certain societies, be a face. This is the argument of Diane Kirkby's fascinating study of barmaids in modern Australia. Women served the drinks, maintained the hotels that were often connected to pubs, and sometimes even owned the establishment. Above all, their beauty, charm, and sex appeal came to symbolize the Australian pub in that society's public discourse.

Kirkby examines a range of issues—women's work, the culture of public drinking, the women's movement

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and temperance movements—that all came together in the person of the barmaid. She is particularly good at discussing questions of gender and the profoundly ambiguous role of women working in a male space. Serving drinks was good work, attractive to many women who sought employment that was better paid and more interesting than domestic service. But women in bars transgressed sexual roles and invited confusion about their profession and morality. In addition to the sexual services that some barmaids undoubtedly provided customers, there was the fundamental sexuality of their legitimate employment. Unlike other commodities, alcohol is identified as a form of sensual, almost erotic pleasure. Thus, unlike women acting as retail clerks of other commodities, women serving alcohol were equated with prostitutes, who served men and gave them pleasure. At the same time, they were accused of eroticizing the pub and making it even more enticing to susceptible men.

Barmaids drew condemnation from all sides. Government investigations of working conditions through the late nineteenth century made it increasingly difficult for legislators to resist regulating the employment of barmaids—for their own good, of course. Regulators' hesitations were finally overcome by the weight of temperance agitation, which turned the barmaid into a "metaphor for the consumption of alcohol" in pubs (p. 93). Troubled by the barmaid's anomalous position in a masculine space, the temperance movement made her central to the culture of public drinking and the primary target of its reform. Temperance attacks turned the barmaid into a sexual object and then blamed her allure for the pub's popularity. The restrictions on her employment, which began to accumulate early in this century, aimed not only at reforming pubs but also at defining woman's proper place.

Different regions of Australia limited the age, hours, and even presence of women serving in bars through much of the twentieth century. At the same time, ironically, barmaids were achieving a measure of economic success. They had unionized themselves precociously and managed, after much effort, to gain equal pay with their male counterparts. Such masculine parity seems to have been attended by a slowly evolving image that was less erotic and more maternal. As the restrictions on their employment have gradually disappeared since World War II, the greatest challenge to their security comes from the declining popularity of public drinking places.

In addition to studying the barmaid, Kirkby has much to say about the role of pubs in Australian society and points to several changes in the structure of public drinking that had particular impact on the lives of barmaids and customers alike. The introduction of the bar counter separated barmaids physically from the customers' contact, though not from the "male gaze." This fixture might have relieved the barmaid from some of the rough and tumble of serving, but it did not improve her status in society's eyes. Another innovation, the "six o'clock closing" or "six o'clock swill," was an unmixed horror for server and customer alike. In response to temperance demands, customers had less than an hour from the end of work to the pub's closing; the result was neither moderate nor sociable consumption.

Kirkby relies on a rather narrow range of sources that she uses with considerable sensitivity. Her interpretations of photographs are mostly intelligent and illuminating; the analysis of official and public rhetoric is subtle. It is frustrating, however, to have so little information about the barmaids themselves. They are usually seen only at a distance and through the distorting lens of public debates or a camera. The census data used by Kirkby is very general, and few of the barmaids published anything about their own experiences. Were there no business records to shed light on employment histories or to reveal the occasional woman who owned and operated a pub? Yet, even at a distance, the barmaids of this fine study tell us a great deal about their society.

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MARK JOHNSTON. *At the Front Line: Experiences of Australian Soldiers in World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 261. $64.95.

The years 1999–2005 will mark the sixtieth anniversary of World War II. No doubt, successive commemorations of battles, as witnessed worldwide for the fiftieth anniversary, will focus both scholarly and popular attention on the front line soldier's experience. Currently, the mass commercialism of Stephen Spielberg's D-Day film, "Saving Private Ryan," is creating the tide of interest that often highlights serious scholarship in military history. Mark Johnston's study of Australian soldiers in World War II is a welcome addition to an area recently dubbed the "New Military History" by Paul Addison and Angus Calder in *A Time to Kill: The Soldier's Experience of War in the West, 1939–1945* (1997).

Only after organizing a 1995 conference on "The Soldier's Experience of War 1939–1945" did British historians discover it was the first of its kind. On reflection, the Edinburgh conference was as groundbreaking as the work of some of its participants. Only two decades had passed since John Keegan's *The Face of Battle* (1976) transformed the way historians thought about the mechanics of writing about battle. Soon after, John Ellis's *The Sharp End: The Fighting Man in World War II* (1986) reinforced the fruitfulness of Keegan's approach of looking at the history of armies from below rather than exclusively "through the eyes of warlords and commanders." But the Edinburgh conference, with its focus on the fighting in Western Europe and North Africa and contributions from participating nations, unfortunately omitted the Australian perspective.

This book draws on the letters and diaries of some

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300 Australian soldiers who fought in operational theaters as diverse as North Africa, Greece, Crete, Syria, New Guinea, Borneo, and Malaya to distill the hardships and triumphs of their national wartime experience. Johnston is not the first to grapple with the historical problem of discovering and analyzing the thoughts and feelings of a national army from a representative sample. Civil War historian James M. McPherson thought that the best he could do, when three million soldiers had fought in the Union and Confederate armies, was "to select a quasi-representative group of soldiers (1,076) whose letters or diaries have survived and read those documents with a discerning eye" (*For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* [1997], p.viii). Confronting the same problems of statistical interpretation with a sample of 300 representing the 700,000 soldiers who served in the Australian Army in World War II, Johnston warns that his work is "less a study of specific individuals than of the messages their writings convey about the nature of the ordeal they and their fellow soldiers endured" (p. xvii).

Johnston's thesis rests on the notion that soldiering is an unnatural life, in which the accumulated stresses of army living and combat test an individual's endurance to the limit. His book is divided into three parts. The first, "The Front Line," deals with the stresses peculiar to preparing for battle: facing fear, death, and injury; and coping with post-traumatic reactions. In "The Army Way," the analysis shifts to the limits imposed on individual behavior by the military's hierarchical structures and the social restrictions of group living. In the final section, "Mates," scrutiny falls on the "cherished icon" of Australian mateship. A very useful appendix, "Who Fought Where," may have been better placed as an introduction or first chapter.

Johnston's book has much to offer like-minded historians to ponder and compare. The main strength of the work lies in the extracts from the soldiers' letters and diaries, but, strangely, their voices are muffled by the author's dense organization of material and his intrusive subjectivity. It is unfortunate that, in its passage from dissertation to published monograph, the text was not rendered more professional. Johnston's decision not to name the soldier respondents also lends a clumsiness that would likely deter all but specialists. The author's tendency to switch continually from one campaign to another demands exceptional knowledge and orientation on the part of the reader, with sometimes as many as seven respondents quoted in a single paragraph, all representing different campaigns in varying geographical locations (see p. 13).

The book creates an overall impression that the life of Australian soldiers at war was one of unmitigated misery. War is hell, but as longitudinal studies with combat veterans reveal, the experience can be well-rounded and the horrors often over-stressed by non-participants. Johnston's emphasis on unrelieved suffering and discord between mates may perplex some Australian diggers.

MARGARET BARTER
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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JOSÉ ANTÓNIO BRANDÃO. *"Your Fyre Shall Burn No More": Iroquois Policy Toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 375. $60.00.

José António Brandão's study of Iroquois policy toward the French colony in Canada and the Amerindian allies of the French is introduced by setting up the now-discarded Francis Parkman thesis of Iroquois aggression and the George Hunt thesis of Iroquois economic expansion, sometimes characterized as the Beaver Wars. He proceeds to demonstrate systematically the lack of documentary basis for these interpretations of Iroquois-French relations, suggesting that Canadian historiography has not until most recently been liberated from these false assumptions or premises. In fact, the first volume of *A Reader's Guide to Canadian History*, edited by D. A. Muise (1982) warned readers that historians for some time have had serious reservations about the Hunt interpretation (Muise, p. 38).

As for the influence of Parkman on this question, Brandão appears in the opening chapter to have adopted an Axtellian model of interpreting the history of New France as a kind of extension of Anglo-American colonial history, or at least as a variant continental experience, rather than as a unique experience of aboriginal interaction with a French colonial presence. This approach has been called the American imperial school of history, but chapters three to nine in a text of only 131 pages fortunately do not follow in that vein.

The French-Canadian historiography, which should be distinguished from English-Canadian historiography, is rooted in neither Parkman nor his disciples. By following closely the evolution of historical writing as described by Serge Gagnon in *Quebec and its Historians* (1982; 1985), Brandão has failed to underscore sufficiently the French colonial origins of the thesis of Iroquois aggressiveness and economic expansion. Gagnon, as an expert on Quebec rather than on New France, did not help Brandão in this regard. Therefore, although the author documents meticulously the evidence from the colonial period, he disregards in his opening chapter on historiography its source for nineteenth-century Quebec authors such as Benjamin Sulte and the Abbé Ferland, along with French Sulpician Etienne-Michel Faillon. The true origins of these myths or misinterpretations lie in the writings of Marie de l'Incarnation, the Abbé Belmont, and especially the Jesuit *Relations*, all of which are cited abundantly, along with travel journals and the official correspondence in the ensuing chapters of this exposé. One is

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surprised to find that the great myths of the seventeenth-century relations with the Iroquois—the Dollard incident at the Long Sault or the myth of the Jesuit martyrs, for example—that have been given much attention in both professional and popular histories are barely mentioned.

In addition to the reliance on Gagnon for the Quebec historiography, there is the usual American fascination with the views of the archaeologist/anthropologist Bruce Trigger, an expert on the Iroquoian peoples of the region whose historical analysis stops in 1663, before there were really any "newcomers" in significant numbers to constitute a viable colony. Consequently, there is a dangerous tendency to "project forward" into the late seventeenth century characteristics and tendencies that were unique to the period of charter company rule rather than royal government. And as for the work of Denys Delâge, which the author considers at some length, suffice it to remind readers that it is more sociological than historical, imprisoned in a model of the world economic system propounded by Immanuel Wallerstein. All of which is redeemed, it would seem, by the marked influence of Conrad Heidenreich, a historical geographer, on the author's scholarship.

The physical presentation of this brief study is somewhat surprising at first glance because it is comprised of 167 pages of appendixes, forty-nine pages of endnotes in small print, and fourteen pages of bibliography—or almost double the length of the actual body of text. The appendixes are at the core of the argument, however, and therefore indispensable, while at the same time providing readers with the first summary of the entire statistical documentation available, much of which is of course open to debate and speculation because the usual controls on statistics are inapplicable here. The endnotes, which seem as requisite in the development of the argument as they were in the original doctoral dissertation, could have been reduced because much valuable historical and historiographical material therein should have been incorporated into the body of the text to strengthen the author's exposition. Readers may lose some of the important commentary buried in these endnotes. Even footnotes would have helped and press editors should have understood this.

Chapter two on Iroquoian organization and the continuous process of consultation and deliberation casts some doubt on the appropriateness of the term aboriginal "policy" when considering long-range survival decisions (pp. 103, 129). The author has indicated some relationship between the need for population renewal through adoption of captives and serious depopulation as a result of epidemics and war. In chapter four there is an illuminating discussion of the concept of native dependency and a convincing demolition of the assumption that most Iroquoian raiding was economically motivated, at least in the sense of inserting themselves as middlemen in the fur trade. The argument would be strengthened further if French dependency on the fur trade and native alliances for colonial survival were added to the formula. Iroquois aggressiveness must be understood in terms of French activity as well to explain that they warred against fifty-one groups.

The problem of Iroquoian sources plagues the author from time to time, and we note the use of "may have" no less than six times, "possibly" a couple of times, as well as "probably" and "it appears that" (p. 103). Chapter eight, entitled "Conflict and Uncertainty," is a skillful reconstruction of what might have been the scenario of French-Iroquois hostilities, but every page is replete with expressions such as "may have," "seems," "probably," "might have," "apparently," "must have," "one may assume," "it appears," etc., which seriously detract from the exposition.

Although there is an extensive bibliography, it should be remarked that the archives of the Marine, Guerre and Affaires Etrangères were not consulted in either Paris or perhaps more conveniently in Ottawa, nor series such as F3 and F5A. Relevant publications by Calvin Martin, Neal Salisbury, Jan Kupp, Susan Johnston, Ian Steele, Georgianna Nammach, Georges Sioui, to name a few, would have added more information and even strengthened the author's thesis. Matthew Dennis's *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace* (1993) is dismissed rather abruptly (p. 43), but Brandão's arguments are well documented from archival sources. All in all, this is an important contribution to the scholarly literature and students of Iroquois-French relations who ignore it do so at their peril. This aspect of colonial history will most certainly be understood differently as a result of this very thorough analysis of statistical and documentary evidence.

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J. I. Little. *State and Society in Transition: The Politics of Institutional Reform in the Eastern Townships, 1838–1852.* (Studies on the History of Quebec.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1997. PP. xii, 320. $24.95.

This study examines the development of political institutions in the Eastern Townships of Quebec after the Rebellion of 1837, with the view to examine the extent to which local communities influenced this process. To date, the question of state formation during this transitional period in Canada has been studied primarily in the context of Ontario, particularly as it relates to school reforms, and has received less attention in Quebec history. The findings of J. I. Little cannot, however, be taken as indicative of the process in other parts of the province. The Eastern Townships were a distinct region within that province and their early history has many similarities to that of Ontario. The southern counties of the Eastern Townships were settled by Americans seeking land in the 1790s. Irish and Scottish settlers came into other sections of the townships later, and French Canadians

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were becoming a presence in the northern townships by the 1840s. Even within this region, then, the population was far from homogeneous and the responses to the aspects of state formation examined—politics, the legal system, community regulation, the development of local government, and the introduction of public schooling supported by local taxes—were not uniform.

Clearly informed by Little's extensive familiarity with the Eastern Townships, this book is based on an examination of the petitions originating from the Eastern Townships in the government records supplemented by the Journals of the Legislative Assembly, private correspondence, and local newspapers where these have survived. Although Little shows that local communities did frequently petition the government regarding certain issues and that popular resistance to some administrative changes made the latter difficult to implement or ineffective, he is less successful in showing a causal link between these petitions and a change in policy. Petitions notwithstanding, for example, the government in the pre-Rebellion period had long been able to ignore the Eastern Townships' requests for roads and other measures to improve transportation and end the economic isolation of the region. The early elite might have had the power of local patronage at their disposal, but they were unable to redirect the focus of economic development away from the building of canals and other efforts to improve trade to the west (chapter one). Nor was a more effective local system of justice provided until long after the first demands for improvements in that area. Local communities seem to have had little power to initiate change, therefore. Counterfeiting rings and the problems of a lone constable trying to make an arrest in an isolated rural area, where the local population might be hostile, reflected the absence of a strong state apparatus of justice in the Eastern Townships (chapter two). In this context, community regulation (chapter three) took on a greater significance. Little finds that there was a decrease in the number of unlicensed premises selling alcoholic beverages by the 1850s, but it was the temperance movement that effected the change, not a more effective government presence. The region was also without government assistance to help with the poor or the insane and the few dangerous insane persons were placed in the Sherbrooke jail as a result. There was very little that could be done to regulate charivaris or the extensive cross-border traffic in goods in violation of custom regulations. In the 1840s, Little concludes, "there obviously existed an effective equilibrium between traditional community-based sanctions and the state's laws" (p. 118).

It is in the chapters dealing with local government and school reform that Little's claim that the increasing state presence at the local level was not simply imposed, but was "the result of protracted negotiations and conflicts between government and the governed" (p. 6), is best supported. Local government was introduced in Quebec for the first time with the creation of district councils in 1841. Little details the local response to these councils, all of which failed to work, but for different reasons. In Missisquoi, the council was embraced as an opportunity to build roads and make improvements, but an effort to tax more than just land in order to do so was disallowed, and little progress was made. In areas that combined parishes and townships, difficulties arose when the county seat chosen favored the townships over the more populous parishes. Other problems arose from personality and group conflicts. Attempts to find a workable system of local government continued through the 1840s. The most important area of conflict and negotiation concerned the nature of the taxes that would be imposed. There was resistance to the general assessment, because it placed the tax burden almost exclusively on farmers. Local attempts to shift more of the burden to merchants and to absentee proprietors, however, did not meet with much success.

The introduction of a school system based on taxation also faced local opposition. The habit of voluntarism was well established, particularly among the American population and, initially, the number of state-supported schools declined when taxation for schooling was introduced in 1846. In contrast to the resistance to enforced taxation for schools, the establishment of dissentient schools in areas of mixed population created few problems. Despite initial resistance, most school districts soon accepted the principle of assessment. Perhaps more important, Little also finds that, in practice, a large amount of local control was still in effect. This underlines the importance of studying these questions from more than just a statutory perspective.

This study is a welcome addition to the literature on state formation generally and on school reforms and the introduction of local government especially, providing as it does a useful point of comparison for the time period. The case-study approach used by Little is at once one of the major strengths and weaknesses of the book. The wealth of detail pertaining to local personalities and conflicts bring these issues alive, but may at times also prove overwhelming to those less familiar with the history and geography of the Eastern Townships.

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A. A. DEN OTTER. *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 292. $34.95.

For the past decade, most historians of Canadian railways have worked on topics in the half century following the completion of the country's first transcontinental line, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), in 1885. In a welcome change, A. A. den Otter draws us to the earlier period with a study of the philosophy of railways, which he early describes as "the ideology

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behind the transcontinental" (p. 12). Though den Otter considers the ideas of an enthusiastic engineer and several journalists—the main title reworks the title of the most famous Canadian pamphlet on the topic—this book's primary offering is the politics of railways. For the most part, the study closely tracks a series of development debates from 1849 to 1879 in the assemblies, newspapers, and, less frequently, company offices of the colonies and the new dominion.

The work marshals much information to support the thesis that "the drive for railways . . . made the colonists . . . less British and more American" (p. 12). A chapter on the dilemma of the Grand Trunk, the largest railway in Canada before Confederation, joins the international debate on railway imperialism by exploring the transcontinental ambitions of the company's British president, who recognized the necessity of hauling American traffic. In a later examination of the transcontinental Canada Pacific Railway scheme that preceded the CPR, den Otter demolishes the shibboleth that Prime Minister John A. Macdonald always desired an all-Canadian road. The deployment of a new source for Canadian historians, correspondence from the Jay Cooke Papers of Pennsylvania, allows the author to make a powerful case that Macdonald knowingly encouraged American ascendancy in the venture, which collapsed and brought down his first government in the Pacific Scandal of 1872–1873. These chapters also remind us that the locus of the Canadian metropole was the "Center," rather than the "East," as western Canadians are prone to forget. Unlike the United States, the actual construction of the Canadian transcontinental system began in the heartland (Province of Canada), and then extended east as well as west.

Two other chapters elaborate the importance of debates in the Maritimes in the creation of the transcontinental. By disaggregating Maritime conflicts concerning the Intercolonial, the proposed eastern leg, den Otter not only illuminates the divergent interests of the colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; his discussion of provincial projects such as the European and North American in the former colony also indicates that in the British colonies, as in the United States, there were alternatives to the organization of rail transport by centralized trunk lines. These enterprises, rudimentary though they were, invite speculation on a Canadian variant of the railway "regional republican" ideology advanced by Gerald Berk (*Alternative Tracks: The Constitution of the American Industrial Order, 1865–1917* [1994]). One only wishes that the author had extended the regional view by examining the extensive debate in the Pacific province during the 1870s and 1880s.

Less persuasive, however, is the rationale on which the work rests. Den Otter's initial review of the historiography of the CPR exaggerates the strength of the nationalist interpretation. Huge book sales and a television series during the 1970s may have established Pierre Berton's patriotic saga, *The National Dream*, as popular culture's view of the CPR. But Berton's epic elicited sharp criticism from academics and, more importantly, did not close off debate on the significance of the CPR and other railways. It is disingenuous, therefore, to imply that the present work is one of a select few that seriously challenges the "nation-building myth" (p. 9). Interpretation of the CPR as a vehicle of domination and division rather than unification emerged from western protests during the 1880s concerning the company's legislated right to monopoly, as the author acknowledges in his conclusion. And H. A. Innis, whose dissertation on the CPR is initially dismissed as "a straight-forward account . . . of traditional historiography" (p. 4), pointed out in 1921 that American residents at first held majority ownership in the "new" CPR syndicate that completed the transcontinental. Although den Otter recognizes the merit of Innis's later views on transport and communication, the concession does not make clear the pivotal role that Innis's ideas play in this book.

In a study on transcontinental ideology, it is surprising that the author foregoes an opportunity to review political debate on the CPR itself. At least part of such an analysis belongs in den Otter's chapter on Macdonald's National Policy, an undertaking notorious because of government concessions in a contract with the CPR syndicate. Surely the acrimonious parliamentary debate concerning the contract in 1880–1881 that filled 748 pages of Hansard, which the author relegates to a single note, represents an essential source for what became the most important projection of the philosophy of railways.

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KEITH WALDEN. *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 430. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

Ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls! Feast your eyes on this most impressive book, a veritable cornucopia of intellectual delights persuasively argued and handsomely presented. Its 855 footnotes and fifty illustrations confirm that Keith Walden offers the reader evidence culled from every conceivable source. But Walden is no mere exhibitor. Applying an analytical framework derived from cultural history, anthropology, and literary studies, he knits the empirical and theoretical with consummate skill. Indeed, this book is arguably the most splendid piece of Canadian cultural history yet composed.

Grand exhibitions mounted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries typically indulged in such hyperbole. But reading Walden's book inspires similarly enthusiastic endorsements. Its principal virtue is the writing, which is assured, compelling, playful, and evocative. Walden does not succumb to either of the temptations that face writers on this subject: one, the appeal of adopting the breathless prose of Victorian

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exhibition boosters; the other, the academic lure of using impenetrable and obscure terminology favored by many cultural studies scholars. Ironically, the book replicates the industrial exhibition's balance of education and entertainment. As Walden describes it: "However impressive the business community's demonstrations of hegemonic influence, its attractions were matched by the transgressive pull of freaks, frauds, and floozies" (p. 290).

The Toronto Industrial Exhibition (TIE) was one of many such business, civic, and commercial amusement enterprises launched in the late Victorian period. The Chicago World's Fair was much larger; the Paris Exhibition was much grander. But Walden argues that lesser-known annual fairs, such as the TIE, also deserve historians' attention because they were "highly successful over a long period, and deeply connected to the emergence of an urban, industrial, consumer society" (p. xv).

Although Walden's time frame, 1879–1903, corresponds to the establishment and transformation of the TIE into the Canadian National Exhibition, this book is not an institutional history. Rather, Walden explores how "the exhibition helped shape understandings in a society being altered profoundly by industrial capitalist production, technological developments, and new ideas and values, including consumerism" (p. xi).

As Walden explains, most cultural histories of fairs and exhibitions fall into two camps: those that see these events as mirrors of culture, and those that interpret them as molders of ideas, meanings, and identities. Walden favors the latter approach. In his chapter on "Carnival," he suggests that it is not "too conspiratorial . . . to suggest that a celebration which directed excess energies into safe channels, and made people appreciate the resumption of ordinary routine met the requirements of industrial capitalism rather neatly" (p. 328). The annual ritual of the TIE never touched off a Rabelaisian riot of excess, disorder, and social levelling; rather, fair-going folk were "passive admirers and consumers of spectacles premised on the necessity of order and control" (p. 311).

Lest it appear that Walden merely reaches a predictable conclusion—that modernity à la Toronto was a somnambulistic affair—his metaphor of "alternating currents" of meanings deserves attention. Like most historians attuned to the postmodern emphasis on fragmentation and multivocality, he does not argue that bourgeois understandings of industrial capitalist society were definitive or monolithic. Meanings were shaped in the context of the exhibition, but they were also contested: "As a mechanism to engineer support for metropolitan, middle-class leadership, the fair was relatively successful; as a device to provide absolute reassurances about the anxieties of modernity, it was much less effective. Its messages were ambiguous and contradictory, pulsing first in one direction, then in another" (p. 30).

In his preface, Walden admits that his research introduced him to far more facets of the fair than he could possibly assimilate. Selectivity and subjectivity were inevitable and necessary, just as they are in reviews. Nonetheless, it seems curious that his discussions of identity, masculine sporting culture, and urban diversity did not include attention to homosexuality. Arrest records and contemporary journalists' accounts strongly suggest that men picked up other men (and not just women) at the fairgrounds. Homosexual cruising, like prostitution, pickpocketing, and patent-medicine peddling, was both facilitated by and policed at the TIE. Incorporating such evidence would have reinforced Walden's overarching argument that "the traditional, the official, the conventional, the classical were affirmed in one instant, while the next endorsed the new, the popular, the unusual, the grotesque. Back and forth the armatures swung, the potency of one pole continually recharging the other" (p. 335).

After making their annual pilgrimage to the TIE, exhausted fairgoers often remarked that they found it impossible to give a comprehensive account of their visits. So it is equally difficult to summarize the treasures packed into this book. Open it at any page and you will be tempted to take the entire journey yourself.

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E. WAYNE CARP. *Family Matters: Secrecy and Disclosure in the History of Adoption*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 304. $27.95.

In the United States over the last two centuries, attitudes about the process of adoption have vacillated between secrecy and openness. When adopted children were orphans, there was little disapproval of them, the process, or either set of parents. When the child was born to an unmarried mother, however, strong stigmas attached to the mother, the child, and the adoptive parents because of the supposed moral taint of illegitimacy. Consequently, agencies that promoted adoption began to keep their operations and records secret.

Secrecy was the climate associated with adoption during the first half of the twentieth century, but things had been different earlier. Since World War II, the tendency has been in the direction of increased openness. E. Wayne Carp traces the history of adoption in a comprehensive way by looking at state laws, court decisions, and the policies of agencies, both public and private, which arranged adoptions.

Adoption was uncommon in the colonial period, because there were other means, such as apprenticeship and indenture, through which children moved from their family of origin to another family. As apprenticeship and indenture declined in the nineteenth century, adoption began to increase. The first state adoption laws were passed in Mississippi in 1846 and Texas in 1850; but the first such law to emphasize the welfare of the child was passed in Massachusetts in 1851. The Massachusetts law also established the

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principle of judicial supervision of adoption. In 1853. Charles Loring Brace and the New York Children's Aid Society developed an informal child-placing system that placed city children with farm families. Critics charged that Brace was filling western juvenile institutions with youthful street toughs, and others decried the casual approach to placement and lack of supervision that typified the Children's Aid Society system. States began to regulate child placement within their borders, and a movement to professionalize the process of adoption began. During the Progressive era, private adoption agencies appeared, the effort to professionalize social work began, and social workers pressured states to regulate the process of adoption. At the same time, social workers emphasized family preservation rather than adoption; thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, adoption was in the process of becoming professionalized, regulated, secret, and relatively rare.

The most important example of state regulation was the Children's Code of Minnesota of 1917, which required an investigation of the proposed adoptive home before placement could be approved. It also established a six-month waiting period and provided that adoption records be closed. Supported by the private Child Welfare League of America and the U. S. Children's Bureau, social workers in other states set out to enact laws similar to the Children's Code of Minnesota. By 1937, thirty-nine states had enacted new adoption laws or revised their old ones in line with the Minnesota law. In the 1920s and 1930s, Carp believes, the stigma attached to adopted children began to decline as the influence of eugenics waned.

After World War II, the demand for children to be adopted far exceeded the supply, as the nation experienced the baby boom and childless couples worried about their infertility. Carp indicates that there were four and a half million couples seeking to adopt the seventy-five thousand children then available. This high demand led to the appearance of a number of unregulated agencies and a "black market" in babies. It also led some agencies to consider adoption across racial lines, a practice that later came under attack in the wake of the civil rights movement.

In the postwar period, the issue of secrecy became the focus of an extended national debate. Pressure groups, which Carp calls the adoption rights movement, appeared to champion the efforts of the adopted to find their birth parents, while adoption professionals continued to defend secrecy. As illegitimacy lost its stigma in the 1960s, secrecy became harder to defend. Additionally, some social scientists began to defend the search for birth parents as a positive good for the adopted. Meanwhile the adopting parents wavered between support of secrecy and some accommodation to openness. Carp provides an extended and detailed account of this debate about secrecy and openness, which began in 1949 and which continues to the present.

This book is a thoroughly researched, solidly grounded, and gracefully written academic study that is comprehensive in scope and detailed in analysis. Carp integrates primary and secondary materials into a smooth and readable narrative and is a reliable guide through the adoption wars of the late twentieth century. Undoubtedly, the book will be the standard work on the history of adoption for many years to come; it belongs in all major libraries. Students of social history, family history, cultural history, and the history of childhood will want to consult this work.

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Paula S. Fass. *Kidnapped: Child Abduction in America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. PP. xi, 324.

This book is an intriguing if sometimes over-interpreted history of child abduction. Paula S. Fass argues that the more well-publicized episodes often become "the means for defining the critical social issues of a particular time" (p. 257), especially those dealing with family life, sex and gender, criminality and insanity, and community and law. Beyond this thesis Fass has an agenda: she hopes to show that the often frenzied publicity that follows missing children serves among other things to distract us from more important threats to their safety in the form of "bad health, bad schools, unsafe streets, unsafe environments of all kinds" (p. 263).

The abduction of children, legal and illegal, has a long history. Fass reminds us of the snatching of indentured servants for sale across the Atlantic, the capture of whites by Indians, and the breakup of slave families. In the late nineteenth century alone, children were taken for the whole gamut of imaginable motives; she notes, in addition to the usual suspects, the various Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which often removed the children of the urban poor to rural Protestant homes. But in this country, "kidnapping" as a widely publicized phenomenon began with the famous snatch and attempted ransom of little Charley Ross, in July of 1874, from outside his comfortable home in Philadelphia.

The Ross case set the pattern for many subsequent ones: the excruciating dilemma about whether to pay or to bring in the police, the use of the media to contact the kidnappers, the hugger-mugger of money "drops," the bungling of local cops, offers from psychics, alleged sightings all over the country, even the parental devotion exemplified by Christian Ross, who spent much of his life helping to find other "lost" children while searching in vain for his own. Fass devotes chapters to Leopold and Loeb, the Lindbergh baby, two Bay Area cases in the 1950s, and the late twentieth-century concern about parental abduction, ending with a survey of recent episodes.

The Ross case appears to be the first to involve a ransom note, a classic form now in decline. Parental snatches, rather, were the concern of the 1970s and 1980s. In her best single chapter, Fass tells how a

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growing divorce rate, coupled with the weakness (and sometimes asininity) of the law, gave rise not only to more cases but to a variety of legal and extralegal challenges to court decisions. This has led to a kind of vigilantism, with some feminists helping mothers defy custody decrees and one paramilitary organization aimed at "rescuing" children taken to the Middle East. Parental involvement has complicated the images of both family and kidnaping, and while earlier custody battles often hung on allegedly immoral mothers, more recently fathers have been liable to accusations of molestation. In the late twentieth century, in fact, it is sexual fear and titillation, more than cash or other possible motives, that first occur to us in almost all kidnap cases.

Devotees of "true crime" will find some stories well told here, but others are oddly incomplete. There are two pictures, for example, of Polly Klaas but only a glancing mention of her case, and there is no account of Bruno Hauptmann's trial, despite some suggestions of a miscarriage of justice in part the result of the media frenzy surrounding it. The emphasis throughout is less on the events themselves than on the way we "have come socially and culturally to define, understand, deal with, and imagine" them (p. 5). Fass's own imagination is always active, although not always convincing, and the book contains a number of dubious claims. It seems strained, for example, to suggest that the noble contemporary portrait of Anne Morrow Lindberg was drawn because " the nation's house required a hardier female presence than a fragile, hysterical, woman" (p. 105), not to mention the contortion required to assert that her son's death somehow "brought to an end the innocent view of children" (p. 131).

Despite such strain and much repetition, this is a wholly original look at a real problem. It is also, in a way not usual to historians, courageous. Fass walks a delicate line here. Herself a parent, she continually reminds us that we must understand the anguish of every individual case, while still trying to deconstruct the messages and often exaggerated numbers now generated by a variety of sources. In addition to advertisers, reporters, feminists, and government agencies, these include grassroots foundations and community efforts inspired by people directly stricken themselves, which aim, often usefully, to reunite children with their (ideally) "rightful" families.

ROGER LANE
Haverford College

GARY CROSS. *Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. vii, 283. $29.95.

Gary Cross's intriguing history of toys chronicles childhood by examining those who try to shape it: the adults who design, manufacture, market, purchase, and write about the proper uses of toys. The kids in this book are largely the targets of toy manufacturers, parental ideals, and marketing strategies. Cross traces the emergence of a realm of children's play separate from the world of adult expectations. Yet the adults who create playthings, market them to children, and purchase them for children are responsible for this dislocation of children's play from adult guidance. They are also the ones who direct children's attention toward certain kinds of toys through advertising, marketing, and cooperation with producers of television shows and motion pictures.

Marketing strategies and the toys they promote are relatively new creations of post–World War II consumer culture, but they represent the culmination of trends that began nearly a century ago. Cross traces the development of toys from the nineteenth century up to the present, connecting them to changing cultural ideals about childrearing and the nature of childhood. Focusing largely (although not exclusively) on the white middle class, Cross documents the shift from Victorian toys, geared toward character-building and socializing boys and girls into proper gender roles and adult occupations, to the current emphasis on fantasy and imagination far removed from the world of real life or future work.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century toymakers and childrearing experts advocated toys that would help children learn the practical tasks they would be expected to master as adults. Boys received toys like erector sets that would enable them to learn construction, design, and engineering—fitting tasks for the future men who would help to build the rational, industrial nation. Girls received dolls that they could use to hone their mothering and homemaking skills. They sewed dolls' clothes to learn how to make clothes for themselves and their future children.

Cross examines how the meanings and messages toys carried changed over time. Toys with horrifying racist messages were popular well into the twentieth century, not only reinforcing stereotypes of ethnic and racial minorities but sanctioning abusive treatment as well. During the war and Cold War years, mock violence became a centerpiece of playthings geared to boys; toy soldiers were now joined by cap guns and an array of toy weapons. Violence has remained a theme of play, even though public pressure has removed many guns from the toy shelves. Now action figures carry their own weapons and can be used in simulated battles. For decades, toys with racist, sexist, or violent themes have sparked protest, but few toys have actually been removed from production for having anti-social messages. In general, toymakers sell whatever consumers will buy.

Gradually, toy manufacturers began to offer toys that were centered in a world of children distinct from that of adults. This transformation coincided with expanding consumer expectations, which linked toys to the realm of leisure rather than future work. Although Victorian parents were likely to give their children toys as gifts at holiday times, by the post–World War II era, children were more likely to request and to receive

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toys all through the year, and their toyboxes expanded accordingly.

One of the most consistent themes in the history Cross traces is the persistence of gender based toys and their meanings. Boys' toys have moved from the practical to the fanciful, but they still emphasize "masculine" themes of construction and combat. Girls' toys have evolved from the baby dolls that required nurturance to the Barbies that emphasize fashion and require further purchases (to complete a wardrobe and even a community of friends and siblings). Cross points out that girls often played with boys' toys, and vice versa, but it would be interesting to know how often they did so and what difference it made.

Cross notes that the cost of toys, as well as prevailing ideas about childhood, often determined which children would be given what toys. The class dimension is important, and Cross might have examined this dimension more fully. In addition, his focus on toys does not include an analysis of games, particularly popular board games like Monopoly, or the wide array of video games available in recent years. But no single study can cover everything. Overall, Cross provides a fascinating account of a subject that has not previously been examined by historians. Now that he has opened the toybox, other historians should peek inside.

ELAINE TYLER MAY
University of Minnesota

ROGER LANE. *Murder in America: A History*. (The History of Crime and Criminal Justice Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 399. $24.95.

In 1993, Joseph Biden, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, called the United States "the most dangerous country in the world." Biden was fretting about the unusually high American murder rate, just as many others have for years. Roger Lane, a leading historian of crime and criminal justice for over a generation, puts this problem at the center of his provocative new history of murder in America.

As an art form, the crime-and-justice survey book is particularly difficult to master. The subject tends to be both vast and shrouded in obscurity, and it is nearly impossible to generalize meaningfully over different historical epochs. The resulting texts tend to be unwieldy and tedious. Few are compelling. Lane succeeds as well as anyone ever has, however, because he puts a major, vexing, and persistent comparative historical question at the heart of his story, and because he continuously embeds his discussion of murder in the larger, familiar context of American social and political history.

Lane does much more though than simply hang his story of murder on the familiar signposts of American history. His great achievement, and the aspect of the book most apt to provoke controversy, is how he puts homicide at the very core of American history. Instead of emphasizing the relatively low homicide rate during the colonial era, for example, as is customary in this sort of book, Lane stresses that, despite its infrequency, murder was fundamental to key features of colonial life—Indian-white relations, isolated frontier settlement, the origins of slavery—and to landmark events such as King Philip's War and the Boston Massacre. Lane sustains this approach throughout the book, so that we have more nearly a history of homicide in American life than, strictly speaking, of the crime of murder. Because of this approach, we are left with the clear impression that throughout American history, especially in some places and within some segments of American culture, murder—and more importantly, the toleration of murder—has been deeply embedded.

Constructing the narrative in this manner serves Lane well when he confronts directly the main question: why are American homicide rates so relatively high? Drawing on evidence presented throughout the book and on his own important previous work, Lane first demonstrates that the rise in homicide rates in the late twentieth century has afflicted the entire (post)-industrialized world; he then offers (as have others) the social-psychological argument that the U-curve historical pattern of homicide is the result of the rise and subsequent decline of the inner-directed, disciplined individual character necessary for an industrial society to thrive. Lane then goes on to argue that the very high American homicide rates are the result of two deeply rooted American traits: first, guns, gun culture, and the toleration of handgun ownership; and second and more important, the habits, values, and attitudes of some Americans, especially those, both white and black, who have most directly inherited the legacy of slavery. This is Lane's most important, disturbing, and historical argument. For these Americans, the more pacific culture of industrial discipline never took firm hold. Because of the southern heritage of tyrannical personal authority and its code of honor, many Americans still tolerate and even admire the kind of personal belligerence that leads to murderous violence. When one adds racial hostility, another obvious legacy of slavery, to this witches' brew, one accounts almost entirely for the discrepancy between American homicide rates and those of other industrialized nations.

This is a bold and important argument, and one that could only be made by a historian in firm command of his craft. Because this book is also a survey text, the argument seems sometimes to get lost, but this is more than made up for by Lane's clear and careful explanation of all the (knowable) patterns and trends in homicide and its (legal and not) punishment (or not). Indeed, Lane makes it a point to include the deadly punishment of murderers as a prime component of the history of murder—as opposed to its control—and the culture of the tolerance of murder in America. His narrative is graced throughout with fascinating vignettes of notable American murders and murderers, some familiar and some obscure.

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But this excellent book's main significance is its direct address of a major question at the heart of who we Americans are as a people—as much as we might want to hide this truth from ourselves. Lane has taken the history-of-crime survey genre to a new level. He makes a compelling case that the question of why Americans are so relatively homicidal is one that an historian is especially suited to answer, and it is certain that no historian has made a better attempt to do so.

ALLEN STEINBERG
University of Iowa

NICOLE HAHN RAFTER. *Creating Born Criminals*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 284. $36.95.

In the first quarter of the present century, American public opinion seemed ready to accept the most extravagant claims about the biological bases of social problems. Not only did eugenic and biocriminological ideas dominate the scholarly world, but normally parsimonious state legislatures enthusiastically passed laws requiring the creation of expensive new institutions, separate from prisons and asylums, in which the "genetic rubbish" of the race could be detained indefinitely. Other laws mandated the sterilization of the unfit, and experts privately toyed with the idea of more sweeping final solutions. At various times, the unfit or degenerate were defined in extraordinarily broad terms, with the label extending to sex criminals, syphilitics, alcoholics, epileptics, drug fiends, habitual criminals, lunatics, idiots, imbeciles, and the feeble-minded, as well as "moral degenerates and sexual perverts," a phrase that usually encompassed homosexuals.

This book is an exceptionally valuable history of the emergence and triumph of these ideas, chiefly in the context of American criminal law and criminal justice. In a highly readable and superbly researched study, Nicole Hahn Rafter traces the origins of the evocative concept of the "defective delinquent." She explores the complex origins of biocriminology, which can be traced to several discrete developments of the mid-nineteenth century, the most important of which was the discovery of abnormal mental states distinct from flagrant insanity. Scholarly interest was initially directed toward people of very low intelligence, but by about 1830, psychiatrists were increasingly aware of the existence of the psychopath, a person of normal intelligence who nevertheless lacked normal restraints against bizarre and violent behavior. By 1860, scholars made a further intellectual leap, as mental deficiencies were linked to defective morality, so that criminals, the insane, and the feeble-minded were seen as related categories. If we imagine the human race in terms of a bell curve, then saints and geniuses were located together at one extreme, while at the other were to be found the various categories of defective and lunatic persons collectively described as "degenerates." Another generation of scientific speculation allowed degeneracy to be explained in genetic and evolutionary terms, with criminals seen as atavistic throwbacks to primeval savagery.

The implications were enormous. If a large proportion of criminal behavior did indeed arise from biological factors, why were courts permitted to indulge in their medieval, prescientific superstitions of guilt and innocence, defendants' rights, and jury trials? According to the new Positivist school, crime was a matter for the trained scientist, not the untrained lay ignoramus in the jury room. And why should the offender receive a fixed jail sentence for an act that was but a symptom of an underlying condition or sickness? One might as well send a man with tuberculosis to hospital for the fixed term of a month or two, rather than the totally indeterminate period that would more properly be required. In both cases, the doctor's opinion should be final. And if criminals were indeed born, not made, then the solution to crime, as well as to poverty, insanity, and racial decline, was to prevent those births, by segregation or sterilization. The emerging worldview was determinist, hereditarian, and technocratic: it was also profoundly reactionary, racist, and anti-egalitarian.

After describing the rise of the new biological concepts, Rafter examines their impact on the real world through the "defective delinquent" laws, which were passed in many states as the highest manifestation of scientific, modern penology. A typical statute of the 1920s provided for anyone designated as mentally defective to be committed for life when convicted or accused of a crime, following an examination by two doctors, on the model of the long-standing (and much abused) civil commitment procedure used for the insane. Rafter's detailed study of the implementation of the New York state law repeatedly illustrates the capricious Alice-in-Wonderland world in which the hapless inmates now found themselves. It often seems as if a dearth of rational intelligence afflicted the administrators and doctors quite as thoroughly as it did their poor patients.

Although the defective delinquent statutes have long fallen into disuse, they provided a precedent for much later lawmaking, in the form of the abominable sexual psychopath laws of the 1940s and 1950s and the equally ill-conceived sexual predator laws that have proliferated in the last decade. Positivism is by no means dead, and Rafter never allows us to forget the implications of her work for modern policymaking.

PHILIP JENKINS
Pennsylvania State University

JAMES DARSEY. *The Prophetic Tradition and Radical Rhetoric in America*. New York: New York University Pres. 1997. Pp. xii, 279. $35.00.

A book that can stitch together into a single "radical" fabric the makers of the American Revolution, Wendell Phillips, Eugene Debs, Joseph McCarthy, John Birch Society founder Robert Welch, and the gay

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liberation movement must be either original and provocative or seriously confused, if not both. Historians will find much to ponder and probably a few things to disagree with in James Darsey's witty, elegantly written, and tightly argued study of the prophetic rhetorical strain that he finds running, with decreasing coherence and success, through these figures and movements. Declining to join the chorus of critics who bewail the supposed demise of "civility" in American society, Darsey prefers a political discourse of "endlessly competing zealotries" (p. x) and emphasizes that radical rhetoric heralds less the collapse of one social order than the positing of an alternative one. Such rhetoric must be understood not as an uncivil deviation from our decorous Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition but as the product of an Old Testament prophetic tradition with equally deep roots in American culture.

Linking together Darsey's odd cast of characters is an unprogramatic concept of radicalism that stresses a purist sensibility, seeks to guard fundamental communal ideals by demanding not improvement but transformation, staunchly opposes the ruling elite (whether capitalist exploiters or communist dupes), and admits of no middle ground for negotiation. After setting out a "theory of prophetic discourse" (p. 10) derived from the tenets of the Old Testament tradition, Darsey presents sharply etched and largely convincing analyses of his characters' varying appropriations and deployments of that tradition over time. This is, as Darsey puts it, the tale of a "degenerative genre" (p. 208). As God died over the several generations chronicled here, so did the epistemological assumptions (that truth was knowable and tellable, and that prophetic truth-telling could revitalize errant communities) that had traditionally sustained prophetic radicalism. If the revolutionaries of 1776 could stir their compatriots with a language of God-given rights and self-evident truths, Eugene Debs's enactments of his own suffering and martyrdom could move but could seldom transform his audiences, while present-day advocates of gay liberation have only the bloodless secular rhetoric of economic equity and clout (stereotyping gays and lesbians as an appealingly affluent niche market) on which to ground their claims to equal rights.

Even those historians who accept Darsey's capacious definition of radicalism may be jarred by the leap from Debs to McCarthy. Did the prophetic strain entirely bypass the rest of the twentieth-century left? And why so little attention to Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights leaders (Darsey has argued elswhere against including King in the prophetic tradition, but here leaves the assertion undeveloped) and to present-day advocates of the prophetic such as Cornel West? Perhaps most disturbing to historians will be the lack of contextualizing and the overreliance on abstractions such as "the colonists," "the Whigs," and "Eighteenth-century man" (p. 50). This matters especially because Darsey's model of prophetic radicalism depends on the existence of a social consensus to which the rhetor appeals, yet Darsey does not ask whether Whig pamphleteers' language meant the same thing to colonial merchants, seamen, farmers' wives, land rioters, and other social types who played their roles in the revolutionary drama. Darsey sometimes veers perilously close to suggesting that if a rhetor could say it, and say it again, then his audience must have believed and acted upon it. That the Revolution happened is undisputed, but historians do continue to argue about its meaning.

The book ends on a rather glum note, as we find ourselves marooned in an era "bereft of absolute principles" (p. 11) and reduced rhetorically to "a timorous notion of reason, worn like sensible shoes" (p. 209). But if Darsey is no celebrant of the postmodern moment, neither does he call for a return to the lost comforts of natural law. He would like to ground radical rhetoric on some revitalized religious principle to be established at the core of American society, but he balks at vapid ecumenism and offers no preferred path to the future. Whatever one may think of such ruminations, historians interested in language, religion, politics, and the left will benefit by grappling with Darsey's account of our intertwining prophetic and radical traditions.

MARK PITTENGER
University of Colorado, Boulder

MARK STOLL. *Protestantism, Capitalism, and Nature in America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 276. Cloth $50.00, paper $24.95.

From Anne Bradstreet to Annie Dillard, Mark Stoll claims, thinking about nature has come full circle. Characterizing the drive to dominate or to preserve nature in religious terms, Stoll analyzes the strain of evangelical Protestantism that informs this dualistic tradition. Lynn White, Jr., initiated this discussion decades ago by popularizing the claim that Christianity encouraged Western civilization's imperialist approach to nature. Giving us Protestantism's "other face" (p. 3), Stoll looks at religion and nature in more complex and dialectical ways. America spawned the most environmentally arrogant strain of capitalism in the world, he notes, but also the world's more zealous environmental organizations; both were shaped by millennial perceptions of American destiny.

Reminding us that the roots of environmental thought are deeper than Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, Stoll traces this dualism to the syncretic tendencies of early Christianity and tracks it forward to the Enlightenment and the age of science. The Reformation gave rise to modern capitalism, but it also promoted an ardent love of the natural world, creating an essential, although contradictory, moral framework for the defense of nature.

With this background, Stoll treats readers to a series of intellectual biographies, beginning with Michael Wigglesworth and Bradstreet. The former recalled the

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founding of New England, as doleful new arrivals cast their eyes across a bleak and unforgiving landscape that they interpreted in biblical terms. Bradstreet's poetry was secular and classical in its pastoral illustrations, yet steeped in delightful similes drawn from the American wilderness. Cotton Mather brought the meaning of the Puritan wilderness forward for a more prosperous and more scientific era, and Jonathan Edwards added a brilliant, revivifying Calvinism, coupled with an emerging Transcendentalist posture. For Edwards, analogs of God's excellence were found throughout the natural world.

From here, Stoll follows the Protestant train of thought through Benjamin Franklin's Deism and Thomas Jefferson's subdued and genteel natural religion, which tinged his agrarian sensibilities and his faith in the faculty of reason. Stoll's choices for representative nineteenth-century examples include those who fused the majesty of God in nature and the exhilaration of building an "industrial-agrarian paradise" (p. 101). Emerson posited a higher invisible world accessible through the portals of nature's beauty, while Joseph Smith formed a kind of spiritual bridge to Manifest Destiny by revitalizing the vision of a new Jerusalem in the wilderness. From here, it is no great leap to William Gilpin's visionary doctrine of manifest destiny as a new version of the old "city on a hill."

Entering the age of Progressive conservation, Stoll turns to the archetypical preservationist, John Muir, who endured a strict evangelical upbringing before taking his unique blend of science and Calvinism to the "Range of Light." Unlike most historians, Stoll finds more similarities than dissimilarities between Muir and Gifford Pinchot. Given the common ground of Protestant Christianity, the fight between the two over the Hetch Hetchy reservoir project becomes a complicated moral battle indeed.

In the later twentieth century, Stoll searches for religious commonalities in disparate figures like the Rockefellers, Dillard, Aldo Leopold, James Watt, and Dave Foreman. All were shaped by a century in which Americans were less self-assured, where mainline churches dwindled, and where conservationism split along a dozen separate fault lines. Dillard wrote in a world devoid of Providence, yet she continued the Protestant search for God in nature, much like Thoreau a century earlier. Watt remains intensely religious, but even Foreman, America's best-known Earth Firster, dreamed as a boy of becoming a preacher and articulated his intense fundamentalism as an uncompromising, self-righteous drive to defend Mother Earth.

Moving from Puritans to protectionists, Stoll demonstrates that coming to terms with nature was the "most sacred crusade ever waged on earth" (p. 198, quoting Foreman). Because his approach is so rich and his scope so grand, readers will find points to disagree with. Perhaps he exaggerates the historical agency of Protestant Christianity, for example, by glossing over doubts raised by historians and others about the relation between Protestantism and capitalism. Yet the basic premise is thoroughly convincing; certainly the argument that religion gives environmentalism its millennial edge rings true, as does Stoll's appreciation for our diffuse and complex attitudes toward nature. And his conclusion, that the environmental movement will continue to be refreshed by this vigorous Protestant tradition, puts religion back into the limelight at a time when environmental organizations seem to be losing the symbolic high ground. Perhaps most important, we learn how malleable core ideas and values can be in the ongoing political wars over the use and preservation of nature.

RICHARD W. JUDD
University of Maine

FREDERIC W. GLEACH. *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*. (Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, in association with the American Indian Studies Research Institute, Indiana University, Bloomington. 1997. Pp. ix, 241. $55.00.

This is a study by an anthropologist of early Virginia and the relationships between recently arrived Euro-Americans and the Powhatan Indians, who occupied much of the coastal plain of the present state of Virginia. Frederic W. Gleach attempts to reconstruct "aspects of a Powhatan world-view, based on Algonquian cultural patterns and on careful attention to details in the historical records, with the goal a more objective treatment of these two sides of the history of early colonial Virginia" (pp. 1–2). Understanding the Powhatan worldview provided the greater challenge. Gleach explains that, in his reconstruction of the Powhatan culture, he used such theoretical perspectives as "controlled comparison" based upon "cultural similarities between Algonquian groups." Where adequate information was not available, he extended his process to "controlled speculation" (pp. 12–13), recognizing the limitations of these subjective processes. Comparisons with other Algonquians included the Delawares, the Ojibways of the Great Lakes, and a few references to non-Algonquians. In part relevant, some of the comparisons seem strained. Gleach also employed the cultural records of Indian and Western traditions found in historical, ethnographical, and archaeological studies; the limited contribution of archaeology is due to the small number of major excavations and/or incomplete analyses of artifacts.

One of the major arguments of this study is that, up to the 1640s, the Powhatan worldview asserted the superiority of its own culture to that of the newcomers from Europe and attempted to provide a controlled position for the English to share the territory of Powhatan (known as Tsenacommacah). This interpretation allows Gleach to conclude that the Powhatans did not attempt extermination in either of the major attacks led by Opechancanough in 1622 and 1644. These attacks, therefore, should be called coups rather

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than the previous designations of massacres or uprisings.

Gleach reviews many of the controversial subjects of early Virginia history. He convincingly challenges several of the conclusions of Helen C. Rountree in her studies of the Powhatans. These include the extent of the power of Powhatan and the validity of the writings of Captain John Smith about his capture and rescue by Pocahontas when considered within the context of Powhatan culture. The rescue, he suggests, "is perhaps the most famous incident in the history of Virginia" (p. 116). Many Virginians may not agree with this statement. Gleach also tackles Don Luis de Valasco in the failed Spanish settlement in Virginia in the 1570s. While rejecting some earlier assertions that he was Opechancanough, he suggests in a "Hypothetical Kinship Diagram for Powhatan" (p. 143) that Don Luis was the common maternal uncle of Powhatan and Opechancanough. This proposal, along with the statement that "It seems most likely that Opechancanough was a parallel cousin of Powhatan's, rather than a brother" (p. 142), leaves the identity of both Don Luis and Opechancanough still very uncertain.

This volume reprints the treaty of 1646 from William Waller Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the year 1619* (1809–1823). Gleach fails to provide an adequate analysis of the provision for annual tributes by the Powhatans in the first article. Similar tributary requirements were carried forward in the Treaty of Middle Plantation in 1677, which is not reproduced. Both of these treaties are now available in my edition of *Virginia Treaties, 1607–1722*, Volume IV of *Early American Indian Documents Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, General Editor, Alden T. Vaughan (1983).

This study is an important addition to the ongoing efforts of anthropologists and historians to learn more about Powhatan culture and its significance for Indian-white relations in early Virginia.

W. Stitt Robinson
University of Kansas

Jean M. O'Brien. *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650–1790.* (Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 224. $49.95.

Over the last twenty-five years, historians have tried to give voice to Native Americans and their role in America's past. Many of these historians have also added their own sympathetic voices. In this thoughtful, well-constructed community study, Jean M. O'Brien offers both.

Herself an Ojibwe descendent, O'Brien labored for fourteen years on this book. Her time was well spent. She focuses on a place and a story well known to students of early American history. The Reverend John Eliot has achieved almost mythic status over the last three centuries. Eliot came to New England in the first wave of English settlement and devoted his life to missionary work among the natives. He achieved renown for his efforts to translate the Bible into Algonkian. He also gained fame, beginning in 1650, for establishing "praying towns," Indian settlements where he and his followers could Christianize the natives. In the beginning was Natick. Yet by the middle of the eighteenth century, Natick was no longer a "praying town"; by 1790, it had only the vestiges of an Indian settlement; and by the middle of the nineteenth century, the native inhabitants were thought by many to be extinct. Not so, claims O'Brien. Rather, she sees Natick's history as vastly more complex, as a story of both "conquest and Indian resistance" (p. 3). She claims that "Indian 'disappearance' occurred in Euro-American imaginations, or rather in their failure to imagine how Indians struggled and survived" (p. 4). In all, O'Brien sees "not a simple tale of extinction, but a complicated narrative of dispossession, displacement, and dispersal" (p. 207).

In focusing first on Eliot, O'Brien makes the critical point that his efforts, while centered in religion, were also "embedded in total cultural transformation" (p. 27). Although there was resistance to some of this among Indians in Natick, the experiment moved ahead until King Philip's War of 1675–1676. That war, devastating to the English yet fatal in more profound ways to the Indians, severely damaged Eliot's dream. By 1677, the number of praying towns had been reduced from fourteen to four. Still, as O'Brien notes, many Massachusetts authorities were careful to acknowledge some obligation to their "friend Indians" who had sided with them through the war. With an estimated 210 Indians still in Natick, the town persisted.

Yet it also changed. Over the next fifty years various cultural challenges, most especially in approaches to land ownership and use, kept Natick in flux. Most dramatically, the early eighteenth century brought a move to individualize land ownership and distribution. By establishing a group of Indian proprietors in 1719 who would henceforth own and control the land in town, and especially by the individual ownership that a proprietary system brought, the Indians were committed to a path that would effectively end their special place in Natick. By the 1740s, with shifts also in town government and religious leadership, the wheels started to come off. A town that held 166 Indians in 1749 held only thirty-seven in 1765. Once the proprietors made their final division of land in 1763, Indian political power in Natick was gone. By the dawn of the nineteenth century, the town's long-term minister estimated that only twenty natives remained.

O'Brien tells this complex story well. Indeed, it is her care in presenting its complexity that serves her—and the reader—particularly well. As she establishes at the beginning, Indian decline in Natick was not dramatic or sudden or violent or the product of "English chicanery." Rather, it was "slow and steady," the "excruciating working of business as usual . . . a pro-

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tracted struggle" (p. 9). The author has used well the tools of ethnohistory, mining vital records, local town histories and documents, land deeds, and probate records effectively. Her chapter on the eighteenth century proprietary families of Natick shows her skill and care in reconstructing the histories of families that otherwise might disappear all too easily.

For all this, the book has three limitations which warrant note. Most problematic is the author's focus on Natick itself. Community studies always bring mixed blessings. They help us see the world up close, yet they also bring worries about broader applicability. The problem here is that Natick was *always* unusual. It did not hold a single tribe; rather, it brought together disparate Indians who were inclined to accept Christianity. Unusual in this way, it was created to protect and support Indians. Thus one might see Natick as a place where, in dealing with Indians, the English were on their best behavior. Given the destructiveness of King Philip's War, not a great many English towns proved particularly tolerant of Indians afterward; here surely Natick was exceptional.

A second limitation emerges amidst O'Brien's attempt to give the Indians a voice. She deserves credit for this initiative, yet ironically the reader gets relatively little of the presumably more available English voices. Given the prominence of Natick in Massachusetts, especially before Eliot's death in 1690, what were the English saying about this experiment? Who supported the praying towns? When and how did all this change in the eighteenth century? Perhaps the English sources remain as elusive as the Indian, but it would be helpful to learn the degree to which the English strived to maintain the praying towns into and through the eighteenth century.

The third concern arises over tone. While careful, the author still leaves the reader with a sense of accusation against the English for their failure to sustain Natick as an Indian town. Claiming that the evolution of Indian land ownership in eighteenth-century Natick presages the Dawes Act of 1887 seems strained. Similarly, the author views the evolution of land ownership in Natick as painful, even though she recognizes that "a minority community . . . must be culturally bi-lingual" (p. 92–93). One could suggest that even with the Indians' eventual loss of most land in Natick, the very fact of Indian proprietary rights—complex, legal, European—is remarkable. Further, in the face of such a broad and often bloody cultural collision as took place, one might consider the English behavior as strikingly restrained. After all, the story of Natick's evolution includes no violent shift or change, no sudden overthrow of Indian ways, no gross violations of English law. This is not to say that the story is a happy one, but given the clash of cultures, it seems a markedly calm one.

These concerns not withstanding, O'Brien has added to our understanding of the European/native clash. Her story is carefully told, and it is ultimately in its complexity that it garners its deepest meaning.

RICHARD I. MELVOIN
Belmont Hill School

ELIZABETH REIS. *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 212. $32.50.

Elizabeth Reis offers another fine contribution to our understanding of the cultural construction of women in early America. More specifically, Reis examines the relationship between Puritans' understanding of women, their perception of evil, and related aspects of Puritan theology in seventeenth-century New England. At the intersection of the three, she finds an explanation for why women were accused of witchcraft more often than men, confessed more often than men, and more frequently accused other women of being witches.

Reis argues that Puritan theology postulated that women and men were equal in the sight of God, and that salvation and damnation were foreordained by God, not chosen by individuals, female or male. Lived religion, however, posed the contradictory suspicion that womanhood and evil were inextricably linked. Puritans believed, Reis suggests, that whereas their particular sins led men to their damnation, women's vile natures brought them to the devil. Because men tended to focus on what they did and women on what they were, men were more likely to repent for their particular sins and women to think of themselves as utterly depraved, as "rebellious wretches against God" (p. 1), or as unredeemable slaves of Satan.

Clergy and laity believed that the devil afflicted the body in order to possess the soul and that the devil seemed to possess women more readily than men. Reis explains that Puritans described the devil's torments in ways consonant with their understanding of women's and men's souls and bodies. They construed the soul in gendered terms as a feminine entity, but they concluded that the soul was far more vulnerable to the devil's molestations when it dwelled in the weaker female body. Because, in their view, women's bodies were weaker, the devil could and did reach women's souls more easily and frequently. In sum, although men and women were equal before God and the devil, women were more likely than men to submit to Satan and to become witches.

Reis argues that the witchcraft episodes of seventeenth-century New England clearly display this sense of women's inherent wickedness. It was women, by and large, whom the devil tortured, hoping to recruit them into his service as witches. It was women who confessed to witchcraft and who, Reis argues, were so assured of their essential sinfulness that they became convinced they had actually covenanted with Satan. Others have suggested that this could be true of some women, but no one has yet argued that it could be the case for a significant number of the accused or made

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the case so convincingly from such an intricate, yet persuasive, analysis of the multiple meanings of seventeenth-century confessions. That accused women actually came to believe that they were guilty is the key to Reis's book; it is also likely to prove the most controversial of her assertions.

Reis is careful to note that her contribution to our understanding of gender in early New England should be read within the context of the abundant new scholarship on women in Puritan New England. She cites in particular Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (1980), and she also acknowledges the importance of works that have stressed more worldly reasons for the charges brought against women in seventeenth-century witchcraft episodes, such as Carol F. Karlsen's *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (1987). Reis's work is different, however, in that it asks us once again to look at the religious basis of the witchcraft trials. She argues not that Puritanism caused the witch hunts but that they were "intimately related to the religious culture of New England Puritanism" (p. xv) and, quite simply, that they would not have happened if the settlers had not been Puritans.

Reis concludes her study by suggesting that in the half-century following the Salem witchcraft trials, or until the end of the Great Awakening, Puritans' understanding of sin and the devil may have changed: that ministers and laity may have conceived of a less proximate Satan, one who tempted sinners and presided physically over hell but who no longer preyed on people and possessed souls in this world. They may have begun to take more responsibility for their sins and to become increasingly confident of their redemption. Women nevertheless continued to imagine themselves as essentially corrupt.

Bryan F. Le Beau
Creighton University

Bryan F. Le Beau. *Jonathan Dickinson and the Formative Years of Presbyterianism*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1997. Pp. x, 252. $39.95.

Jonathan Dickinson (1688–1747) is best remembered as a leader of the moderates among American Presbyterians and of the revivalists of the Great Awakening, as an organizer of the Synod of New York, and as a founder of the College of New Jersey. Much is known about his public life; but, because his diary has disappeared and very little of his correspondence survives, little is known about Dickinson as a private man. For this reason, Bryan F. Le Beau chose to write an "intellectual biography" focusing on Dickinson as theological author and as denominational leader. The public focus is so consistent that even Dickinson's unhappy relationship with a wayward son is relegated to footnotes.

Le Beau concludes that his protagonist sought a balance between freedom and order: as a theologian, between antinomianism and Arminianism, and as a denominational politician, between the rights of private conscience and the authority of the church. In avoiding extremes, Dickinson helped insure that the Presbyterian church in America took a middle course. Le Beau finds that in justifying dissent from the Church of England, Dickinson articulated ideas of freedom of conscience and separation of church and state that contributed to the eventual triumph of denominationalism over religious establishments in America.

Le Beau systematically examines Dickinson's thought according to the subjects of his writings. In the case of each major subject, Le Beau methodically sets out the context in which Dickinson composed his works. He then presents a careful summary of what Dickinson wrote and what his adversaries wrote in response. In the controversy over subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Dickinson won a struggle for a compromise between strict subscription and freedom from manmade creeds. In the public debate over the synodical right to discipline Samuel Hemphill for heresy, he stuck to reasoned argument despite the resort to ridicule and immoderate personal attacks by his chief adversary, Benjamin Franklin. As a denominational apologist, Dickinson defended the legitimacy of Presbyterian ordination against Anglican polemicists and the validity of infant baptism against Baptist antagonists. In the latter case, he employed the traditional arguments of covenant theology. On the whole, Le Beau provides useful discussions, although on occasion, such as that of the freedom of the will, he falls into the trap of repeating the arguments in the jargon in which they were originally made rather than clarifying them for a modern audience.

Le Beau likens Dickinson to the "Catholick Congregational Clergy" of New England described by John Corrigan (*The Prism of Piety: Catholick Congregational Clergy at the Beginning of the Enlightenment* [1991]), "who drew upon aspects of Reformed doctrine . . . as well as ideas from English scientists, latitudinarians, physico-theologians, and Cambridge Platonists to develop a theology that stressed reason, purpose, and unity in nature" (p. 88). Dickinson attempted to reconcile the reasonableness of Christianity, the nature of spiritual regeneration, and freedom of the will with Enlightenment philosophy. Le Beau suggests skepticism, at least in the case of Dickinson, at Henry May's dictum (*The Enlightenment in America* [1976]) that American Calvinists lost the argument with deism as soon as they sought to justify Christianity on terms set by the Enlightenment, but he does not explicitly state the grounds of his doubts.

A major disappointment is that Le Beau does not go beyond his paraphrases to evaluate Dickinson's successes and failures as a disputant: How successful, in terms of internal consistency or of persuasiveness of rhetoric, for instance, were Dickinson's writings? As a result of this deficiency, the reader is left at a loss to understand why Alan Heimert and Perry Miller—

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according to a statement Le Beau, himself, cites (p. 1)—judged Dickinson's to have been "the most powerful mind in his generation of American divines" (*The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences* [1967]).

In discussing Dickinson's place in the internal politics of the American Presbyterians, in particular regarding the subscription controversy, revivalism, and the formation of the Synod of New York, Le Beau works within the interpretive framework built by Leonard J. Trinterud (*The Forming of an American Tradition* [1949]). According to this framework, by reconciling Scots-Irish and New England traditions regarding church authority over private conscience, and by developing an understanding of personal piety that allowed the exercise of both passion and reason, moderates like Dickinson stamped a new, unique, and lasting character on American Presbyterianism.

MICHAEL J. CRAWFORD
Naval Historical Center

DALE S. KUEHNE. *Massachusetts Congregationalist Political Thought, 1760–1790: The Design of Heaven*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 181. $37.50.

In his introduction, political theorist Dale S. Kuehne provides a useful summary of scholarship on the intellectual traditions of the American Revolution—thereby offering a framework for considering his own contribution to the subject. He notes the early role of Carl Becker and Louis Hartz in emphasizing the liberal roots of the revolution and particularly the influence of John Locke. Kuehne then discusses the work of Carolyn Robbins, John Dunn, Bernard Bailyn, J. G. A. Pocock, and Gordon S. Wood, noting their emphasis on a broader republican tradition underlying the revolution. Next he reviews the work of Garry Wills and Forrest McDonald, who emphasize the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment. Kuehne sees a resurgence of interest in Locke's influence emerging in the work of Ronald Hamowy, Thomas Prangle, and Steven Dworetz. Finally, he notes the abundance of scholarship on the religious roots of the American Revolution, including the work of Barry Alan Shain, John P. Diggins, Alan Heimert, Nathan O. Hatch, and George M. Marsden.

Kuehne argues that, with such a proliferation of scholarship, historians have come to a stalemate in considering the intellectual tradition of the revolution. Moreover, he argues, "scholars have advanced claims that move beyond the ability of their research to support" (p. 12). He criticizes Wills in particular for reaching unfounded conclusions. Kuehne advocates more attention to detail, more regard for the individual components of the American political body: "America at the founding was no more monolithic than it is today. To speak of the intellectual meaning of America in any century means to speak of an intricate set of interrelated and independent ideas woven together in a complex manner" (p. 13). According to Kuehne, too much attention has been paid to the political elite and not enough to other groups and individuals throughout the thirteen colonies. One such group provides the subject for this work: the Massachusetts Congregationalist clergy.

Even this group, he admits, has already received considerable attention from historians including Alice M. Baldwin, Donald Weber, Harry S. Stout, and Hatch. But Kuehne attempts a new approach, focusing more narrowly on Massachusetts rather than on New England or America as a whole. Roughly the first half of the book is a survey of Puritan political thought to the time of the Great Awakening. Kuehne argues that despite divisions between Old Lights and New Lights and between Trinitarians and Unitarians, "the ministers present a political vision of remarkable consistency and coherence" (p. 69). By the time of the Revolution, they were clearly impressed by the Scottish Enlightenment and Whig political thought. But the deepest strain of their thought rested on their idea of a covenant with God and the obligation of rulers and citizens to pursue piety and virtue. The Congregationalists "erected an enlightened republican government on top of a Puritan base" (p. 138). They sought to "implement heaven's design for politics" (p. 141).

Certain features of the book will make it more attractive to a political theorists, unfamiliar with the works Kuehne describes, than to historians specializing in the field. His abundant remarks on these works provide more overview than analysis. Kuehne's approach misses the subtle nuances of works such as Heimert's *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (1966). Moreover, Kuehne spends only forty pages on the revolutionary era *per se*, allowing enough space for just a brief overview of his subject. This book is not a thoroughgoing exploration of a political class at work in the revolutionary era—the kind of study Kuehne advocates. And yet, historians will find value in in the book's very character as an overview. Kuehne does provide a framework for reviewing the abundant literature on the intellectual roots of the American Revolution, and his point about the essential unity of the Massachusetts Congregationalists is well argued.

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MARK DAVID HALL. *The Political and Legal Philosophy of James Wilson, 1742–1798*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1997. Pp. x, 228. $37.50.

"James Wilson," writes Mark David Hall, "is perhaps the most underrated founder. One of only six men to sign both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, his influence on the latter was second only to that of James Madison. Wilson also played a central role in the ratifying debates and was the moving force behind the Pennsylvania Constitution of

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1790." Wilson's importance, both as politician and thinker, is indisputable; that it has been "largely overlooked," however, and that this book "corrects this oversight by providing a comprehensive and systematic analysis of Wilson's political philosophy" (p. 1), must be doubted. One need only refer to Robert McCloskey's introduction to *The Works of James Wilson* (1967) to recognize the overstatement and lack of originality in the present book. Redressing "posterity's neglect of Wilson," McCloskey has already offered a similar appreciation: "He was one of six men who signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution; and his contribution to the deliberations of the Federal Convention was second only to Madison's. He was the principal figure in the struggle to secure ratification of the Constitution in Pennsylvania . . . The important Pennsylvania state constitution of 1790 was very largely his work" (p. 2).

Hall attempts to demonstrate Wilson's unappreciated importance in a number of new ways. As associate justice of the Supreme Court, Wilson took part in several important decisions, among them *Hayburn's Case* (1792) and *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793). Wilson's voice, however, hardly merits the extravagant praise it receives here. According to Hall, because he led the justices in refusing to hear Hayburn's complaint as brought *ex officio* by the Attorney General, "Wilson thus deserves at least as much credit as John Marshall for establishing the Supreme Court's power of American judicial review" (p. 27). But three circuit courts had already deemed the statute in question unconstitutional, and the justices' own conflicting opinions (which do not survive) served less to establish judicial review than to indicate the court's refusal to issue advisory opinions where no "case" or "controversy" was involved. Wilson's overly professorial opinion in *Chisholm* (which the clerk described as "elegant" and "learned") has been described by Julius Goebel as the product of a "compulsive lecturer disposed to decorate his text with all the furbelows of learning, a great deal of which was dispensable," an evaluation cited by David Currie in *The Constitution in the Supreme Court: The First Hundred Years, 1789–1888* (1985). Wilson's reasoning, resting so heavily on theory and the experience of other nations, lost much of its impact and did not provide a very useful model or basis for federal supremacy arguments.

Hall also offers a new reading of Wilson's law lectures to contradict prevailing interpretations and to emphasize Wilson as a natural law thinker—indeed, almost a Scholastic—who "believed that democracy is simply a means for creating law in agreement with a Christian conception of natural law" (p. 104). This interpretation thus explains Hall's assertions about Wilson and judicial review: to Hall, such judicial authority elevated "natural law, which is based upon God, and the Constitution, which is based upon the original sovereignty of the people" over legislation (p. 135). Hall's emphasis on natural law leads him to other misinterpretations, such as maintaining that "Wilson believed that a jury can judge both facts and laws because it is serving as a representative of society as a whole" and that it therefore might "reject a judge's instructions on a point of law" (p. 121). This description badly distorts the complexity of Wilson's argument, which observed that "in many cases, the question of law is intimately and inseparably blended with the question of fact" and that "the decision of one necessarily involves the decision of the other"; only in such cases (which were usually criminal matters) was the jury to "decide the law as well as the fact" (*Works*, p. 540). Wilson was thus a far more conventional common law thinker than Hall presents, albeit a great one. No need exists to invent other reasons for his importance.

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JAMES KIRBY MARTIN. *Benedict Arnold, Revolutionary Hero: An American Warrior Reconsidered*. New York: New York University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 535. $34.95.

Readers interested in Benedict Arnold ought to begin elsewhere. James Kirby Martin's reconsideration of the life of America's most infamous traitor is a bit curious. Martin has scoured the records carefully. Indeed, his research has carried him to nearly every location where Arnold material might be discovered, including forts and battlefields. His thoroughness is impressive.

Martin wants us to understand Arnold as a man emotionally impaired because of an unhappy childhood. His father, a notorious drunk, was despised and tormented by his fellow townsmen in Norwich, Connecticut. His death was a relief to all but left young Benedict a shattered man filled with shame and hatred toward those who had defamed his family. Out of that early crucible emerged a hardened and aggressive man, sensitive to his honor and bent on defending it at all costs.

Martin weaves this theme of injured honor throughout the biography. Not content simply to describe events, Martin digs deeply into whatever Arnold text is at hand and probes to find the inner meaning, the true motive behind his subject's actions. To be sure, such readings enliven and give dimension to the character under scrutiny, but only in moderation and with a due sense of humility; divining the inner soul of so complex a subject as Arnold is problematic at best. Martin's voyages into Arnold's psyche take him into uncharted waters, where he often seems to run aground by sailing beyond where the evidence might guide him.

Physically brave, Arnold was an impressive military commander. His early exploits evinced courage and daring. Leading the expedition across Maine and down into the valley of the St. Lawrence remains one of the most remarkable feats of the Revolution. It was also one of the most naïve. Arnold chose to ignore warnings that a late fall move up the Kennebec and across

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to the Chaudiere was risky. Furthermore, the notion that the French Canadians were ready to rally to the American cause and that Quebec was ripe to fall was also based on wishful thinking. In this case, however, Arnold was no more naïve than the Congress in Philadelphia, which sent him on the errand.

Wounded and then repulsed at Quebec, Arnold retreated down Lake Champlain. He was by this time increasingly depressed and angry. He saw himself surrounded by enemies who conspired against him. Fellow officers and the delegates in Congress accused him of cowardice and incompetence and blocked his advancement. Through all of this travail his good friend George Washington stood by him. In Arnold's opinion, the men sitting in Congress were ineffective and incompetent. He was among many Continental Army officers (thankfully not Washington) who bridled at civilian control and who would have welcomed more direct military control of the war effort.

An army commander with prerevolutionary seafaring experience, Arnold took hold of the American effort on Lake Champlain to block the British advance. Defeated at Valcour Island by a superior enemy force, Arnold managed, nonetheless, to trade space for time. By delaying the British advance southward, Arnold bought the American cause a year of grace during which to prepare for the British invasion.

General John Burgoyne's advance in 1777 granted Arnold another opportunity to demonstrate his considerable talents. He distinguished himself at Saratoga, where he received a serious leg wound that crippled him for the rest of his life.

Gallantry, however, counted for little, and Arnold found himself increasingly marginalized. Congress ignored him much as they ignored the legitimate claims of other officers as well. Frustrated, feeling rejection from every quarter, in near constant pain because of his wound, and suffering financially, Arnold was vulnerable to temptation.

Here we meet the great irony of this biography. On the threshold of crossing over into the most interesting part of Arnold's career, Martin slams the door. Nothing has prepared the reader for the sudden end. A few tantalizing morsels are offered up, yet the story stops before even a mention of West Point. How are we to understand Martin's Arnold if we are left to wonder about how the author views his treason? How are we to reconcile the Arnold who writes to Congress on July 11, 1777, "Honor is a sacrifice no man ought to make, as I received [it] so I wish to transmit [it] inviolate to posterity" with the officer who sold out his country three years later?

Martin subtitled his biography "An American Warrior Reconsidered." Yet how can we "reconsider" this complex man if the biographer shares only part of the life? Judging from his research, Martin has prepared an ample banquet. The pity is that he fails to serve all the courses.

WILLIAM M. FOWLER, JR.
Massachusetts Historical Society

JOSEPH S. TIEDEMANN. *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763–1776.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 342. $45.00.

Joseph S. Tiedemann, known for his studies of Queens County, New York, has crossed the East River to investigate New York City during the years 1763–1776. He has written a sometimes interesting, sometimes perplexing book.

Consensus is the operative word for Tiedemann. His thesis "is that ethnic and religious tensions often played a larger role, than did conflicts based on class, in shaping how New Yorkers acted in the imperial crises" (p. 261). Loyalism was not a factor, because most inhabitants of New York City did not support the king. Instead, "the heterogeneity of the city's population made it very difficult for residents to reach a broad consensus over how to resist British imperialism" (p. 9). Indeed, it was England's actions, "not political and economic strains in New York" (p. 7), that drove the revolutionary movement. During the Stamp Act troubles, "the city's patrician leaders" began building a consensus stressing resistance to British policies without "the violence that had threatened to tear the city apart in November" 1765 (p. 62). Tiedemann traces the progress of this "arduous" (p. 62) consensus building. Throughout these trying times, he declares, "New Yorkers considered unity essential" (p. 227).

Tiedemann's emphasis on ethnicity seems misplaced, however. I can find no mention in his notes of Joyce D. Goodfriend's *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730* (1992). Goodfriend insists that by the "mid-eighteenth century . . . other forms of social identity superseded ethnicity" (p. 7). My own research compels me to agree with Goodfriend, not Tiedemann.

The most strained discussion in this book involves the Stamp Act riots. The Sons of Liberty are portrayed as far more orderly than scared aristocrats thought. Granted, the mob did not follow William Shakespeare's advice and kill all the lawyers. But, if the rioters had wanted to, what could have stopped them? As Tiedemann states, "the traditional power wielders were not in control" (p. 89). If government fails to preserve order, is that not anarchy? If not, then what is anarchy? The author quotes the Sons of Liberty as promising to uphold the "Peace and good Order of this City" (p. 95). A fuller rendering of the quote suggests something else entirely: they were willing to "maintain the Peace and good Order of this City, so far as it can be done consistently with the Preservation of our Rights and Privileges."

Tiedemann misconstrues Captain John Montresor's observation that the mob first rioted in "open daylight" in February 1766 (p. 89). Rioting during darkness makes identification more difficult. When rioters appeared in broad daylight, they did not fear identification and possible arrest, hardly a sign of order.

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Although I am gratified that Tiedemann accepted my estimate (in *The New York Loyalists* [1986]) of loyalism at fifteen percent, that number is for the entire state, not the city. I have always believed that loyalism was much less prevalent in Manhattan; my own chapters on New York City from 1765 onward demonstrate that fact. Benjamin H. Newcomb has recently estimated loyalism at about six percent for the metropolis. Regarding the men that Tiedemann called loyalists, Abraham Lott was cooperating with the rebels in 1777 and could not have been a Tory. Nor is there any reasonable definition under which John Alsop could be branded a Tory.

Unfortunately, Tiedemann relied on Robert J. Christen's not very good dissertation on Isaac Sears (Columbia, 1968), which truly is a product of that time and place. (Incidentally, Tiedemann follows Christen by giving the number of signers of a document as 225 [p. 165]. That number in the dissertation is a typing error for 252; the original document, with some names obliterated by a beer stain, has 271 signers.) Tiedemann did do fine research in primary sources. He carefully searched through letters and broadsides as well as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia newspapers. He adds some new information that fills gaps in our knowledge of the city. His inclusion of events in Britain puts colonial affairs in perspective.

This book is a good source of data on the city, which urban historians and others might find of interest. The first chapter, an excellent description of the city's layout, churches, and government, makes the book a helpful reference source. Cornell University Press deserves praise for reprinting contemporary maps large enough so they can be read without an electron microscope.

In a historiographical essay, Tiedemann discusses various historians beginning with Carl Becker. The most interesting part of this essay is Tiedemann's demolition of some of Edward Countryman's more extreme ideas. Scholars (and especially textbook authors) might profit from perusing it.

Although I have reservations about Tiedemann's book, it will be useful for scholars.

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DARREL E. BIGHAM. *Towns and Villages of the Lower Ohio*. (Ohio River Valley Series.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1998. Pp. xiv, 334. $39.95.

This book by Darrel E. Bigham, brilliantly conceived and well executed, is a statistically based comparative analysis of urban places along the lower reaches of the Ohio River. Coverage extends from the time of the valley's first settlement by non-Native Americans into the 1920s and focuses on factors that led to growth and development in some places and to decline and stagnation in others. By casting such a wide net and determinedly avoiding just the success stories, Bigham plows new ground and often challenges the conventional wisdom about river town development, especially the presumed deleterious consequences of railroad competition. He focuses instead on the impact of such factors as flood and fires, the Good Road movement, differing forms of government north and south of the river, and individual decisions by civic leaders.

The study focuses on twenty-four counties lying downriver from Louisville in three states: Kentucky (11), Indiana (7), and Illinois (6). The major settlements in those counties differed as time passed but include the eventual cities of Owensboro and Paducah, Kentucky; Evansville and Mount Vernon, Indiana; and Cairo, Illinois. Other places studied were towns eventually absorbed by neighboring cities and a great many so-called ghost towns that no longer exist. Good location and safe elevations were not axiomatic factors leading to success; these were necessary but not sufficient conditions for continued growth and prosperity.

One example of innovative interpretation relates to the demonstrated impact of the Civil War on the economic life of the Ohio River Valley. Bigham is able to assess the considerable influence of the war on the economies of cities on both sides of the river, especially Paducah and Evansville. He also challenges the truisms that the Ohio River divided North and South during the war and that railroad competition ended the importance of steamboat and other waterborne commerce. Many other factors were involved in the decline of river traffic, particularly highway and bridge development. The first vehicular bridges crossing the lower Ohio came in the 1920s and 1930s.

Bigham, who grew up in one river town and now resides in another, is an expert on the history of Indiana's "Crescent City," Evansville. He adds considerable depth and context to the Evansville story, which properly receives the fullest treatment here, for it is the only urban place in the lower Ohio River Valley to achieve full-fledged status as a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Bigham is particularly good in analyzing, for Evansville and other cities, the leadership, the ethnic groups, and the residential patterns that emerged and in explaining such things as the contrasting fortunes of Evansville and Cairo.

The book demonstrates thorough research among the published sources—state, county, and city histories, travel accounts, and the relevant census reports. Strangely, however, the footnotes treat every item as a "second citation," and the footnotes are followed by an uncategorized, alphabetized bibliography that runs on for fourteen pages. Nor are the maps and other illustrations as clear and helpful as they should be. Given the often county-based discussion of statistics and trends, a map drawn specifically for this work clearly indicating the counties and urban centers is sorely needed. Nevertheless, the book's strengths far outweigh these limitations. Bigham's narrative is rich in detail, highly perceptive, and nuanced, and carries the reader through a broad sweep of American history from a new and rewarding perspective. This is a work

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that urban and regional historians should not only consult but emulate in future studies.

RALPH D. GRAY
EMERITUS
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PETER D. MCCLELLAND. *Sowing Modernity: America's First Agricultural Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 348. $45.00.

Peter D. McClelland examines temperate-climate agriculture in the early northern United States, paying some attention as well to the colonial period. He wishes to demonstrate that there was a revolution in agriculture immediately following the War of 1812. Although McClelland succeeds in showing that adoption of new agricultural technology was a sign of important change in this period, his contention that new machinery was the *most* important, and indeed constitutive, element of that change is questionable, because it presents technology as an isolated force, unconvincingly removed from its broader cultural context.

McClelland's book is strongest when it discusses the agricultural implements themselves. Most of the book (seven of its ten chapters) is a description of the mechanisms adopted within the northern United States; each of these seven chapters discusses an implement used in cultivation and processing of small grains, from plows to straw-cutters. McClelland gives concise and engaging explanations of why improvements in machinery made a difference, and the illustrations are wonderfully chosen to make these points. These are no small achievements: agricultural machinery is not, on the face of it, interesting to many students or general readers, but McClelland's work is engaging and to the point. The book is, therefore, an excellent introduction to or short review of the topic and a welcome addition to studies of material culture in the early Republic.

But these cental chapters—on the implements themselves—are poorly bracketed by sections that present a thin and unconvincing argument. Even though McClelland labels the adoption of modern equipment a "revolution," he never adequately proves that it deserves this term. What was revolutionary about mechanizing some agricultural tasks within some parts of the United States? How did this shift compare to other developments in New World agriculture? North American farmers' behavior was overwhelmingly imitative: they adopted or improved machines developed in Europe, the main site of innovation in temperate crop cultivation. Nor was this transatlantic diffusion a "first" agricultural revolution; that label would best describe the neolithic agricultural revolution in pre-Columbian America. It would even be more applicable to the spread of capitalist agriculture in plantation regions of the Americas, especially Caribbean sugar cultivation, which prefigured industrial methods of production.

McClelland points to an increase in human population as a measure of increased food production to assert that adoption of modern machinery constituted a revolution. But he uses population figures for the world as a whole and does not analyze whether this rough measure explains much about North America, which would have had a much lower population/land ratio than the parts of the Old World that first developed mechanized ways of growing grain (which Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* [1776] analyzed). Furthermore, America's free population was already well fed and rapidly reproducing even before the introduction of new agricultural machinery. Why, then, did Americans adopt such mechanization?

McClelland presents narrowly conceived economic reasons. He explains that the revolution was "capitalistic," part of farmers' search for "profits" (p. 63). He briefly examines how rates of investment in new equipment compared to the wages needed to sustain production with old tools. He does not give much attention to population density (pp. 41, 43, 169), which might explain why some American regions were first to adopt new tools once a certain land/settler ratio had been achieved. Nor does McClelland explain the means by which such land was brought into production—that is, the land policies that transferred territories from Native Americans to whites and had land sales that favored farmers who could afford commercial cultivation of grain and investment in new equipment. The search for profits that encouraged investment in agricultural machinery is therefore cut off from its cultural context. The book needs a better examination of farmers' motives. McClelland repeatedly asserts that attitudes are important to the adoption of new technology, but he never analyzes these attitudes. Instead, a behavior—adoption of new technology—is proof that the attitudes have changed (pp. x, 5, 7, 202).

In this way, a "revolution" is presented as a restricted range of activities isolated from many of the historical factors that led to commercial development of the Northeast and Midwest, in which adoption of agricultural implements that were primarily developed within Europe represented part of the final stage. McClelland's book beautifully describes the mechanisms involved in this stage; the book should be accompanied by readings that examine the socioeconomic transformation of the northern countryside in order to understand fully the modernity that agricultural mechanization helped to sow.

JOYCE E. CHAPLIN
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LANCE E. DAVIS, ROBERT E. GALLMAN, and KARIN GLEITER. *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816–1906*. (NBER Series on Long-Term Factors in

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Economic Development.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 550. $80.00.

As long ago as 1921, Samuel Eliot Morison in his classic *Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783–1860* called for a comprehensive history of American whaling. Elmo Paul Hohman covered a large part of the topic in his reliable and insightful *The American Whaleman* (1928), but the need for a broad account remains pressing. Lance E. Davis and Robert E. Gallman, who have been publishing articles on the subject since 1987, seem ready to fill the gap. The present book marks the culmination of a collaborative project on which two other researchers (including the third author, Karin Gleiter) also participated.

The authors rejected a chronological narrative and instead adopted a largely topical arrangement. Chapters two and four cover the whales themselves; the authors then devote a single chapter to each of the economists' traditional factors: labor, technology, productivity, product markets, and profits. Chapter ten, on agents, captains, and owners, is the best in the book and provides an original prosopographical account. At the end, the authors shift to a case study approach; thus, chapter twelve, "The Americans Replace the British," narrowly focuses on the years 1817–1842, while chapter thirteen, on "Modern Whaling," traces the rise of the Norwegians (later joined by the Japanese) to dominance in whaling. The chapters resemble a collection of essays rather than a well-structured book. Many repetitions frustrate the reader, who also must wade through chapters and tie together the scattered references to discover, for example, what happened to Nantucket whaling.

The book does use manuscript materials and the trade journal published from 1843 to 1914. The main contribution of the book, however, is the construction of data series from both published and archival material. The authors concentrated on mining the abundant manuscripts on the New Bedford fleet, whose voyages accounted for forty-five percent of U.S. whaling output from 1816 to 1906. The amount of work that went into the elaboration of data sets on such topics as owners, sailors, and voyages (the most important) is staggering. The care and patience that Davis, Gallmann, and Gleiter bestowed on these figures will benefit future scholars, who will put this quantitative data to uses now unforeseen.

The book conclusively proves that overhunting was not a cause of the decline of U.S. whaling. With the possible exception of the grey whales hunted off Baja California, no whale stocks were depleted; in addition, only 350,000 whales were killed in the nineteenth century, compared to well over a million from 1904 to 1978. Another important finding is that the U.S. whaling industry was in retreat by the end of the 1850s because of the appearance of substitute products from the coal industry. Thus, the decline in the demand for whale products preceded the emergence of the petroleum industry, which soon produced better, cheaper, and more abundant substitutes. Improvements in quality steels finally eliminated the demand for whalebone or baleen to make corsets in the fashion industry.

The book concludes that men signed on "because they wanted to" (p. 202), just after it showed that agents preferred to recruit "men ignorant of the actual conditions of the industry" (p. 193) who were unskilled, because they would not know how to desert. Only in an early phase of the whaling industry were labor conditions usually tolerable, but by the middle phase (terms used in the book but not fully defined) the situation had taken a dramatic turn for the worse. Savage if not sadistic captains and mates, brutal discipline, mutinies, and murders became standard fare. That crewmen preferred to desert in desolate islands or uninhabited coasts was eloquent testimony; that in desperation crewmen tried to sink the ships by boring holes in the bottom or starting fires says it all for this reviewer, but not for the authors. The lack of a "flogging data set" cannot stop us from concluding that the whale ships, an example of greed run amok, were hell ships. No wonder that both men and whales became wary of American whalers.

Specialized journals can question the reasoning behind each statistical procedure, such as two different definitions for "firm." More fundamentally, whaling, as an extractive activity, is not readily comparable to agriculture and manufacturing or even with services like the railroad (pp. 455–56). A similar problem arises when the book draws conclusions from figures on whaling and from the gross national product of the U.S. economy in the nineteenth century (pp. 349–51). These comparisons, which should have been central and needed to be qualified, are totally lost in the minute discussions about the compilation of the data sets. Some conclusions are far from clear: the book casts doubt on the "whaling lore" that claims whaling was a dumping ground for overage vessels (p. 235), yet it later states that one of two key factors for high profits was the use of "elderly vessels (p. 450).

A simple cost-benefit analysis suggests that no young scholar should embark on a similar decade-long statistical project unless ample financial support is first available. Second, institutions that fund similar studies should insist on a coherent and readable book. Regrettably, the authors' fascination with quantitative indexes did not extend to the subject and name indexes. Surprising facts about Quakers, Portuguese, blacks, women, and others do not have page listings; even when an entry exists, as for "Nantucket" and "provisioning," not all the important pages appear. Not even well-chosen illustrations and maps can save this book from being a compilation of interest only to a narrow group of specialists. It is to be hoped that this book will not hurt the chances for publication of a coherent and readable history of U.S. whaling.

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Canisius College

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SAUL S. FRIEDMAN. *Jews and the American Slave Trade*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 1998. Pp. xiv, 326. $34.95.

This book is designed, as Saul S. Friedman states clearly in his preface, to refute the charges detailed in *The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews*, which the Nation of Islam published in 1991. According to the leaders of the Nation of Islam, Louis Farrakhan and Khalid Abdul Muhammad, Jews dominated the African slave trade, were the prime exploiters of African Americans in the United States during the era of slavery, and have continued to exploit them ever since. The accusations made in *The Secret Relationship* sound like an updated and African-American version of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; reputable scholars such as David Brion Davis, Seymour Drescher, and Eli Faber have written about the book's inaccuracies and unsubstantiated charges. One wonders, therefore, why such falsehoods have been published and why some people have accepted them almost as the revealed word. Friedman, however, has chosen to refute the statements, point by point, to show that *The Secret Relationship* is "one part fact and nine parts fable" (p. 63).

Friedman reviews the history of world slavery, indicates where and when it existed, and moves his analysis from the ancient world through the American Civil War. There are additional chapters on Afrocentrism and the alleged black-Jewish alliance of the civil rights era. Throughout his argument, Friedman is at pains to demonstrate that other people were much more involved with slaves than were the Jews, that Jewish slave traders were few, that Jewish slave owners were kind to their chattels, and that whatever Jews may have done was also done by non-Jews—and to a greater extent. Although I agree with everything that Friedman writes, there is no need to show that Jews were better than, or not as bad as, others who trafficked in slaves or that Jews were more active during the civil rights movement of the 1960s than were members of other white groups.

It would have been helpful to readers if Friedman had placed his critique of *The Secret Relationship* in the broader context of African-American misperceptions and unthinking criticism of Jews since the nineteenth century. One need only go through the articles and editorials in African-American newspapers and the writings and/or speeches of James Baldwin, Lenora E. Berson, Horace Mann Bond, Ralph Bunche, Kenneth Clark, Harold Cruse, W. E. B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, Booker T. Washington, Lunabelle Wedlock, and Richard Wright to note how frequently anti-Semitic attitudes crop up. *The Secret Relationship* is the most vicious and mean-spirited of the "analyses" and differs in kind, as well as in degree, from the others because it assumes a Jewish conspiracy to undermine the world's black people. Although it purports to be a scholarly evaluation, I think that most scholars would reject that contention.

Historians might usefully probe original sources, including extant manuscript collections of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other African-American organizations, to discover why hostility toward Jews has resonated in and served as a rallying cry for the black community for more than a century. Is there some connection between fundamentalist Christianity and anti-Semitism that transcends particular events or actions? Despite the fact that Farrakhan is Muslim, his speeches often use phrases and images familiar to Christians. For example, in his 1985 talk at Madison Square Garden in New York City he asked, "Who were the enemies of Jesus," to which the audience responded, "Jews! Jews! Jews!" In that same talk, he also suggested comparisons for his audience: "Jesus had a controversy with the Jews. Farrakhan has a controversy with the Jews. Jesus was hated by the Jews. Farrakhan is hated by the Jews. Jesus was scourged by Jews in their temple. Farrakhan is scourged by Jews in their synagogues" (cited in Julius Lester, "The Times Has Come," *The New Republic* 193 [October 23, 1985]: 12, 14). Friedman was on solid ground when he attacked Farrakhan and discussed the outrageousness of, and the inaccuracies in, *The Secret Relationship*. I wish, however, that he had expanded his focus. Showing that the information in this book is baseless will not significantly influence those who are willing to follow Farrakhan or change the views of individuals who have already dismissed the work as not worthy of academic attention. But putting his critique in the broader context of more than a century's worth of African-American prejudice toward Jews would certainly make American historians rethink their own assessments of black-Jewish relationships.

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN
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MAGGIE MONTESINOS SALE. *The Slumbering Volcano: American Slave Revolts and the Production of Rebellious Masculinity*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 264. Cloth $49.95, paper $16.95.

In 1853, Frederick Douglass took up his pen to compose his sole work of fiction, *The Heroic Slave*, loosely based on the mutiny aboard the *Creole*. Although the novel is almost forgotten by historians today, especially in comparison to Douglass's celebrated *Narrative*, Maggie Montesinos Sale reminds us how often black activists and slave rebels—from the *Amistad* Africans to Denmark Vesey—inspired penny pamphlets, popular orations, and antislavery novels.

Slave conspiracies and seaboard mutinies have attracted a good deal of historical attention of late, as scholars fight to include those black insurgents traditionally depicted as marginal or deviant in the mainstream of the American saga. But only Sale has thought to investigate the way in which fictional depictions of slave rebelliousness helped to shape the

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discourse over American national identity. Although the author examines fictional treatments of landed resistance as well, most of her book is devoted to comparing the popular reception of pre-Civil War novels inspired by the *Amistad* (1839) and *Creole* (1841) mutinies with the public's tepid response to the actual events themselves. Because shipboard rebellions typically involved issues of international relations and Atlantic trade, these notorious cases forced Americans to confront an institution that most citizens insisted was best left to sovereign states. In the process, the novels and lectures inspired by these events encouraged a lively debate as to whether political theories forged by free Euro-Americans should extend to Africans and their descendants.

Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* (1855), like the popular lectures of Henry Highland Garnet, addressed the question of African as American hero. Although Melville adroitly avoided sensitive post-emancipation issues—his rebels are either executed or remanded to slavery—his narrative compelled late antebellum readers to situate the *Amistad* captives within the often-violent American revolutionary tradition. But it was Douglass's heroic slave, Madison Washington, who reminded genteel readers that "liberty, not malice, is the motive for this night's work" (p. 173). At a time when even so-called radical white abolitionists were reluctant to endorse incendiary tracts like David Walker's *Appeal*, much less the actual bloodshed wrought by Nat Turner, Douglass's novel boldly asserted the moral equality of enslaved rebels by comparing them to the patriots of the American Revolution. By the early 1850s, the "Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro," as Douglass phrased it in his acclaimed Rochester oration, had become common currency for those writers who had moved beyond political abolition to declare social equality for African Americans. It was hardly surprising that Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Dred* (1856), the fictitious son of Denmark Vesey, read the Declaration to maroons huddled in the Great Dismal Swamp.

Regrettably, Sale's analysis, as perceptive as it often is, is frequently undercut by her numerous historical errors. Although the author has mastered both the novels she discusses as well as the standard nonfiction accounts of the *Amistad* and *Creole* affairs, her forays into antebellum politics and society will raise doubts in many minds as to the book's veracity. (Sufficient mistakes exist that Duke University Press might well wonder what the outside referees did to justify their honoraria.) To list but a few: the slave rebel Gabriel, who in fact had no surname, is sometimes given his master's surname of "Prosser" (p. 262) but is elsewhere listed as "Prossor" (pp. 151, 226). Virginia Quid leader John Randolph and South Carolina diplomat and proslavery pamphleteer Thomas Pinckney are rechristened Randolf and (twice) Pickney. John Marshall appears on the Supreme Court in 1797, well before his brief tenure as Secretary of State, and the Haitian revolution is dated 1799. Rather more seriously, Sale twice asserts that the Compromise of 1850 overturned the Missouri Compromise and the 1819 Slave Trade Act, which provided for the repatriation of Africans illegally imported into the country in violation of the 1807 ban, is characterized as "prohibiting anyone from bringing natives of Africa into the United States with the intent to enslave them" (p. 117). Vesey, despite his twenty-two year residence as a Charleston freeman, is depicted as an "enslaved rebel leader" (pp. 207, 263). David Walker, recent scholarship notwithstanding, here dies of poison, a victim of nefarious proslavery agents.

Despite these flaws, Sale is to be lauded for undertaking the study of a subject previously ignored by writers who chronicle slave rebelliousness. Abraham Lincoln wryly commented on the role that novelists like Stowe played in the coming of the war, but too few historians have examined the substance behind his quip. This is not a perfect book, but it asks the right questions and often provides stimulating answers.

DOUGLAS R. EGERTON
Le Moyne College, Syracuse

MARTHA HODES. *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 338.

As recently as 1966, interracial marriages were illegal in sixteen states. Regulation of sexuality has been integral to defining race, but the consequences of violating interracial sexual norms and laws have varied over time. Martha Hodes has written a rigorously researched yet accessible narrative about white reactions to sexual relationships between white women and black men throughout the nineteenth century.

After an initial period of experimentation with unfree labor in the form of indentured servitude and the enslavement of both Native Americans and Africans, slavery became synonymous with race in America. The stability of this system rested on the chastity of the white woman. Although paternity might be ambiguous, a child's mother was readily identifiable. Thus, normative and legal impediments to sexual intimacy between white women and black men became a bedrock part of the southern landscape and explain why unions of blacks with white women were anathema, whereas those of black women with white men were tolerated. Yet despite strong sanctions, scholars have long noted a significant number of illicit relationships between white women and black men before the Civil War, which diminished but was never completely eradicated afterward, notwithstanding the proliferation of lynchings and the intensification of terrorism as whites struggled to destroy the reforms of Reconstruction.

Rather than assessing the extent of interracial sex, Hodes focuses on white responses to its existence. Before the Civil War, such relationships often were known and tolerated by the local people. After eman-

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cipation, when whites sought a means of controlling blacks (previously the prerogative of the planters), these relationships moved into the political arena, where they were subject to vicious repression.

A major obstacle to any study of this kind is the slim evidentiary base on which the question of motivation can be addressed. Before the Civil War, occasional lawsuits emerged over questions relating to the status of children produced by these unions, which revealed that the liaisons had been local knowledge for some time without resulting in violence against the black male. Because of the paucity of the data, Hodes has constructed her pre-Civil War narrative around the relatively rich documentation of three cases: a marriage between a white servant and a slave in 1681, the pardon of a slave thought to be falsely accused of rape by a farmer's daughter, and a divorce plea by a farmer whose wife was having an affair with a neighborhood slave. Evidence from the postwar period includes congressional testimony concerning the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and southern newspaper stories. Not surprisingly, diaries and letters are generally silent on such subjects.

Despite the difficulties that the data presents, Hodes imaginatively pursues the question of motivation by examining the position of the actors in the context of recent scholarship on the history of diverse southern groups. This allows her to set forth a number of possibilities for the reader's consideration. By refusing to assert a single interpretation, Hodes deepens our understanding of the complex and conflicted forces which impinged on the individuals involved. More importantly, she uncovers the ways in which even the victimized often had choices and were themselves sometimes in a position of power over others. Poor white women, for example, in their desperate search for strategies of survival, were capable of using their color privilege to oppress black men. Hodes is able to enlarge upon very slender evidence to provide sound scenarios of actor agency.

Hodes's study is also a narrative of the enhancement of patriarchal power. Initially disrupted by the exigencies of colonization, patriarchy was augmented by racial slavery because it provided an additional *raison d'etre*: maintaining racial slavery by policing the purity of the white female. Emancipation failed to eliminate this purpose, which was immediately translated into enforcing the color line by preventing interracial unions.

Hodes's study is one of a growing number of works, like those of Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, Victoria E. Bynum, and Kathleen M. Brown, which examine the interconnectedness of black and white lives at the local level. In doing so, they document the ways in which race is a constructed category. Hodes's considerable achievement is to lay bare the vexed dynamics of this construction at its very root.

CHRISTIE FARNHAM
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SAMUEL C. HYDE, JR., editor. *Plain Folk of the South Revisisted*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 288. Cloth $55.00, paper $16.95.

It is fitting and appropriate that approximately fifty years after the publication of the late Frank L. Owsley's influential work, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (1949), the Louisiana State University Press should publish this series of papers on southern plain folk presented at a symposium at Southeastern Louisiana University in 1996.

In his pioneer study, Owsley pointed out that its title could well have been "The Forgotten Man of the Old South," as the plain folk had been largely ignored by historians. Owsley reminded historians that southern white society included more than planters and poor whites, and, briefly at least, plain folk emerged from the cloud of historical obscurity. The emergence, however, was brief. After a short flurry of activity, historians turned to other themes, especially planter elites and African-American slaves. In consequence, as John Boles points out in a thoughtful foreword to these essays, we now know more about planters and slaves than we do about the largest population segment of the Old South.

Only in the past fifteen years have historians turned their attention again to plain folk of the Old South. Works by Steven Hahn, Grady McWhiney, Randolph Campbell, Paul D. Escott, and I. A. Newby have added much to our knowledge of these neglected southerners. At the same time, they have made us understand that the plain folk were more complex than we once believed. The essays in this volume emphasize that complexity. Although they leave some questions unanswered, the contributors point to a number of misconceptions concerning life and labor of non-elite southerners and suggest a broader defintion of plain folk than the antebellum white farmers and herdsmen of Owsley's study.

Some of the misconceptions are brought out clearly in the first section of the book. In his essay on the music of southern plain folk, Bill Malone shows that its origins were neither Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, or African, as many have believed, but a blending of styles borrowed from these and many other cultures and traditions. In a conservative society that normally changed slowly, plain folk were remarkably receptive to new and varied musical ideas. They cared little as to where the music came from; if they liked the sound, it was integrated into their music. Similarly, Jerah Johnson suggests that the architecture of southern plain folk emerged from inovations in British carpentry and cabinetmaking rather than from Swedish or Germanic origins, as has been believed. Johnson concedes that solid evidence to support his arguments remains elusive, but he points to current archaeological investigations that may shed new light on the subject. Bradley G. Bond challenges existing conceptions on the role of plain folk in the nineteenth-century southern economy. Bond takes issue with the perception that south-

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ern plain folk were primarily subsistence farmers who followed a "safety-first" pattern in producing foodstuffs for home consumption. He demonstrates that antebellum whites in the piney woods of southeastern Mississippi were increasingly involved in buying and selling goods in the market.

Essays by J. William Harris, Sally G. McMillen, and Gary B. Mills remind the reader that the southern plain folk included more than white male farmers. Harris stresses the mobility of African-American tenant farmers in the New South, which prevented the development of a true system of peonage. McMillen emphasizes the significant role that women played in the Sunday School movement, while Mills concludes there were more similarities than differences in the lives of free persons of color in antebellum Louisiana and Alabama.

Other essays include studies of the characteristics of Confederate military leaders, the ideology of plain folk expressed in constitutional conventions, an examination of justice—or the lack thereof—in the piney woods of postbellum Louisiana, and a reexamination of New South demagoguery.

Collectively, the essays in this volume demonstrate the wide range of scholarly investigation underway in the study of southern plain folk. The editor, Samuel C. Hyde, Jr., and the Louisiana State University Press are commended for making this work available to the historical community.

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GARY W. GALLAGHER. *The Confederate War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 218. $24.95.

Military history, at least among Civil War historians, has been out of fashion for some time. There are reasons. One is the antiquarian preoccupation with detail. For example, when invited to give a tour group an overview of the battle of Antietam, one of the resident guides, in all seriousness, demurred, claiming that his expertise was limited to "the midday phase." Another is the long shadow of Vietnam, which has had much the same impact on historians' views of war as did World War I on the "revisionist" historians of the 1920s. Yet another related reason reflects the growing diversity of the population and the concomitant inclination to emphasize not what the white male generals were doing on the battlefields but rather what was happening to women, slaves, and communities behind the lines.

To be sure, these recent trends have challenged, broadened, and deepened our understanding of the Civil War. They have also, however inadvertently, directed our attention away from the central reality that what happened on the battlefield gave shape, direction, and meaning to all other understandings, then and now. All of this makes Gary W. Gallagher's volume refreshing and welcome. Indeed, Gallagher has probably done more to revitalize the study of Civil War military history than any other scholar of his generation, and this book suggests why. Gallagher begins by reminding his readers that, as late as the winter of 1864, the outcome of the war was far from certain and that Confederate soldiers still possessed not simply a will to fight but a belief that they might prevail. Until historians drop the expression "antebellum" from their vocabulary, such reminders will be necessary, lest knowledge of outcome impose a false coherence and sense of certainty on the narrative.

Gallagher wisely eschews omniscience and instead attempts, by placing himself squarely in the center of uncertainty, to explain why Confederates fought so hard for so long. He challenges readers to consider not how quickly suffering, deprivation, guilt, or bad political leaders eroded the will to fight but rather why, in the face of all these forces, so many Confederates persevered. In this account, there is room for ideals and also for a developing sense of Confederate nationalism.

In his most provocative chapter, Gallagher raises new questions about the degree to which eleven states might at any point in their existence as a separate nation have constituted a nation in fact. Drawing a parallel between the roles of George Washington and the Continental Army and Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia in symbolizing national aspirations, Gallagher notes striking similarities: "[b]oth generals . . . contended with sagging civilian morale, disaffection among soldiers, and selfishness on the part of individual states or colonies. Both eventually eclipsed political leaders as national rallying points. Both relied on officers in their armies to help inspire civilians as well as soldiers" (p. 65). There is, however, one difference: "Washington and his army won their new nation while Lee and his did not" (p. 65).

In his third chapter, Gallagher explores this important connection between the military conflict and nationhood. "Citizens demanded of their leaders," he writes, "a strategy that would affirm nationalistic strivings and thus nourish popular will" (p. 115). This strategy "lay in winning clear-cut victories . . . while at the same time convincing Britain and France that recognition—or even intervention—would serve their national interests" (p. 115). Gallagher argues that the strategy may have failed, but it was not flawed. In fact, he cites many moments when it nearly succeeded. Defeat, however, "predictably opened the door to generations of second-guessing" (p. 117). Gallagher addresses many of the second-guessers' claims, among them a belief that either a wholly defensive posture or a massive guerrilla war might have brought success, and suggests the higher risks and greater probability of failure had some alternative strategy been embraced.

"The factors underlying . . . Confederate failure have mesmerized historians for too long" (p. 153), Gallagher concludes. This provocative new work reminds us that neither victory nor defeat ever seems

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inevitable to the participants in a conflict. It raises significant new questions, in new ways, that the existing canon of secondary works has yet to address satisfactorily. It prompts us to lift our sights and turn them again to the battlefield, where momentous questions hung in the balance. Finally, it promises more extended exploration of fresh new insights in subsequent work by Gallagher, who with this volume establishes himself in the first rank of Civil War historians.

JOHN M. MCCARDELL, JR.
Middlebury College

SARAH H. GORDON. *Passage to Union: How the Railroads Transformed American Life, 1829–1929*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1997. Pp. xii, 403. $30.00.

The creation of a national railroad system dramatically altered the society and the economy of the United States. The railways constructed prior to the Civil War profoundly shifted previous trade routes, exacerbating the rise of sectionalism. The political debate over the location of the first transcontinental railroad heightened tensions in the 1850s. The enormous expansion of the iron rails after 1865 nationalized the economy and made possible the rise of a network of giant cities. Access to the burgeoning rail system opened new markets for farmers and manufacturers alike. Entire industries emerged to support the railroads, and some communities existed almost solely because of the presence of yards, terminals, and locomotive and car-building facilities. The growth of the railroads forced legislatures and courts to redefine concepts of property rights and interstate commerce. By the end of the 1920s, the railways faced profound competition from trucks and automobiles, but they remained the heart of a modern transportation system.

Although this interpretation in certainly not new, Sarah H. Gordon turns such societal alterations into absolute negatives. For her, the railways ruined much of what was good and unique about the United States. The railroads systematically destroyed small-town America and the nation's farmers, as the carriers sought only through traffic. The rate structure favored the rise of large-scale enterprises and harmed small businesses. The railroads penetrated areas of the South and West, allowing the rape of the land by mining and timber companies. The towns and states lost control of the railroads to the federal government, which, in turn, became a pawn of the companies. The carriers nearly always won the conflicts of interest that emerged after the 1870s. Railway critics such as the Grangers, Populists, and Progressives were absolutely correct, Gordon argues, for the owners and managers of the carriers were predators feeding on consumers, farmers, and the owners of small enterprises.

Employing an American Studies approach, Gordon looks at the social aspects of the coming of the railroads using sources drawn from art, music, literature, and architecture. There are interesting sections treating tourism, hoboes, and the rise of crowds at railway depots and stations. A chapter on the evolution of luggage, reflecting the shift from pure business travel to tourism, is quite fascinating. Where Gordon deals with social history, there are numerous insightful passages.

When Gordon approaches economic issues, however, the text is marred with uninformed and often erroneous assertions. The narrative reads as though it were co-authored by Ignatius Donnelly, William Jennings Bryan, and Louis Brandeis and edited by Frank Norris. The perspective is wholly that of the ardent Populist or Progressive convinced that the evil J. P. Morgan controlled the nation's rail system. Gordon simply ignores the historical scholarship of the last fifty years. Instead of Maury Klein's definitive *History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad* (1972), she cites a journalistic account by John Leeds Kerr (1933). Her source for the Erie Railroad wars is Peter Lyon's popular history of railroad passenger service. Reminiscences by railway employees and glossy picture books by Lucius Beebe are presented for factual information. The important revisionist work of Albro Martin, *Railroads Triumphant* (1992) is curtly dismissed in a footnote. John R. Stilgoe's *Metropolitan Corridor* (1983), a significant study of the railways and the landscape, is referred to only once, when it could have informed many passages. Factual errors are jarring by their frequency and range. It is, of course, Grand Central Terminal, not "Station"; it is Chicago & North Western, not several other variations, and so on. President Grover Cleveland did not sign the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890 (p. 278). The interpretation of this statute, and Cleveland's alleged role in its enactment, should stun attorneys and historians, not to mention Eugene V. Debs and members of the American Railway Union.

Gordon does not understand either capitalism or railroad history. Her book reveals neither an awareness of the rise of global capitalism in the nineteenth century nor the concept of core and peripheral economies. Her interpretations are uninformed by economists such as Imanuel Wallerstein, Theodore H. Von Laue, and L. S. Stavrianos. By ignoring a substantial volume of recent economic, business, and railroad history, Gordon has been misled into making hyperbolic statements that are shocking, but not for the reasons she intended. The executives of the railroads were not "renegades" (p. 293); the carriers were not intended to be benign social institutions. It is unfortunate that the interesting sections of social history are buried under the factual lapses and overblown rhetoric in this book.

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University of Akron

ROBERT W. RIGHTER. *Wind Energy in America: A History*. Norman: Universityof Oklahoma Press. 1996. Pp. xxi, 361. $34.95.

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This book originated during a visit to a Nebraska farm in 1980. While there, Robert W. Righter saw the remnants of a wind-powered electric generator similar to thousands built by the Jacobs Wind Electric Company and the Wincharger Corporation during the 1930s and 1940s. He also heard less than charitable comments concerning the Rural Electrification Administration's (REA) effect on decentralized, farm-based electric power systems drawing energy from the wind. Intrigued by this experience, Righter set out to chronicle the history of wind energy in the United States.

Despite the promise of his book's sweeping title, Righter devotes almost all of his research and interest to the generation of electric power. More traditional use of wind power to grind grain or pump water receives scant notice; for example, the remarkable group of wooden windmills built by the Dominy family in eastern Long Island in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century (a few of which still exist) pass unheralded in the text. With regard to traditional windmills, Righter focuses on twelfth-century England, where he celebrates how wind power was championed by politically disadvantaged groups in opposition to the more centrally and autocratically controlled technology of water power. Righter is clearly enthralled with the presumed political attributes of wind power (it is diffused over the landscape and seemingly less susceptible to corporate or government control). He also perceives the relatively benign environmental effects of wind power technology as highly desirable, especially in contrast to fossil fuel and nuclear generating plants (no Strontium 90 or greenhouse gases are produced; however, windmills can kill birds and generate bothersome noise).

After chronicling the success of Charles Brush (a contemporary of Thomas Edison who made a fortune building arc-lighting systems) in developing a 12,000-watt "wind generator" in the 1890s, the bulk of the book examines small-scale, privately financed windmills operated by individual farmers in the 1930s and 1940s and large-scale generators capable of feeding into regional power grids in the post–World War II era. In the first instance, Righter does a good job in documenting how approximately 50,000 low-power (usually 2,500 watts or less), direct current systems were marketed across America's rural heartland and how programs such as the REA supplanted practically all of them with alternating current systems tied to regional networks. In the second, he documents the remarkable—if short term—effect of the 1970s energy crisis in encouraging (largely through federal tax inducements) the proliferation of huge "wind farms" in places such as San Gorgonio Pass near Palm Springs, California; the fate of these wind farms in the "cheap energy" era of the late 1980s and 1990s makes for especially good reading.

Perturbed at how wind power has been relegated to second-class status within the panoply of America's energy sources, Righter sometimes comes across as more advocate than dispassionate historian. For example, while bemoaning the lost legacy of farm-based power plants, he notes in passing a Wyoming woman who recalled how her mother-in-law "gathered all her 32-volt appliances, marched out to the yard, dug a hole, and threw them in—glad to be rid of them" (p. 102) after hooking into an REA system in the mid-1950s. Honest enough to include such sentiments, Righter nonetheless makes little effort to analyze the limitations of low-voltage, wind-powered systems. He is more comfortable describing how some farmers pine for the good old days when their electric bills (and government?) seemed smaller.

Once readers understand that in many ways this book is a mild-mannered manifesto promoting the desirability of wind-generated electricity, they can settle back and enjoy its many virtues. It is impassioned, provocative, and clearly written. It contains a wealth of useful information and will prove a valuable reference work for people seeking historical background on twentieth-century wind power endeavors in America. And it challenges easy assumptions about government initiatives such as the REA as being the source of unmitigated good for farmers left stranded by investor-owned electric power utilities. For some political and cultural historians, this last point may well represent the book's most significant and lasting insight.

DONALD C. JACKSON
Lafayette College

WILLIAM G. ROY. *Socializing Capital: The Rise of the Large Industrial Corporation in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 338. $35.00.

If historians follow the path charted by post-structuralists and abandon the quest for synthesis, their places will quickly be taken by sociologists, political scientists, and economists. There is a deeply rooted need for literature that offers structure and meaning to the past. If historians no longer satisfy that need, social scientists will, and, in fact, they already are moving in that direction, a development reflected in William G. Roy's new study of the rise of big business. Roy brings to his task a sociologist's tool kit, a synthesis of great breadth, and a willingness to dig around in the details of the distant past—in this case the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of the United States.

Roy's goal is to establish for the shift to large corporate enterprise a paradigm framed largely in terms of economic and political power and elite social relations. Blocking the author's path to this goal is the dominant paradigm of business history: the synthesis developed by Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., his students, and the large group of scholars who have made use of Chandler's research and interpretations. Hence this book. Roy attacks the Chandlerian paradigm with great vigor and offers an alternative synthesis that echoes the venerable radical critiques of big business

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that can be traced back through many generations of scholarship to their primary source in Karl Marx.

Roy promotes his paradigm with three different types of historical-sociological studies. One simply reviews and rehashes the abundant literature on the nineteenth-century U.S. corporation; few economic or business historians will find anything new here, although they may want their graduate students to use this part of the book as a convenient introduction to those venerable accounts (many of which stand up quite well to the passage of time and scholarship). More interesting is Roy's careful comparison of statutory corporate law (1880–1913) in New Jersey, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Here he demonstrates that the legal underpinning of the corporation changed decisively and that new rights—such as the right to own stock in other corporations—facilitated the rise of big business. Roy mounts a convincing argument that business historians, Chandler included, need to pay more attention to the subtle interactions of politics, law, and business.

A flanking attack of that sort could never topple Chandler's synthesis, however, so Roy tries a third and more direct approach. In the spirit of modern sociology, he provides "A Quantitative Test of Efficiency Theory." Efficiency is an important issue. Chandler and others (myself included) believe that large enterprise sustained its position in the U.S. twentieth-century economy because it was more efficient over the long term than the forms of business it replaced. Roy disagrees and mounts a formidable quantitative test of the characteristics of industries in which large, publically traded corporations developed. The results are mixed. Alas, the author seems to have tested those characteristics for which statistics were available, not those which might directly have confronted any of the central pillars of Chandler's paradigm.

Roy would have us chose between the dynamics of efficiency and the dynamics of power, but most economic and business historians will probably finesse that choice. They will build on the strongest elements of Chandler's history while blending in new considerations of power, culture, and the process of innovation to achieve an understanding of the modern corporate economy that is more subtle than Roy's neo-Marxist framework.

Louis Galambos
Johns Hopkins University

Ross Evans Paulson. *Liberty, Equality, and Justice: Civil Rights, Women's Rights, and the Regulation of Business, 1865–1932*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. vi, 361. Cloth $59.95, paper $18.95.

Ross Evans Paulson begins this fascinating analysis with a remark from the Bradley Commission on History in Schools: "Unlike many peoples, Americans are not bound together by a common religion or a common ethnicity. Instead, our binding heritage is a democratic vision of liberty, equality, and justice" (p. 1). With sometimes breathtaking sweep, Paulson then proceeds to demolish that argument, replacing it with one far more subtle. Synthesizing an enormous body of usually separate scholarly literatures that traces the history of social reform and economic regulation in the United States between the end of the Civil War and the onset of the Great Depression, Paulson draws a picture of a society deeply divided about the meanings of liberty, equality, and justice.

The wrenching new realities created by the end of slavery, the abolition of the American frontier, the emergence of new opportunities for women, and the rise of big business all demanded that the country reexamine its core values: individual liberty, equality with others, and justice for all. But, Paulson argues, confusion, not consensus, dominated discussion of these principles. In fact, their internal disagreements about what equality should mean hindered many reform attempts by women and blacks. Should they demand greater chances for individual opportunity or emphasize improvement of an entire community? If profound ambiguities about the relative values of individual liberty and shared equality marked crusades for civil and women's rights, they also confused attempts to confront the challenge newly powerful national corporations posed to traditional American norms about fair competition.

Indeed, what all reform efforts during these decades shared was muddled rhetoric: old languages about rights and duties that imperfectly fit new circumstances. Some women right's advocates emphasized their gender's special maternal role, while others challenged that stereotype. Some black leaders urged their followers to deemphasize demands for equality; others championed militant group protest and argued that, without equality, all efforts to achieve justice would end up in paternalism and dependence. The decisions of some courts to define corporations as legal "persons" with all the rights of a free individual and the laws passed by some states denying these institutions the status of "citizens" reflected the confusion.

Before 1900, an emphasis on the preeminent importance of individualism rooted American notions of liberty, equality, and justice. But when "individuals" became reform organizations, corporations, trade associations, unions, or government regulatory bureaucracies, traditional ideas faltered. Americans, who still revered the goal of personal liberty, listened to a cacophony of competing definitions of what that meant. Demands for individual civil liberties conflicted with cries for group-based civil rights. Paulson persuasively argues that the history of reform and regulation between 1865 and 1932 was not one of "good victims and bad predators" (p. 243). Of course, corporate greed, violent racism, and unreasoning gender prejudice had roles to play in the story. But so did clashing priorities, shifting meanings of key terms, and changing institutional dynamics, as the country made a difficult transition from being a simpler producer society to one that, by the 1930s, was increasingly more

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consumer-oriented and politically complex. All sides fell short of the demands of democratic mutuality.

Better transitions would have greatly improved the readability of a book that covers a huge variety of sometimes insufficiently integrated topics. For example, two chapters that discuss events between 1919 and 1928 introduce, among many other subjects, the American Federation of Labor's "Plumb Plan," proposing purchase of the nation's railroads by the federal government; Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association; and the U. S. Children's Bureau's administration of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Bill. If Paulson's organizational style does not do justice to his elegant analysis, however, that is a small failure in a volume notable for innovative reinterpretation and big ideas.

JUDITH SEALANDER
Bowling Green State University

WILLIAM F. HARTFORD. *Where Is Our Responsibility? Unions and Economic Change in the New England Textile Industry, 1870–1960.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1996. Pp. x, 256. $35.00.

As the complex economic crisis of the late twentieth century continues to unfold—excess capacity, the crisis of profitability, deindustrialization, globalization, the shift from manufacturing to services, the recomposition of the workforce, and the weakness of the labor movement—economic and labor historians have sought to offer readers insights from their study of the past. This is a worthy enterprise, and some studies have offered valuable guidance for vision, strategies, and tactics in the present.

William F. Hartford's selection of the New England textile industry's rise and fall places under the microscope the first regional industry to experience capital flight and deindustrialization. Hartford sharpens his focus to probe the relationship between unions and management. Here, he rightly thinks, are to be found an important part of the explanation for the economic disaster that befell the industry, tens of thousands of workers, and their communities . . . and some lessons for our own times.

Hartford offers a richly detailed account of the rise of a distinctive model of trade unionism, one that "combined conciliatory gestures, market-based economic demands, and shop-floor militancy" (p. 5). Inside the workplace, the social basis for this unionism was provided by the more skilled male workers of Western European background. Although they had to fight to establish their unions in the late nineteenth century and found it difficult to spread them beyond their initial bases in Fall River and New Bedford, by the 1920s, their model had taken root throughout the region.

Hartford demonstrates the continuity of this model, despite its adoption of different organizational guises: federations of distinct craft unions; the United Textile Workers of America-AFL; the Textile Workers Union of America-CIO; and the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. He also provides evidence that this model was adhered to by union officials in the face of alternatives that they rejected—such as the Industrial Workers of the World in the 1910s—and superimposed over profound changes in the organization of production and the composition of the workforce. There were important refinements in this model over the course of the twentieth century, such as an increasing reliance on arbitration to resolve disputes not just about grievances but even about basic contract terms. Far from reflecting strategic flexibility and innovation, however, these changes in organizational identity and refinements in organizational behavior rested on a rigidification of the union, from its structure and internal culture to its strategy and tactics.

By the 1950s, this rigidification was turning into rigor mortis. Personal conflicts between union officials raged with little relationship to the rank-and-file membership. As more and more of the industry moved to the non-union South, New England became increasingly isolated. Union officials lost sway not only with management leaders but also with government representatives and arbitrators. The union's economic island shrank, and as its size decreased, its power to maintain decent conditions flagged. Although the union's leadership and staff included broad-thinking men like Solomon Barkin, they could not marshall the resources or influence to implement their ideas. By the 1970s, little remained of the union's base, and hulking empty plants festered in once lively communities all over New England.

The political conclusions that can be drawn from this study seem apparent. Hartford's historical treatment traces the choices and decisions made by union officials over a period of decades, choices and decisions that, ultimately, placed the union on that isolated, shrinking island from which its members could not affect their situation. As this review suggests, the key elements included building a base on a limited segment of the workforce, allowing the workings of "the market" to set parameters for the union's choices, separating the union from the wider communities in which the plants were located, allowing management the "prerogatives" of making choices about technological change, and putting faith in an arbitration process that rested on union leaders' connections rather than the power of organized members.

Interestingly, Hartford holds back from drawing these conclusions. I suspect that the funding he received from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (ACTWU); his close relationships with their staff, including Solomon Barkin; and his base at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, which also has a close relationship with the ACTWU might have limited his willingness to pose certain questions. More important, it seems to me, his book allows the careful reader to ask them anyway, and it

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provides enough information to enable that reader to draw some valuable conclusions.

PETER RACHLEFF
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MILDRED ALLEN BEIK. *The Miners of Windber: The Struggles of New Immigrants for Unionization, 1890s-1930s*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xxx, 447. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.95.

A native of Windber, Pennsylvania, Mildred Allen Beik brings a sensitivity rare in scholarly work to explore the struggles of the community's coal miners to achieve social justice. Beik situates Windber at the center of one of the bituminous industry's chief regions: Somerset County, Pennsylvania. Windber's workforce, largely immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, mirrored closely the changing face of America's industrial workforce elsewhere in the Northeast and Midwest. From this perspective, Windber, despite its small size, demonstrates the larger processes of corporate capitalism that were reshaping the American economy.

The chief source of the workers' discontent in Windber was the Berwind-White Coal Company (BW). It built the town, opened the mines, and recruited the workforce. BW representatives dominated public office, held key judicial positions, and heavily influenced the local political system. During strikes, the company regularly used force, whether its own thugs or anti-union state police, to frustrate the miners' attempts to unionize.

The ethnic communities that developed around the diverse workforce depended on BW-owned land to build their churches and even their houses. In fact, BW nurtured their distinct identities and sustained ethnic neighborhood boundaries in order to isolate the various ethnic groups and prevent the development of class-based activity such as strikes. BW reinforced this segregation by placing immigrant workers in the mines and native-born workers mostly in above-ground positions. The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) emerged as a cross-cultural, working-class institution that challenged the company's power. The task facing the union was formidable: it had to transcend ethnic, linguistic, and even religious differences to forge a multiethnic organization. As Beik makes clear, the UMWA developed strategies that achieved these ends while representing issues critical to all workers.

The miners in Windber relied on union-supported strikes in their battles with the company. Beik effectively disputes the notion that miners from southern and eastern Europe made poor material for unionization. Major strikes in 1906, 1922, and 1927 showed their creative and defiant surges against the power of BW. Miners overcame their ethnic and language differences to achieve control of their workplaces and personal lives. These immigrants also developed novel pressure tactics, such as picketing outside the company's New York City headquarters to force negotiations, and demonstrated their keen awareness of larger economic and political contexts.

Beik makes women an essential part of this story. The miners' wives provided the labor to maintain the company's workforce while taking care of boarders, also a vital part of the BW labor pool. During labor actions, miners' wives picketed the workplace and lent all their energies to winning the strike. In no way could one understand the mines without including the contribution of these women.

Beik concludes her study with UMWA leader John L. Lewis and his decision to back the National Industrial Recovery Act of the early 1930s and the New Deal, which proved central to union recognition. She perceptively examines the impact of New Deal political leadership in the state, which helped remove so many of the legal restrictions that had sustained company control of mining communities in Pennsylvania.

Ironically, Beik's sensitivity to the plight of the miners influences her portrayal of BW and its owner; her unremitting hostility toward BW makes an impartial judgment impossible. In contrast, Beik's sympathy for the miners leads her to soft-pedal criticisms of the UMWA for failing to support the Windber miners during their struggles in the 1920s. Beik is critical of Lewis, yet she remains ambivalent about the UMWA.

Last, Windber appears as more contested terrain than Beik would admit. Different ethnic and religious groups willfully established their own communities and even pursued their own rituals and celebratory days, decisions that BW accepted to maintain its workforce. The miners, so dynamic in other arenas, proved capable of confronting BW over community issues. Despite these cautionary remarks, Beik's study adds a great deal to our understanding of company towns, the dynamic nature of immigrant workers, and the centrality of gender to worker struggles.

EDWARD J. DAVIES II
University of Utah

DANIEL J. CLARK. *Like Night and Day: Unionization in a Southern Mill Town*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. x, 260. Cloth $49.95, paper $16.95.

TIMOTHY J. MINCHIN. *What Do We Need a Union For? The TWUA in the South, 1945–1955*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. 285. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.95.

Two books on the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA), dealing with the same region and basically similar workforces during the same period, issued by the same publisher and in the same year, deserve serious attention from those with interest in the field. Daniel J. Clark's emphasis is more specific than Timothy J. Minchin's. He dwells on textile workers during and after World War II in a single town some fifty

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miles north of Raleigh. Clark strives to rebut the contention of Nelson Lichtenstein, Mike Davis, and others that the TWUA in the South, like unions elsewhere, accommodated itself to the conservative ethos of the postwar period, becoming more bureaucratic and less representative of the true interests of its constituents.

Clark takes as his focus the workers at the Harriet and Henderson mills in Henderson, North Carolina, under common corporate ownership. By concentrating in this way, he feels the historian can reveal the actual experiences that scholarly generalizations and politically motivated wishful thinking tend to obscure. His meticulous documentation of how mill workers employed grievance mechanisms to control workloads despite company pressures to the contrary demonstrates the validity of a local study.

Clark makes particularly good use of interviews, which help bear out his point that productivity issues and pressures, fought out through union-won grievance mechanisms, became the key terrain of labor struggle in the mills. However mundane some may consider that arena, according to Clark, the grievance and arbitration prerogatives of the TWUA in Henderson brought about gains more substantial than those achieved through any strike or other activity.

In the late 1930s, and especially during World War II, management tightened up supervision and discipline in the mills, while bringing workload conflicts to the forefront. With a union formed during the war and employing grievance procedures as a weapon of self-defense, workers in Henderson were able to defer, bog down, and occasionally defeat company attempts to cut costs by increasing the workload in the name of modernization. More than once following the war, workers made the grievance structure a safeguard of a more humane pace and workload. This was the union's main achievement: "[O]rganized workers could vigorously challenge workload increases, while unorganized workers who valued their jobs did not dare" (p. 104). Grievance prerogatives became the primary target of employer offensives into the 1950s and the basis of the area's longest strike, suppressed by the use of troops, which ended with the union's defeat in 1959.

Since southern textile workers were overwhelmingly white, Clark contends that race was not a major issue in textile union struggles, though he points out that the African-American proportion of Henderson's population was sixty percent at the turn of the century when the mills opened and forty percent by the late 1950s. Race became a factor "during periods of labor shortage and labor conflict" (p. 8), making any amplification of the issue a departure from what actually happened. Clark's point, which Minchin largely sustains, inspires reflection: given the separate social spheres and environments of whites and blacks, can one maintain that the employment problems and opportunities of the one had no general ramifications for the conditions of the other?

Clark makes a compelling case for the strength wielded by textile workers in Henderson. At the same time, he adamantly maintains that one should not bring a patterned search for labor history's allegedly favored themes to the study of real workers. Addressing labor scholarship generally, he observes that "It is important to take the concerns of actual workers seriously, even if their ambitions fell way short of workplace control, direct action, and political pressure for social welfare programs" (p. 5). Indeed, Clark submits, labor historians have tended to prefer a rather militant model of unionism, awarding, as it were, high or low marks according to the absence or presence of the model's key assumptions in the experiences under scrutiny. Yet labor is experienced differently at the local level. Diverging from the model, workers in Henderson struggled in their own way for industrial democracy: "But if anything short of revolution or militant direct action is defined as 'business unionism,' the term loses any concrete meaning and has little interpretive value" (p. 205). A straw man may be staring out from such passages. Moreover, presenting one's arguments as steeped in a reality others cannot see may tend to inhibit, rather than facilitate, scholarly dialogue. Still, Clark's thorough study deserves a careful reading.

Minchin deals more substantially with the national picture and its regional manifestations during roughly the same period, offering several local examples to illustrate his main points, which endeavor to disprove the notion that southern textile workers possessed an acquiescent, deferential mill culture buttressed by company dominance over everything. Rising living and working standards in the industry during and after World War II made it difficult for the TWUA to make headway in the South. Minchin attributes the failure of union organizing in the famed Operation Dixie drive of 1946–1953 and the disastrous strike of 1951, not to a conservative mill culture, nor to contemporary anti-communism (which eroded militancy), nor to racism (to which organizers conceded) but above all to postwar economic trends. These facilitated immediate improvements, however debt-inducing for the long term, in home and car ownership and reduced the influence of the manufacturers on life outside the mills, all serving to make the union's value less than apparent to many workers. The "social changes generated by World War II hindered the TWUA in the South," according to Minchin (p. 201). Instead of focusing on putting southern working conditions on a par with those in the North, the union would have gained more by appealing to non-economic motivations, such as the TWUA's potential as a counterweight to company control over textile towns, a democratic force in the mill regions. A good part of the oral history goes to sustain that argument. At the same time, Milchin acknowledges and documents the many courageous struggles engaged in by members of the union, male and female.

Minchin pays attention to other factors influencing textile unionism. While not attributing union defeats

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to the anticommunism that jolted organized labor after 1945, in league with government and management policy, he notes that the TWUA suffered from that malady (perhaps more than he states), which was linked locally to prevalent racism, and that union leaders George Baldanzi and Emil Rieve were "fervent anticommunists" (p. 252). Nevertheless, the two men held differing organizing approaches, which Minchin points out helped induce a union split following the 1951 strike. He finds that black workers were not entirely excluded from the industry; when permitted, their union membership and strike support at key moments and locations—the 1951 strike at the Dan River mills in Danville, for example—was greater than that of white workers. At Dan River, blacks were most resistant to crossing the picket lines.

Minchin handles the interplay between the broader and narrower aspects of his research skillfully. He shows that the fate of the TWUA in southern textile localities "reflected national, not just regional, developments" (p. 200) and "is impossible to understand . . . without reference to the war" (p. 199). In placing particular experiences in such a context, Minchin goes a long way toward making southern textile union history more comprehensible.

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ANDREA STULMAN DENNETT. *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America*. New York: New York University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 200. Cloth $45.00, paper $15.95.

The first task of the author of a book on dime museums is to define and distinguish her subject. This Andrea Stulman Dennett singularly fails to do, and that failure inevitably leads to others.

Dennett is correct to tell us that the dime museum "was a unique institution. It integrated many types of entertainment under one roof and for a single price" (p. xi). Or almost correct, as we are reminded throughout the book that some museums charged a "supplement" for their live shows. When Dennett goes a step further, however, to assert, without evidence or argument, that the dime museum "was a safe environment for women and children" and "as popular an institution in the United States as the movies are today" (p. xi), she veers onto more questionable ground.

This book is a strange assemblage of analytic statements grafted from secondary sources on "mass culture" and descriptions of places and events taken from a collection of programs, advertisements, and guidebooks. Unfortunately, there is little to tie together the borrowed analysis and the purported evidence. We are told over and over again that the dime museum was a "family recreation center" (p. 6), "a safe haven" and "a great economic equalizer" (p. 7); that it was "extremely democratic" (p. 124); and that the larger ones "fostered patriotism, affirmed the common persons's worth, restored his dignity, and perpetuated the dream of a prosperous life" (p. 125). Nowhere, however, are we given the evidence we need to substantiate these large claims. In order to demonstrate that the dime museums were "democratic" institutions, we need to know more—or at least something—about their audiences. And although this information is difficult to find, Dennett does not even try. Without audience surveys, questions of reception are difficult to answer, but there are hints, clues, and possible inferences. The most important is the price of admission. Ticket prices determined the range of customers. High prices kept out the working "masses." Dennett however, gives us little information of how much was charged for admission and what those ticket prices might translate into in today's currency. Other clues about audience might be found in the location of the museums and in the newspapers in which they chose to advertise. Dennett does not discuss these matters at all.

The basic problem in her conceptualization is that Dennett pays no attention at all to the "dime" in the "dime museum." There was an enormous difference in clientele between a dime museum that charged a dime for admission—with no extras—and one that charged a quarter or a dollar for admission and more for the live performance. The "dime" museum was by definition an institution that catered to those who could afford only a dime (which in 1890 bought the equivalent of $1.40 worth of consumer items in 1990 currency). Institutions like the Boston Museum or Barnum's Museum, which charged from twenty-five cents to a dollar for admission and extra for the live performances, were very different institutions with very different types of audiences.

In ignoring the significance of the "dime" in her definition of the "dime museum" and extending her conceptualization to include every institution that called itself a museum and had some sort of live performance, Dennett ends up scanting the most well-known and perhaps emblematic examples of this historical phenomenon, the "Bowery" and "skid row" museums. These were true dime museums, catering to men and older boys with a variety of exhibits that were most definitely not designed for women and children. "These Bowery museums," Luc Sante, author of *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York* (1991), has written, were "the true underworld of entertainment, and their compass could include anything too shoddy, too risque, too vile, too sad, too marginal, too disgusting, too pointless to be displayed elsewhere" (Sante, pp. 97–100).

Dennett's chapters on freak shows and wax works and her discussion of amusement parks and the Boston Museum theater are not uninteresting, but one wonders what they are doing here. Having failed to define her subject from the onset, there follow inevitable problems of organization. In the end, the dime museum is robbed of all conceptual clarity and historical specificity.

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DOUGLAS C. BAYNTON. *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 228. $27.50.

Diversity, integration, pluralism, multiculturalism: these catchwords fuel the debate over the meaning of Americanism in the late twentieth century. Douglas C. Baynton shows that these issues were debated in post-Civil War America as well, with the battle being fought over the use of sign language by deaf Americans. By examining the organized efforts to eradicate the use of sign language, Baynton does much more than tell a sad tale. This book represents a major effort to bring the history of marginalized individuals, such as deaf Americans, into the center of historical analysis. Touching on intellectual, cultural, and social history, it lets the debate over sign language serve as a metaphor for the broad changes occurring in late nineteenth-century America. Yet, while touching on these larger issues with grace and style, Baynton never loses sight of the particulars of the fight by individuals to retain the culture and language of deafness.

Baynton's story is a tale of a group of "foreigners in their own land." These are deaf Americans, who by the mid-nineteenth century had developed their own language of signs and with it a unique culture designed around this language. But this is not a story told from the inside; instead Baynton examines the deaf world from the perspective of groups of reformers who worked with the deaf to teach them language and attempted to integrate them more fully into mainstream American society. Their efforts commenced in 1817, when Reverend Thomas Gallaudet founded the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb in Hartford, Connecticut. Antebellum work with deaf individuals centered on the development of "the beautiful language of sign," thought to be the first language of humans. Reformers utilized sign language, or manualism, to inform deaf persons about the existence of God and his beneficent presence. Baynton does well in tying this deaf education to broader antebellum reform movements and in linking them both to the perfectionist theology of the Second Great Awakening. By the outbreak of the Civil War, a nationwide deaf community had been created, centered around sign language and the congregate institutions and asylums where this language was taught. Baynton stresses the importance both of formalized educational instruction in sign (usually taught by hearing male instructors) and the informal networks of deaf individuals who socialized other deaf persons into this vibrant deaf community.

This all changed in the turbulent post-Civil War era, as the intellectual precepts underlying sign language were challenged by a modernizing ethos. Sign language was still viewed as the original language of humans, but this was no longer seen as positive or closer to God. Instead, through the prism of nascent evolutionary thought, sign was categorized as a throwback to primitive times, a language suitable only to savages. In order to become part of a vibrant, industrializing America, deaf people would have to learn to speak. Oralism, the technique of spoken language, would replace manualism. Led by Alexander Graham Bell, this movement swept deaf education in the last forty years of the nineteenth century. By 1900, sign language was proscribed in deaf schools and asylums, and deaf individuals were cut off from their non-speaking role models. Baynton skillfully ties this ideology to broader trends in evolutionary thought and especially to concerns about immigration. Here, deafness as ethnicity, rather than disability, became the key analytical construct. The deaf were viewed as another foreign group, like Italians or Russians. If those groups had to give up their language and customs and become Americanized, then deaf individuals did as well. Baynton also does a good job of showing the relationship of the shift to oralism to a gender change in the teachers of the deaf. In 1852, only five percent of teachers in deaf schools were female; by 1920, this had jumped to seventy-seven percent. He carefully and correctly concludes that these trends were not cause and consequence but mutually reinforcing.

This is a wonderful book. Baynton skillfully weaves concerns about sign language into a broader tapestry of late nineteenth-century evolutionary thought. He places the issues of deaf education and questions of oralism versus manualism squarely in the center of the debates over immigration and foreign languages. He ties these historical questions to present concerns about educational mainstreaming and the viability of a deaf culture. Yet, curiously missing here are the voices of the deaf themselves. We hear much from teachers and school administrators about their motivations and techniques promoting oralism, yet we hear little from students about their strategies of opposition to keep their language and culture alive. More than simply a group acted upon by outside individuals, deaf people struggled to maintain their cultural and linguistic integrity. In spite of this, Baynton has written an important book that places concern about deaf people at the forefront, not the periphery, of American historical analysis.

STEVEN NOLL
University of Florida

LYNNE MARIE GETZ. *Schools of Their Own: The Education of Hispanos in New Mexico, 1850–1940*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1997. Pp. x, 169. $34.95.

This book is a welcome addition to the historiography of Mexican-American education primarily because it focuses on New Mexico, a region that is rarely studied. Lynne Marie Getz provides a history of public school development in New Mexico from the beginnings of American control in 1850 to the 1930s.

The central thesis of this book is that the history of education in New Mexico is essentially one of cultural misunderstandings and cultural clashes. Public school development, she argues, occurred in a context of

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longstanding clashes between Anglos and Mexicans (or Hispanos, as they are known in New Mexico) over the meaning and definition of Americanization. Mexican Americans wanted to maintain their distinct ethnic identity by preserving the use of the Spanish language and Mexican culture, whereas Anglos wanted Mexicans to assimilate completely into American society. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, this cultural clash was reflected in struggles over control of public schools. Getz argues that Mexican Americans wanted to maintain local control of schools, whereas Anglo reformers sought to shift this control to the territorial or state level via centralization of authority, consolidation, and other reforms intended to compel Americanization. The clash of cultures is also reflected in the work of individual educators such as George Isidore Sanchez and Lloyd Spencer Tireman, in the experimental schools established during the 1930s, and in the New Deal programs. Getz concludes that New Mexican educators and the reforms they initiated failed to solve the central problems of academic underachievement and lack of economic opportunity confronting Mexican-American children. One of the major reasons for this failure was the inability of Tireman and Sanchez to recognize the limits of curriculum reforms such as vocational education and cultural preservation.

There are significant problems with this thesis. The major one appears to be evidentiary. Although Getz provides ample support of Anglo views and perspectives, she rarely discusses Hispano or Mexican-American ones. In the chapter on education during the territorial period, for example, she argues that Hispanos supported local control of schools in order to maintain their ethnic identity. But few Hispano sources at the local level are cited. She also contends that Anglos sought to shift control of education to the territorial level so that they could more effectively use the schools to Americanize the population. What Getz fails to mention, however, is that Hispanos themselves were at the forefront of all of these school reforms. Anglos during the territorial period were an extremely small minority. Whatever reforms were being proposed at the territorial level were supported by Hispano legislators because they were the majority group in the Assembly and in the Senate.

The cultural clash thesis is inadequately substantiated in two other chapters, one dealing with Tireman and the other with the community schools in New Mexico. In both of these chapters, Getz fails to include important voices of individuals such as Sanchez, a member of the Board of Directors of the San Jose Training School, or of community members who took diverse positions on these schools. The only evidence she provides pertains to the Anglo school reformer Tireman and some of his staff members. Ironically, the one chapter in which a Hispano voice is heard—that of Sanchez—does not deal with the cultural clash thesis. In this chapter, Getz discusses Sanchez's important studies on intelligence testing and school attendance and his participation in major political struggles over school funding and misappropriation of funds by school officials. Although cultural questions might have been significant for Sanchez, the most important issues for him during the 1930s, according to Getz, were political ones dealing with equity and quality instruction.

Getz has written a much-needed book on the history of education in New Mexico. Its focus, however, is not on the role that schools played in the historic clash of cultures between Anglos and Hispanos in New Mexico nor on the schools that Hispanos established for themselves. Rather, this book is a history of Anglo attitudes toward Hispanos and of the unwavering Anglo efforts to use the schools as a tool for Americanizing the Hispano population. This book, then, is about cultural imposition, not cultural clash.

GUADALUPE SAN MIGUEL, JR.
University of Houston

JOHN ANTHONY TURCHENESKE, JR. *The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War: Fort Sill, 1894–1914*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1997. Pp. xv, 243.

In this finely crafted book, John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., details one of the most tragic episodes of American Indian history—the imprisonment of the Chiricahua Apaches at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. What makes the captivity of the Chiricahuas especially galling to modern readers is the failure of the U.S. government to draw distinctions between those Chiricahuas, such as Geronimo and his followers, who posed a legitimate threat to southwestern society and the majority of the tribe, which adopted a peace-at-any-price stance toward the dominant culture. Even the loyal Indian scouts—the very men that had pursued Geronimo deep into the rugged Sierra Madres of Mexico and brought about his surrender—were loaded into railroad cars and sent east.

The exiled Indians were divided, in 1886, between Forts Marion and Pickens in the South, while many children were sent to the Carlisle Indian school in Pennsylvania. Unsanitary conditions combined with various diseases to decimate the Chiricahuas. A temporary move to Mt. Vernon barracks, Alabama, preceded permanent relocation to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1894. By then, of the 519 captives of eight years earlier, 246 had died. Turcheneske writes of Captain William Wotherspoon who observed that the "death rate far exceeded that of 'any nation in the world'" (p. 31).

Most of this book surveys the Fort Sill years from 1894 to 1914. During these two decades, the Indians remained legally under the command and direction of the War Department. Unlike most belligerent tribes who might be under army control for only a short period before transfer to Bureau of Indian Affairs' supervision, the Chiricahua Apaches would be prisoners of war for twenty-seven years.

Several things worked against the Chiricahuas. First, there was the persistent hatred of these people in

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Arizona and, to a lesser extent, in New Mexico. Second, the Chiricahuas happened to find themselves in Oklahoma at a time when individual allotments were the panacea of the day. Of course, the passage of time would indicate that allotments to Indians may have been a subtle form of land grab aimed especially at Oklahoma tribes. Turcheneske does a fine job of guiding readers through the intricacies of law, policy, and politics as these topics relate to the story of the Chiricahuas. The individual land allotments of 160 acres or less simply proved inadequate for tribal survival. Many Chiricahuas would eventually marry into other Oklahoma tribes, and over time much of their cultural uniqueness was lost.

Readers of this volume should not mistakenly believe that they are getting a tribal history of the Chiricahuas during these decades. Although it contains considerable enthnohistorical material, the book emphasizes governmental policy. It is useful to read Turcheneske's work in conjunction with H. Henrietta Stockel's *Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity* (1993). Stockel stresses an ethno-medical approach to Chiricahua history that nicely complements Turcheneske's study.

In 1913, a majority of the Chiricahuas in Oklahoma accepted a government offer to allow them to relocate to the Mescalero reservation in southern New Mexico. Those who elected to remain in Oklahoma were required to take individual allotments as Fort Sill reservation was closed. In terms of cultural continuity, it would appear that the Chiricahuas who went to Mescalero fared better in subsequent decades then those who opted for allotment land.

Like every author who has written on the topic of the Chiricahua prisoners, Turcheneske points out the obvious injustice of the imprisonment. Four-fifths of the people never endorsed Geronimo's return to the warpath. Many actively opposed him and faithfully served the U.S. Army as scouts. There may well be a greater injustice than this one in American history, but the callous and inhumane treatment of the Chiricahuas was recognized as such in the 1880s and 1890s by the very soldiers who fought against Geronimo. "'Thus, for the sake of less than twenty' male combatants," observed Lieutenant Walter Vere Kennon, "a whole tribe of nearly four hundred innocent people have been condemned to exile and imprisonment, which to many of them has meant death" (p. 4).

Turcheneske does not offer suggestions in his book for legal redress, but such a course of action has been long overdue. The core of the Chiricahuas' Arizona homeland, the Chiricahua Mountains, is a part of the Coronado National Forest. The isolated, pristine mountains are undeveloped and await return to rightful owners. Southeastern Arizona will never be spiritually whole until the Chiricahuas come back from their century of exile.

GERALD THOMPSON
University of Toledo

LIPING ZHU. *A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1997. Pp. xi, 231.

During the past decade, literature on the Asian immigration to the United States has flourished on many fronts. In particular, the subject matter has attracted younger scholars to join the search for an expansive story of the Asian-American past. For example, Renqiu Yu's *To Save China, To Save Ourselves* (1992) is a rich and complex story about the Chinese hand-laundry alliance of New York. In *Organizing Asian American Labor* (1994), Chris Friday documented how Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos toiled in the salmon canneries on the Pacific Coast. Liping Zhu's study of Chinese miners on the Rocky Mountain frontier represents yet another welcome contribution to the many-faceted story of Asian immigration to the United States.

This book is a microhistory of an ethnic group struggling to realize its dreams in the Rocky Mountain region. Zhu studies a relatively small group—as compared with the Chinese population of other western states and territories—of Chinese laborers sojourning in the remote and sparsely populated Boise Basin from 1865, when there were several hundred Chinese, to 1910, when the Chinese population had dwindled to only eighty-eight. The majority of the Chinese were male miners, searching for gold. As a recent student immigrant himself, Zhu approches the subject from the vantage point of living in the free, democratic, and prosperous United States. He sees nineteenth-century Idaho as a heartland of promise for the poverty-stricken Chinese of Guangdong, and he demonstrates that, despite lacking political power, many individual Chinese were able to accumulate wealth and move up the economic ladder. Zhu also examines newspapers such as the *Idaho World* and legal documents such as the Chinese Files at the Boise County Courthouse and concludes that Chinese equality can also be glimpsed in frontier justice, an assessment that contradicts countless well-documented cases in other western states and counties.

Granted that "the Boise Basin mining frontier provided the Chinese with a relatively level playing field on which to compete for success" (p. 97) and that the Idaho Chinese actually received opportunities far beyond what has previously been assumed, an important question still needs to be asked: why did the Chinese give up these opportunities in droves and abandon their "comfortable" Idaho community altogether by the turn of the century? This scholarly but contentious book is not in line with the literature of racial discrimination and downplays the consequences of America's exclusion policy against the Chinese. Although he mentions the Rock Springs Massacre of 1885 and the subsequent hanging of five Chinese in northern Idaho (but not the Snake River Massacre of 1887), Zhu generally avoids analyzing the fundamental causes of

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the numerous atrocities against the Chinese throughout the American West.

Elliott West holds that frontiers are messy, and so are their legacies. Zhu does not see the nineteenth-century American West as the "disc of howling wilderness" where Chinese gold diggers were constantly engaged in a struggle against white settlers, each denying the other's dreams. This could be because history is relative, or it could be because the few hundred transient Chinese in the Boise Basin hardly represent—particularly in the macrohistorical sense—the real Chinese experience in the United States.

SHIH-SHAN HENRY TSAI
University of Arkansas

MARK MEIGS. *Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War*. New York: New York University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 269. $40.00.

The end of a protracted war tends to raise fascinating questions about what the process of war does to us. Since the Vietnam conflict, and especially since the demise of the Cold War, we have developed increasing interest in the impact of war on participating *societies*. Earlier, following World War II, we devoted new attention to the effects war had on participating *combatants*. There was, of course, an obvious reason for this focus on individuals, since in the 1940s psychological testing had reached the point where it was able to reveal a great deal about the bravery, motivation, and discipline of soldiers during battle. In any case, historical scholarship benefited from and later richly supplemented such pathbreaking research.

Mark Meigs offers us a splendid complement and contrast to Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975), the classic study of British soldiers on the Western front in World War I. In Meigs's "doughboys," we encounter troops fighting a war far from home and representing a country under no immediate threat. This is an army fresh and unbloodied, largely innocent of trench warfare and unending battle. Small wonder that American reactions are less shattered, less ironic, and more positive than the British.

The author's chapters trace topically the inevitably significant experiences in each soldier's life. The first focuses on the reasons Americans gave for enlisting or the hopes expressed upon being drafted. The second asks what the act of combat meant to those who had fought and survived. The third and fourth chapters examine the soldiers' cultural contact with France, both in tours the army arranged for them and in their sexual and romantic connections with French women. The next discusses the way in which American war dead were buried and the various means by which they were honored. The concluding chapter analyzes the "lessons" that returning doughboys derived from their months in Europe.

Each chapter juxtaposes the interpretations pushed by the government in such publications as *The Stars and Stripes*, military orders, and army handbooks, with attitudes revealed in "personal" sources like songs, diaries, letters, memoirs, and veterans' answers to a survey conducted in the 1970s. According to Meigs, the American army was "the object of the first highly organized propaganda effort in American history" (p. 4). Yet, he says, "adaptations of . . . official views to fit the needs of individuals reveal a far richer picture of American culture . . . at the threshold of becoming mass culture" than one might expect (p. 4). Mass culture, in this case a progressive and optimistic version of it, "penetrated at least far enough for soldiers to reproduce it in their writing, but they could also resist it, remaining individuals at the same time" (p. 6).

The role assigned to black soldiers in the American army also reveals how much had *not* changed in American culture. Official propaganda may have decried ethnic and sectional identifications in the American Expeditionary Force, but the army used blacks primarily for manual labor and separated them from everything significant in France, including combat (save for two segregated divisions). It even made a special effort to separate American black soldiers from French women, although African troops played a large role in the French army at the time and were relatively popular in France, a point the author overlooks. In only one matter, Meigs notes, did black Americans achieve full equality in Europe during the war: American military cemeteries were never segregated!

Although the author has exploited a wide range of American and French materials in creating this thoughtful and perceptive monograph, there are certain troubling omissions in the evidence. Meigs misses a great source of relevant impressions, for example, by largely ignoring the American occupation in the Rhineland after the armistice. This experience played a major part in generating an increasing unhappiness among Americans with the French. Moreover, Meigs barely examines francophobic reactions among doughboys during the war itself: not infrequent references to French lack of hygiene, old-fashionedness, greed, and even cowardice. These derived not just from tourism but from widespread and confusing encounters with French troops and civilians both in the combat and interior zones. Perhaps these were minor themes, but they fed later disillusion.

Contextual issues ought to have been more thoroughly addressed. Meigs remarks that the "optimistic, jaunty style" of immigrants and immigrant sons in the army could have been as readily learned from the Young Men's Christian Association as inherited from the nineteenth century (p. 6). More discussion of the attitudes involved in the "new" immigration, Progressivism, and business culture would have been helpful in assessing such speculation. So, too, would an examination of the interactions of the soldiers with the home front both before going to France and after returning. And how much did the soldiers know or care about what was going on in America while they were gone?

Such reservations aside, this is a useful study. It is

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worth knowing that the war experience, as brutal and complex as it was, "could not shake American optimism and in fact made the language of that optimism a universal" (p. 218). It is important to realize the extent to which "the symbols Americans formed around World War I could absorb war into the stream of American triumphal and commercial progress" (p. 219). It is provocative to notice that the relationship between the individual and the mass seems to have been at a "turning point" (p. 224) in World War I, with national standards on the horizon and local influences still deeply felt.

KEITH L. NELSON
University of California, Irvine

HARRY M. MARKS. *The Progress of Experiment: Science and Therapeutic Reform in the United States, 1900–1990.* (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 258. $59.95.

In the introduction to this book, Harry M. Marks indicates that he has two main aims: to examine the changing efforts of medical reformers to direct clinical therapeutic practice and to chart the changing intellectual and social history of therapeutic experiments. The author succeeds reasonably well in achieving both of these goals.

The scope of the book is the United States in the twentieth century. The protagonists are the therapeutic reformers who constitute, according to Marks, a "political" community. They are held together as a group by a belief in the power of science to unite medical researchers and practitioners. In their view, clinical medicine could be made as scientific as laboratory medicine by applying the "scientific method" directly to judging medical treatment.

In the period before World War II, the focus of the reformers was on institutional mechanisms for improving the therapeutic practice of individual physicians. One such mechanism was the American Medical Association's Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry, which reviewed information about and passed judgment on new drugs but generally did not have the resources to pursue its own experimental studies. High hopes were held out for cooperative clinical trials involving experienced investigators, but these proved difficult to carry out and did not provide a secure foundation for regulating therapeutic practice in this period. Nor did the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), which decided that it could not control the use by physicians of medicines for purposes for which they had not been approved. "Improving therapeutic practice was, in the final analysis, a task for the profession and not the government" (p. 95).

In the postwar period, reformers turned their attention from institutions to methodology, relying especially on the Randomized Clinical Trial (RCT). Marks does a good job of tracing how statistics came to play an important role in medicine and how the RCT came to dominate clinical therapeutic research. He ends the book with a chapter in which he attempts "to interrogate the history of therapeutic reform, in order to persuade those engaged in such reform to think about their task(s) in a different way" (p. 230).

The history of clinical research and therapeutic reform in twentieth-century America has not received adequate attention from historians, and Marks's book therefore helps to fill a gap in the literature. Along the way, Marks also sheds light on a number of interesting subjects that merit further study. For example, he makes it clear that the 1938 Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act was originally interpreted to involve considerations of drug efficacy as well as safety, a fact that is generally overlooked. He provides an insightful account of how and why this view came to be altered. His relatively brief discussion of the view, held by many researchers, that "a merely statistical study" was "intellectually inferior to a carefully planned out program of experimental investigations" (p. 137) is perceptive and should serve to stimulate further research on this topic.

Marks has drawn on a wide array of published and unpublished sources in this well-written book. The story that he tells is a complex one that weaves together many threads, and some topics are necessarily treated more superficially than others. The book's extensive footnotes and the note on sources, however, can assist the interested reader in pursuing some of these subjects further.

My criticisms of the book are relatively minor ones. For example, it is curious that in discussing beliefs in medicine about the morality of science and the immorality of commerce that Marks does not mention the policy of the American Society for Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics of excluding industrial scientists as members (surely one of the better illustrations of his point). In discussing the role of Thomas Parran in relation to syphilis, he seems confused as to when Parran became Surgeon General of the Public Health Service (for example, referring to him by this title when quoting from a letter written in 1934, two years before Parran was appointed to the position). In contrasting the attitude of the FDA toward expanding its authority in drug regulation with that of the Hygienic Laboratory (forerunner of the National Institutes of Health), Marks might have emphasized the fact that the latter agency saw itself as a research institution and not as a regulatory body.

In sum, this is a significant work that should be of interest to all scholars of the history of medicine and biomedical science in the twentieth century, as well as to physicians and scientists involved in evaluating therapeutic measures.

JOHN PARASCANDOLA
National Library of Medicine

EDWARD J. LARSON. *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate over Science and*

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Religion. New York: BasicBooks. 1997. Pp. x, 318. $25.00.

With its fabled place in United States history as a showdown between the forces of religious fundamentalism and those of scientific progress, the Scopes trial would appear to be ripe for historiographical revision. Yet, as Edward J. Larson shows, the legend of the "monkey trial" is more the product of Cold War-inspired fears of McCarthyism than of careful analysis. For this reason, Larson's Pulitzer-Prize winning book turns out to be the first sustained treatment of an event that, as recently as 1994, the National Center for History in Schools portrayed as little more than an example of religious intolerance. But rather than debunking the myth of the "Trial of the Century" with the facts of *Tennessee v. Scopes*, Larson's book refurbishes the trial's legend by explaining how Americans have used it to express the fundamental tension in the United States between individual liberty and majoritarian democracy.

To excavate the hidden layers of significance surrounding the Scopes trial, Larson uses conventional sources and a straightforward narrative. He examines the relevant legal documents and papers of the trial's major figures. The author also follows newspaper coverage, commentary by intellectuals, and subsequent legal developments that tried to find precedents in the Tennessee courts' ambiguous rulings, which found John T. Scopes guilty of teaching evolution, upheld the constitutionality of the law, and cleared the teacher from having to pay the $100 fine. Larson also explores the development of evolutionary theory prior to 1925 (from the Lamarckian hypothesis to Mendelian genetics), the political debates after World War I that led to the formation of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and the scheme of entrepreneurial town leaders to use the trial to put Dayton on the map.

Larson weaves these different strands together in a simple (but not simplistic) arrangement. He starts with pretrial developments: the history of scientific explanations of human origins, state laws regulating public schools, and the emergence of the ACLU. In the next section he focuses on the trial, from the selection of Dayton as a place to test Tennessee's law to the reactions from fundamentalist, scientific, and civil libertarian organizations to arguments made by lawyers for the defense and prosecution, especially Clarence Darrow's decision to put William Jennings Bryan on the stand, which later backfired when the Great Commoner's sudden death, only days after the trial, put his efforts in a sympathetic light. In the concluding section, Larson follows the aftermath of the trial: the appeal before the Tennessee Supreme Court; the lore that developed immediately in journalistic accounts and later; in the 1950s, when historians and the production of *Inherit the Wind* embellished history for political purposes; and recent efforts to prohibit the teaching of evolution by the religious right.

What emerges from Larson's account is an unusually balanced and readable treatment of the Scopes trial and its complexities. Not only does the author handle deftly the scientific, religious, legal, and political issues and the subsequent development of anti-evolution legislation—a task for which Larson is well suited as a historian of science also trained in jurisprudence—but he also refuses to portray the trial simply as a contest between dogma and reason. Although the Scopes trial has long been interpreted in the context of the war between science and theology, Larson demonstrates that the struggle concerned much more the tension between individual liberty and majority rule. And though he does not make this argument explicitly, Larson supports the notion that disputes over science and religion are more often covers for political struggles.

Even better is Larson's ability to humanize the trial and make it a tale of human folly. The Scopes trial was not strictly a contest between ideas or political interests. The sometimes noble and often mixed motives of people who were, and still are, unable to see the intellectual and political consequences of their actions and arguments also shaped the trial. As such, the proceedings were filled with irony, from the ACLU's effort to distance itself from Darrow to the transformation of a trial designed to glamorize Dayton into one that gave the town a reputation for cultural backwardness. And the ironies continue to the present, with anti-evolutionists now using arguments for the inclusion of creationism in public schools that Darrow used to defend Scopes, and a 1996 revival of *Inherit the Wind* receiving praise from the *New York Times* and *New Yorker* even though reviewers for those same publications panned the play in the 1950s.

This book could readily be assigned in courses on the history of religion, politics, or science. But whatever its historiographical niche, the book is a good read about an important and often misunderstood subject. For his achievement, Larson deserves high marks.

D. G. Hart
Westminster Theological Seminary

Raye Virginia Allen. *Gordon Conway: Fashioning a New Woman*. Foreword by William H. Goetzmann. (American Studies Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 304. Cloth $65.00, paper $34.95.

This well-designed, richly illustrated book combines biography, women's history, and art history to add a visual dimension to an important social phenomenon: the New Woman. Raye Virginia Allen's thesis is that Gordon Conway, a self-taught commercial artist in the "Golden Age of Illustration," embodied one type of New Woman in both her life and her art. Conway was neither a political radical like the Suffragists nor a bohemian and avant-garde fine artist like the New Women of Greenwich Village, yet she shared many of their characteristics. Conway was independent intellectually and socially, sophisticated, and self-confident,

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and she played a variety of roles in the public sphere. Born in 1894 into a wealthy and socially prominent Texas family, she was intermittently educated in Dallas, elsewhere in the United States, and abroad. Professionally active in New York, Paris, and London from 1915 to 1936, Conway was, like other artists of her era, highly versatile. She produced advertising art and illustrations for mass circulation magazines, notably Conde Nast's *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*. She designed costumes, sets, and promotional graphics for theater and cabaret in New York and London and fashioned costumes for London's developing film industry. Her social life was unconventional. She was equally at home in New York, Paris, and London and enjoyed high living and high society in elegant surroundings. Her closest companion was her widowed mother, despite a brief marriage (1920–1927). Her career declined in the 1930s due to the increased use of photography, changes in illustration styles, the Depression, and her ill health. In 1937 she retired to her ancestral home in Virginia, and she died in 1956.

The book is divided into two parts, one entitled "Biography" and another entitled "Images of a New Woman"; the latter features illustrations and discussion of seven aspects of the New Woman in Conway's work. Allen emphasizes that Conway's art, which focused largely on the female figure, helped to fashion the appearance of the New Woman. Conway became well known for images that looked very much like herself and was identified with the dress, accessories, posture, and pose of the New Woman. This woman, like Conway, was a tall, svelte red-head. She was slim, agile, self-assured, elegant, and sophisticated. She dressed in the latest fashions and posed in ways that expressed women's new roles at work and at play. In contrast to many male artists who depicted women in a passive stance, Conway's images "captured the essence of movement" and "expressed women's freedom and aspiration . . . through movement and agility" (p. 183).

Allen points out that Conway's art was highly individual, yet it also reflected the trends of her day, such as modern art, japonism, innovations in architecture and design, and the legitimation of commercial art. Conway's drawings were characterized by simplicity, a strong sense of composition, bold lines, and vibrant color. Like other advertising artists she was influenced by Japanese woodblocks because clean, simple lines communicate messages directly. She was attracted to the idea of "total design" in which everyday objects were beautifully crafted and integrated into a well-designed environment.

Conway and other commercial artists contributed to the visual revolution of the early twentieth century. Allen notes that the promotional art Conway produced for Broadway theater (billboards, posters, glossy playbills, promotional displays) had an enormous impact because people were unused to being deluged with visual representations. This new trend, the proliferation of mass-produced visual representations in mass circulation newspapers and magazines and films, was made possible by photography and other technological innovations. People of all walks of life became accustomed to seeing images of fashionably dressed women and men in elegant surroundings advertising beauty products, dress, and performances. Conway contributed to the emergence of mass media, which promoted an important aspect of the New Woman: the consumer who sought to satisfy her dreams through purchases that contributed to a glamorous life style.

Allen's efforts to combine biography, history, and visual representation are not entirely successful. The book is short on social history, which is the context to Conway's life and especially of the meaning of the New Woman, and it is occasionally repetitive. The author sometimes uses similar phrasing to describe the same phenomenon in different chapters and repeats some arguments. Yet this book is a pleasure to look at and well worth reading. Allen effectively uses illustrations to enrich narrative and analysis and demonstrates the importance of visual representations for social history.

Carole Turbin
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Janis Appier. *Policing Women: The Sexual Politics of Law Enforcement and the LAPD*. (Critical Perspectives on the Past.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 227. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

Other than studies of individual departments and a few fine accounts of the transition of police from unorganized day and night watches into highly structured bureaucracies (notably Eric Monkkonen's *Police in Urban America, 1860–1920* [1981], Robert Fogelson's *Big-City Police* [1977], and Samuel Walker's *Critical History of Police Reform* [1977]), police history has not received its due. Recently, women and African-American police have been chronicled in Dorothy Moses Schulz's *From Social Worker to Crimefighter: A History of Women in United States Policing* (1995) and W. Marvin Dulaney's *Black Police in America* (1996).

Historians tend to leave the police to social scientists, who rely on them to illustrate the ills of state-imposed social control rather than to explore how policing reflects larger social currents. Janis Appier falls between these groups. She seeks not to "understand the history and legacy of pioneer policewomen" but to uncover "how women's entry into policing affected the discourse and direction of police reform, how policewomen . . . contested male hegemony . . . and how the police . . . incorporated gender into its operations and organization" (p. 2). Although she unearths much little-known information about the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), Appier is too concerned with setting up a dichotomy between crime prevention as feminine and crimefighting as masculine. Her argument that "women's gender division of police work in the 1910s led to the development of the overtly masculine crime control model of police work" (pp.

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3–4) ignores other changes that led police to shed many service roles after the Depression and to adopt the crimefighter ideology that remains a cornerstone of present-day policing een in the era of community policing.

The book centers on 1910 to the 1930s, a period in which women developed and carried out a style of policing that they called crime prevention but that was, in reality, a combination of social work and morality investigation. Appier's argument relies heavily on the scrapbooks of Aletha Gilbert, City Mother from 1914 to 1929. But the City Mother's Bureau, which developed in the 1880s and lasted until 1964, was atypical even in an era of functional segregation by sex. It was separated from not only the men in the department, but also from most policewomen. In magnifying Gilbert's importance, Appier neglects not only the distress that Gilbert's peers voiced about her bureau but also concerns that recent historians and criminologists have raised about the control exercised over the conduct of young, usually poor, immigrant, often minority girls who defied upper-middle-class norms of appropriate behavior. Although some young women were no doubt helped by Gilbert, many were criminalized for visiting dance halls, failing to turn over their meager salaries to parents, or engaging in sexual exploration, often with boys their own ages who were not penalized for the same conduct. The increased protection of women from men did not lead to the prevention of their victimization but to criminalization of their own conduct.

Relegated to supporting roles are Alice Stebbins Wells, who, upon appointment to the LAPD in 1910, became the first U.S. woman with the title "policewoman" and was the undisputed leader of the policewoman's movement, and Georgia Robinson, who in 1919 was promoted from matron to policewoman, thus becoming the first black policewoman in the U.S. Appier notes that in 1938, Wells cited negative views of Gilbert as having "had too many 'outside' interests," "engaged in far too much political activity," "catered" to prominent people, been " 'high-handed' with clients, and . . . practiced class and racial discrimination." Yet Appier dismisses the complaint because Wells "gave no details or evidence" (p. 152), despite Appier's own observation (p. 126) that Los Angeles policewomen arrested a disproportionately high percentage of Latinas and black girls.

Appier is correct that women practiced a gendered model of policing, but that was their aim. Her complaint that "despite women's presence . . . the anticipated gender- and class-based transformation of police work never took place" (p. 3) presumes that policewomen sought such a transformation and that, had it occurred, society would be better off today. Although men were not eager to have female patrol partners, what marginalized policewomen until the 1970s was not a plan by men to change policing out of fear that women would usurp their roles but societal (including policewomen's) acceptance of job segregation by sex; policewomen's affiliation with women's and temperance rather than police groups; the policewomen's inability to alter their "preoccupation with 'saving girls from lives of shame,' " (p. 146); and a lowered public concern with sexual delinquency after the 1930s. By the 1950s, policewomen sought wider roles, and by the 1970s, after numerous legal battles, they began to achieve them.

Documenting women's activities in individual police departments is overdue, but such efforts must be grounded in an understanding of the women and of policing. It is instructive that the endnotes (there is no bibliography) cite more works on women and the welfare state, maternalism, and domesticity than on the institutional development of the police.

DOROTHY MOSES SCHULZ
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PETER H. BUCKINGHAM. *Rebel against Injustice: The Life of Frank P. O'Hare.* (Missouri Biography Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 276. $39.95.

If devotion to a lost cause qualifies one for the mantle of heroism, Frank P. O'Hare should stand at the forefront of the pantheon of American heroes. O'Hare joined the socialist movement in 1900 and continued to be associated with it until his death in 1960. He was a true believer in both the injustices of the capitalist system and the remedies offered by the cooperative commonwealth, and his faith in these commitments never wavered despite the fact that, long before his death, capitalism had triumphed and the alluring promises of socialism had proved to be chimerical at best.

Born in 1877, O'Hare grew up in the slums of St. Louis. Dreams of a better life for the working class combined with disillusionment in the business world brought him to socialism by the turn of the century. He met Kate Richards at a school for socialist organizers and they married in 1902. Their tumultuous union produced four children and many adventures before it ended in divorce in 1926.

Early in their careers, the O'Hares settled in Oklahoma, where they helped build the strong grassroots socialist movement that flourished there for several years. In 1911, they moved to St. Louis, where O'Hare managed his wife's speaking tours, edited her writings, and made the *National Rip-Saw*, the Socialist Party's monthly magazine, a success. Kate became famous while Frank was relegated to a secondary role.

The war brought calamity to American socialists, who generally opposed it. Many leaders, including Kate, were sent to prison for voicing their opposition, and afterward things were never the same. In the mid-1920s, Kate divorced Frank and went her own way. O'Hare also lost what little money he had accumulated and faced total ruin during the Great Depression. Nevertheless, he persevered. He wrote volumi-

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nously, worked whenever and wherever he could, and was always active in St.Louis community affairs.

Despite all his activities, O'Hare has always been viewed as a secondary figure in radical history because of the role he played in his marriage to Kate and because—until now—no one had attempted a full-scale biography. Peter Buckingham has done both O'Hare and the scholarly community a great service by writing this book. He has rescued O'Hare from unjustified obscurity and in so doing added a new dimension to the existing picture of radicalism in America. Buckingham is to be congratulated for this achievement and admired for the monumental effort that was required to piece together the fabric of O'Hare's existence. Since O'Hare's personal papers are incomplete, diligent research in a variety of obscure sources was necessary to bring this fine old radical back to life. It was a mission well worth the undertaking and a job well done.

KENNETH E. HENDRICKSON, JR.
Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls, Texas

DAVID A. HOROWITZ. *Beyond Left and Right: Insurgency and the Establishment*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 444. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Historians, like most storytellers, seek to impose an intellectually defensible rhyme and reason to happenings that suggests purpose and meaning. The expectation is that the resulting conceptual packages will be neat and tight. Twentieth-century American historians realize their responsibilities but are often perplexed by strange inconsistencies in their subjects that thwart simple ordering into usual categories. Proponents of women's suffrage demanded progressive reform yet exhibited anti-immigrant and racist traits. The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s, seemingly so easy a group to sort, had a reformist side and now parades under a "populist" rubric. Where does 1964 presidential candidate Barry Goldwater fit? Long known for his opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Great Society, Goldwater was an advocate of abortion choice and gay rights.

Confronted with numerous exceptions that probe the traditional political concepts of left and right, David A. Horowitz presents a new paradigm that explores "indigenous populism." He focuses on elected officeholders and leaders of "populist" social movements who defended individual freedom, self-reliance, equality of opportunity, community control, and other "producer values" against concentrated wealth and power, internationalism, remote bureaucracies, and unaccountable elites. Included for analysis are William Jennings Bryan, Robert LaFollette, Gerald Nye, Charles Coughlin, Charles Lindbergh, Douglas MacArthur, Joseph McCarthy, George Wallace, and Ronald Reagan. Klansmen, members of the Farmers Holiday Association, followers of Huey Long, McCarthyites, John Birchers, and Goldwaterites make their appearances. In this overview of the twentieth century, not only are the number of players extensive, but so is the quantity of topics for analysis: farm policy, anti-imperialism, income tax legislation, the Federal Reserve System, World War I, the League of Nations, chain stores, reciprocal trade agreements, the America First Committee, anti-militarism, World War II, small-business legislation, anticommunism, and the Great Society. New Deal reformers, fascists, socialists, religious cultists, New Left activists, civil rights workers, radical feminists, environmental lobbyists, and others on the banks of this "mainstream challenge" are not subject to analysis. Horowitz's research is extensive; his bibliography lists fifty massive manuscript collections as well as newspapers, government documents, and a wide range of secondary sources.

Horowitz's topic is familiar, but his conceptualization offers fresh insights about twentieth-century politics. His book serves, as well, to connect recent events to the ferment of the Jacksonian era, the agrarian protests of the late nineteenth century, and other examples of the insurgent impulse. If victory has often been denied the rebels, theirs was less a rear-guard action than a multifaceted, legitimate, and persistent demand for an alternative present and future. While other books have tread similar ground, they do not exhibit the range of subjects of this one.

Getting beyond left and right categories is a valuable research agenda, and Horowitz has pioneered conceptually and factually. But in producing an important addition to the literature on American political history, Horowitz is too ambitious. Broad coverage slights analysis. He includes so many personalities, issues, and events that the book becomes encyclopedic and the reader is overwhelmed by minutia. The author seems to have struggled to decide what audience he was trying to reach. Researched like a monograph, the book is written like a textbook with basic contextual information repeatedly slowing the narrative. A more precise definition of the parameters of anti-establishment insurgency is necessary to understand why radicals usually associated with the left wing are excluded. More refinement would also explain how the label "indigenous populist" would fit Klan Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans, Father Coughlin, and Robert Welch of the John Birch Society on the one hand and Ronald Reagan and Senators William Borah and Robert Taft on the other. A category that is so encompassing loses its explanatory power. Curiously, Horowitz ignores issues of race and gender when dealing with insurgency. Booker T. Washington and Louis Farrakhan receive no attention, although they would be excellent candidates for inclusion. Just three women appear in the insurgency camp, and they are only mentioned in passing. Finally, Horowitz devotes but twenty-five pages to the period since 1964. Surely the New Right, Moral Majority, and the Reagan "Revolution" deserve more consideration.

This is a valuable book that signals a new approach

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to American political history. It constitutes a rich mine of information for both specialists and more general readers. In outlining the issues and personalities of insurgency, it will serve as the necessary starting point for further investigation.

ROBERT ALAN GOLDBERG
University of Utah

PHILIP JENKINS. *Hoods and Shirts: The Extreme Right in Pennsylvania, 1925–1950*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. 343. $29.95.

During the 1930s, a time of great controversy over labor relations and the policies of the federal government, numerous extreme right-wing organizations developed significant followings in the United States. In this important book, Philip Jenkins examines the growth and activities of these groups in the large industrial state of Pennsylvania. Jenkins correctly argues that historians have not paid adequate attention to right-wing movements, whose ideology has influenced American politics to the present day, and he hopes that his work will inspire research on the right in other parts of the United States.

Dire economic circumstances, anger over New Deal policies, and the example of European fascism were the main reasons for the growth of right-wing political activism in the 1930s. Conservative extremism was also sustained by a tradition of racial and religious hatred that extended back to the mid-1920s, the heyday of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Although the Pennsylvania Klan—which, at its height, enjoyed a membership in excess of a quarter of a million—was a mere shell of its former self by the 1930s, the hooded order influenced the development of new hate groups by bequeathing a tradition of rabid anti-Semitism and militant Americanism. This anti-Semitism and xenophobia quickly blended with apprehensions over the growth of communism and labor radicalism, to the extent that groups like the Philadelphia-based Anti-Communism Society viewed Jews and Communists as virtually synonymous.

Other right-wing organizations were sustained by Old World ethnic and national loyalties. In the early 1930s, the Fascist League of North America (later renamed the Lictor Federation) achieved dominance over most of the state's Italian cultural and fraternal societies, and by 1936, thousands of Italian-Americans had joined the paramilitary Blackshirt Legion. The pro-Nazi German American Bund exerted a similarly powerful influence within Pennsylvania's mainstream German ethnic societies and attracted a sizable following. Many Irish-Americans were drawn to the vehemently anti-Semitic Christian Front of Father Charles Coughlin, and pro-fascist sympathies were openly displayed by Pennsylvanians of Ukrainian, Croatian, Lithuanian, and White Russian background. Growing anti-Semitism was also evident among Pennsylvania's African-American population. As this book makes clear, racism, anti-Semitism, and antidemocratic authoritarianism were hardly confined to the native-born, white, Protestant community during the 1930s.

American entry into World War II soon resulted in the suppression of many right-wing movements, most notably the German American Bund and the Christian Front. Organized anti-Semitism survived in small groups such as the Mothers' Movement, but homegrown fascism was clearly in decline. As the postwar crusade against communism would prove, however, many of the fears and anxieties that had distinguished the right in the 1930s dominated the political mainstream in the late 1940s and 1950s. Far from being marginal and historically insignificant, right-wing extremism reflected impulses and motivations that lay close to the heart of American political and social life.

Studying relatively small and short-lived organizations that left few records is a very challenging undertaking, and the author deserves praise for the valuable information that he has amassed. Jenkins is particularly effective in demonstrating how right-wing groups changed over time and interacted with the political mainstream. Nonetheless, one wishes that the author had provided more information about the social and personal characteristics of rank-and-file extremists. He discusses the beliefs and activities of such notorious right-wing leaders as the gun-toting Bessie Burchett and the German American Bund's G. Wilhelm Kunze, but readers are left without a clear sense of who followed these leaders. Indeed, perhaps because of his limited data, Jenkins at times falls back on stale and unconvincing explanations for right-wing activism, citing a fear of change and status anxiety. As recent local studies of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s have amply demonstrated, such evaluations are often not sustained by the evidence.

In addition to the right-wing groups mentioned above, the book includes discussions of the Silver Legion, the Khaki Shirts, the Order of '76, and other extremist organizations. Based on a rich variety of primary and secondary sources, this insightful and balanced study significantly advances our understanding of the right in American politics. Jenkins's book will almost certainly prove to be a standard source for scholars as they attempt to learn more about this neglected aspect of the national experience.

SHAWN LAY
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ELLEN GRAFF. *Stepping Left: Dance and Politics in New York City, 1928–1942*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 248. Cloth $49.95, paper $17.95.

Over the last several years, the infusion of cultural analysis into the historical inquiry of the Depression era has deepened our understanding of this complicated time period. Given the serious questions raised by the failure of capitalism and its kin democracy to deal adequately with the economic collapse, many turned their sights to radical solutions. New Deal historiography has long focused on the tensions be-

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tween the Roosevelt administration's ability to deal with the social and economic issues of the day, which called for radical government intervention, and the survival of capitalism. What has begun to come to light, with monographs like Ellen Graff's, is that the battle between modern and radical was fought on many levels, not just within the political and economic realm. At the heart of Graff's book is the struggle within the emerging modern dance movement, centered in New York City, both to become accepted as an art form (modern) and to address the social crisis brought on by the Great Depression (radical). Much like other cultural manifestations, the "agitprop techniques and heavy symbolism [of radical dance] . . . were inconsistent with the goals" of artistic acceptance (p. 9).

Graff's study parallels those dealing with other art forms, from painting to music to sculpture. Modern dance, with its nontraditional and anti-academic approach, sought to free the dancer from the artistic restraints of the past and use the body to interpret and display meaning. New York City's Greenwich Village was home to the dance studios of the pioneer teachers of this radical new way of dance, among them Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman, Helen Tamiris, and Martha Graham, where, immersed in the proletarian activism of the early 1930s and combined with the working-class and immigrant roots of many of their students, modern dance became a "weapon in the class struggle" (p. 35). But making dance an "instrument of social change" (p. 75) was complicated ideologically and artistically. Dancers like Edith Segal, Miriam Blecher, Sophie Maslow, Anna Sokolow, and those who danced under the auspices of the New Dance Group and the Theater Union tried to fuse radical politics to dance but found audiences outside the worker community less receptive. An example of this radical/modernist dilemma is the 1935 creation of the Federal Dance Project (FDP) in New York City. Initially under the direction of Don Oscar Becque, the project was rife with problems stemming from what the dancers wanted and the mission of the project. The inability to find a middle point between the humanitarian needs of the project and the dancers' drive to create cutting-edge productions led first to Becque's resignation, followed by those of several of his successors. While the FDP was able to stage several entertaining productions, especially Helen Tamiris's *How Long Brethren?*, its radicalism led to its demise by 1938.

By the latter part of the 1930s, a clear division between the radicals and the modernists was evident. While the radicals under the FDP initiated the first theater sit-down strike in May of 1937 to protest proposed congressional cuts in funding for the arts, modernists like Martha Graham were redirecting dance to include more populist themes. Graham's 1938–1939 production of *American Document* explored what made America great, from its people to its idealism, and proved popular with the people. The production helped to expose Graham to a larger audience, and many within modern dance, including Jane Dudley, Humphrey, and Maslow, began to experiment with more populist themes. By 1942, the "revolutionary dance movement [that] began with fierce involvement in working-class issues" (p. 152) was, for the most part, gone. The period after the war found the modern dancers, under the influence of Graham and Humphrey, "divorced . . . from contemporary realities" (p. 154) and accepted as high art. The radical ideology of modern dance's early years was submerged in the acceptable nonpolitical artistic format, and those former radical leaders like Tamiris who found themselves outside the dialogue of dance aesthetics found employment in Broadway musicals or as neighborhood dance teachers.

Graff's book is an informative study of a neglected cultural movement, which should appeal to a variety of interested persons. Linear in its approach, the book complements many of the more recent studies of the era, like Lizabeth Cohen's *Making a New Deal* (1990), which seek to locate the dialogue of radical and modernist ideals in 1930s America outside the political realm. Unfortunately, Graff's study only examines dance in New York City and not how, or if, these issues played themselves out in other areas of the country. I get the sense that what came to be true in New York came to be the truth for the rest of the country in regard to dance, but Graff never makes this claim. In effect, while informative, this book serves as an introduction to the study of modern dance in America and will, I hope, lead to the study of how other regions participated or reacted to these changes.

KENNETH J. BINDAS
Kent State University

CHRISTOPHER PHELPS. *Young Sidney Hook: Marxist and Pragmatist*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 257. $35.00.

It is one of the great ironies of John Dewey's career that he may have had more impact on American Marxism than on American philosophy. He cared far more about the latter than the former, but a number of left-leaning intellectuals adopted the defining insights of Deweyan pragmatism as guiding principles for radical politics. No more successful than Dewey in transforming academic philosophy, these students and disciples played key roles in both the Progressive and Depression-era lefts.

The effort to evaluate what Christopher Phelps calls "pragmatist Marxism" has yielded, predictably enough, a snarl of disagreements. Phelps leads us once more into this mess by tracking the early, radical adventures of Sidney Hook, the most brilliant of Dewey's Marxist students. A committed socialist before enrolling at Columbia in the mid-1920s, Hook found in pragmatism resources for challenging what he was already deriding as the stale, formulaic Marxism of the American Communist Party (CPUSA). Between 1928, when he visited and effusively praised the Soviet Union, and

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1938, when he abandoned and bitterly condemned Marxism as a whole, Hook urged pragmatism upon his comrades as a means of both ventilating socialist thinking and acclimating Karl Marx's ideas to America. In deep philosophical inquiries, caustic polemics, and practical manifestoes, he built Dewey's "appreciation of democracy, flexibility, and action" into a case for revolutionary socialism that Phelps deems "one of the most substantial contributions to Marxist philosophy in American history" (p. 9).

The general outlines of Hook's story will be familiar to anyone who has had occasion to follow the exploits of the New York intellectuals. Phelps hopes to engage this audience of scholars, socialists, and bemused ex-socialists by proposing a fresh, textually grounded perspective on Hook's reading of Marxism and hence on the precise dynamics of his disillusionment with it. Unlike New Left historians, who simply presume the incompatibility of pragmatism and Marxism, Phelps takes seriously Hook's claim that they were "each necessary to the other's fulfillment" (p. 8). Where other scholars have read Hook's subsequent anticommunism as either the natural outgrowth of his pragmatic radicalism or a sudden achievement of clarity, he sees a "renunciation, not reconfiguration" (p. 229) of still defensible political commitments. Neither an apologist-in-waiting for liberal capitalism nor a social democrat in thin Bolshevik disguise, the young Hook was author and active proponent of a truly "democratic revolutionary theory" (p. 9), staunchly opposed to capitalism and social democracy as well as Stalinism.

Phelps's ambition to resurrect a revolutionary Hook inspires him to report in detail on books and proclamations that other historians typically mention in passing. In this, the book deepens our appreciation of the varieties of 1930s Marxism, not least by showing clear similarities between Hook's "idealist" rendering and those offered by European contemporaries like Georg Lukács and, especially, Karl Korsch. Phelps succeeds as well in tracing the connections between Hook's thinking and his activism, particularly as he moved out of the CPUSA's orbit and into a working partnership with A. J. Muste's American Workers Party.

Too often, however, taking Hook seriously comes down to taking his word, which means that Phelps more reiterates than interrogates Hook's main assertions. To say, for example, that pragmatism and Marxism share a commitment to "purposive action" is to say rather little: not only is it hard to find anyone not made of straw who believes otherwise, but it is all too easy, after investing such a general claim with great interpretive significance, to overlook critical differences between Dewey and Marx. After citing a contemporary reviewer who pointed out, against Hook, that Marx and Dewey had opposing views on key epistemological and psychological issues, Phelps dismisses him out of hand for substituting "intellectual prejudice for argument" (p. 83). Since this book contains no discussion of empiricism or psychology, the reader has no way to evaluate the dispute. Phelps's habit of making fools or knaves of Hook's critics heightens the risk of accepting his account of pragmatist-Marxist consanguinity on faith. In like fashion, his readiness to swallow the argument that proselytizing for Muste or, later, the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas was a form of revolutionary practice taints an otherwise informative account of Hook's politics.

Hook's career probably attests most dramatically to the power of the Bolshevik Revolution in its early years, as it reached across seas and continents to make ordinary social democrats say things they would soon regret. By contesting this and all other uncharitable views of Hook's radical years, Phelps gives those still engaged by the issues Hook raised much of substance to chew on.

BRIAN LLOYD
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JAMES G. RYAN. *Earl Browder: The Failure of American Communism*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 332. $34.95.

It is perhaps ironic that, at a time when "Moscow gold" no longer figures prominently in the vocabulary of American politicians and pundits, it has reemerged as an issue among historians of American communism. The recent opening of the archives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern has yielded a treasure trove of documents that have rekindled old controversies but that also make possible a more definitive assessment of the relationship between the Soviet and American parties. James G. Ryan makes extensive use of these archival materials in his biography of Earl Browder, a man who went from bookkeeper at a Standard Oil subsidiary to leader of the American Communist Party (CPUSA).

The documents that Ryan unearthed in Moscow provide new, and important, information. At times, they illuminate the "secret world of American communism" that has preoccupied historians John Haynes and Harvey Klehr. But they do not seem to have yielded a dramatically new assessment of Browder or of the internal dynamics of the American Communist movement. As a high-level apparatchik for virtually his entire career, Browder was enmeshed in an international organizational network that not only cemented the ties between the Soviet and American parties but involved at least an awareness of the espionage that was among the network's secondary components. (During the 1930s, Browder's sister Margaret engaged in clandestine activity for the Soviets in Nazi Germany, and his brother William hosted a high-level Soviet spy in his New York home.) The vast majority of American Communists had no connection with this "secret world," however, and Ryan acknowledges that even Browder "enjoyed a real degree of autonomy" (p. 2) in his relations with the Soviet leadership. During his tenure in office, from 1932 to 1945, the CPUSA grew

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dramatically. By the end of the 1930s, it had nearly 100,000 members, and, in May 1938, Browder was featured on the cover of *Time*. Throughout this period, his goal was to reconcile Marxism-Leninism with the Great Plains radicalism he had embraced as a youth. Although he ultimately failed in this endeavor, his was a meteoric and sometimes exhilarating journey.

Browder was born in Kansas, the eighth child in a family of ten. His parents had farmed—and failed—on the Kansas frontier and then settled in the city of Wichita, where his father William taught school, joined the Socialist Party, and developed a reputation as the village atheist. When William suffered a nervous breakdown, Earl was compelled to leave school and become a department store errand boy. Thereafter, says Ryan, he "displayed a lifelong hostility toward the economic system that cut short his childhood" (p. 8). But Browder was a peculiar combination of the rebel and the bookkeeper. He joined the Socialist Party at age fifteen and went to prison during World War I for resisting the draft. Unlike his Communist Party rival and nemesis, William Z. Foster, however, he had little contact with the American working class and was never a mass leader. He rose in the Communist Party apparatus mainly by applying his managerial skills, and Ryan concludes that "he oversaw the CPUSA much as a manager might run a large corporation" (p. 136). When he ascended to the leadership of the party, it was at Moscow's behest; ideology played little or no role in his selection. And when, in the mid-1930s, the Communist movement shifted rightward, Browder moved as far right as the Comintern would allow. American Communists proclaimed that their goal was to build "A Free, Happy, Prosperous America" (p. 111), and "Yankee Doodle" vied with the "Internationale" as the anthem of choice at party conventions. Ultimately, during the unique circumstances of World War II, Browder declared that "class divisions . . . have no significance now" (p. 218), and he offered to shake J. P. Morgan's hand and join him in seeking a postwar world of peace and prosperity.

Browder was hardly alone in this revisionism. Even some of his harshest Communist critics sought to forge unity with capitalists in the urgent quest to defeat fascism and ensure the survival of the beleaguered Soviet Union. But, says Ryan, Browder "excelled at taking other people's ideas to unprecedented extremes" (p. 233). In 1944, he decided, unilaterally, to disband the Communist Party and replace it with the broader and more open Communist Political Association. Hardly any of the party's members, and only two of its leaders, objected to this departure from the Leninist model. But within a year, powerful voices from abroad denounced "Browderism" as a "notorious revision of Marxism" (p. 247). The American party was quickly reconstituted, and, in 1946, Browder was expelled.

In assessing the failure of American communism, Ryan pays a good deal of attention to Browder's own failings. At one point, he says that "character flaws prevented him from acquiring a million followers" (p. 2). He believes, moreover, that Browder exercised authority badly, and that as his power peaked "his ego raged beyond control" (p. 217). But surely a better version of Browder would not have attracted a million followers in any case. Indeed, as Ryan himself emphasizes, Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the American party's slavish allegiance to the Soviet Union, account for the failure of American communism more than its leader's character flaws. The great irony of Earl Browder was that, even as he sought to regenerate the American radical tradition, he remained an obedient and enthusiastic Stalinist. Stalin, after all, had placed him at the head of the American party, and Browder was a loyal acolyte right to the end. Therein lies the failure, and the tragedy, of American communism.

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MATTHEW J. DICKINSON. *Bitter Harvest: FDR, Presidential Power and the Growth of the Presidential Branch*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 267. $49.95.

Students of the modern presidency point to American involvement in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal, and the Iran-Contra affair as examples of how presidents have been poorly served by their staffs in recent times. Especially since the Nixon administration, the executive branch of the federal government has increasingly become dominated by a bloated White House bureaucracy plagued by controversy and scandal. Functionally specialized and hierarchically arranged, the huge presidential staff has proved less capable of providing the kind of reliable advice that presidents must have to engineer sound policy and survive politically. If the current model of a multilayered, highly specialized White House staff is unwieldy, how might the presidency best be organized today?

Matthew J. Dickinson argues in favor of the staffing arrangement perfected by the creator of the Executive Office of the President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. As prescribed in the Brownlow Report, which he commissioned and heavily influenced, Roosevelt fashioned a small, generalist White House staff while expanding a variety of institutional staff agencies throughout the capital. Implementing what Dickinson calls a system of "competitive adhocracy," Roosevelt pitted the members of his small group of advisers against each other to foster debate and creative tension. Presidential subordinates, both military and civilian, complained bitterly about the informal administrative structure in the White House, indistinct lines of authority, and Roosevelt's duplicity in dealing with rival aides, but these apparent flaws actually derived from a clear design that yielded satisfactory results. Dickinson contends that, with FDR's refinements in place by 1939, the performance of the White House staff can best be judged during the war years. Accordingly, four chapters in the heart of the book consider economic

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mobilization prior to Pearl Harbor, administration of war production, management of the national security bureaucracy, and Roosevelt's performance as commander-in-chief. In each instance, the author finds FDR's performance exemplary.

Dickinson painstakingly outlines the successful strategies employed by Roosevelt that contrast so sharply with White House operations utilized by recent presidents. First and perhaps foremost was FDR's absolute refusal to delegate authority, despite the press's incessant attempts to identify an "assistant president"—a very different approach from Ronald Reagan's detached managerial style. The creation of overlapping staff functions and the assignment of tasks to more than one agency produced an admittedly inefficient system, one that bred frustration among competing bureaucrats, but it also generated healthy rivalries and allowed for executive decisions to be made at various points. To counter the lethargy of the entrenched Washington bureaucracy, Roosevelt created new government organizations to implement new programs. Therefore, his direct control of the Depression-era "alphabet soup" agencies as well as the industrial production and price control agencies during World War II provided for maximum flexibility. Most notable in light of the recent mushrooming of White House aide positions was FDR's insistence on keeping the staff small and manageable. Could such principles work today in a much more sophisticated world where the demands on presidential leadership have increased significantly? Dickinson rejects the notion that FDR governed in a simpler time, noting that no other president of this century has had to grapple with such crises as the Great Depression and World War II. If the management burdens that have been added to the presidency in the last fifty years can be removed, the author concludes, Roosevelt's approach may be just as effective today.

Dickinson has written a provocative volume whose prescriptions will engage political scientists and whose analysis of Roosevelt's policy making will interest New Deal historians. The product of extensive research in the Roosevelt Presidential Library and various Washington repositories, this book is an impressive piece of scholarship thoroughly grounded in the political science secondary literature. By contrast, however, the author cites only a modest number of titles from the rich secondary literature written by historians on the politics of the Roosevelt era. Also, the author admits to having "largely ignored" FDR's role in the birth of the Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)—a curious omission, given the book's considerable attention to the CIA's involvement in the Iran-Contra scandal (p. 202, n. 78.). Such minor shortcomings do not detract from Dickinson's achievement; this is a thought-provoking study of an important topic.

ROGER BILES
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STEPHEN B. ADAMS. *Mr. Kaiser Goes to Washington: The Rise of a Government Entrepreneur.* (The Luther Hartwell Hodges Series on Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 239. $39.95.

This book is not a biography but rather a case study of Henry J. Kaiser as a "government entrepreneur." Hence, following a brief account of Kaiser's early life and career—his childhood near the state-built Erie Canal, his experience with government as a road and dam builder in the West—Stephen B. Adams launches his basic story of the "symbiotic relationship" between Kaiser and government during the late New Deal and World War II. Here he proceeds somewhat along the lines of Jordan A. Schwarz (not Schwartz) in *The New Dealers: Power Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (1993).

The role of government entrepreneurship, Adams argues, has been undervalued. Traditional American belief, centered on the notion of the private entrepreneur battling against torpid bureaucracies, ignores the frequent intertwining of entrepreneurial and public processes. That intertwining, Adams holds, has occurred throughout American history: witness, for example, public involvement in canal building during the nineteenth century, including the famed Erie Canal—and continues at the end of the twentieth century. Publicly intertwined entrepreneurship, however, received a huge impetus with the expansion of government during the New Deal and Kaiser, its most successful practitioner, rode the wave.

In the development of his guiding concept of government entrepreneurship, Adams cites the Austro-American economist Joseph A. Schumpeter. Schumpeter, in his view that the innovative entrepreneur was the source of economic progress, thought esssentially of heroic private individuals and was himself a fierce opponent of the New Deal (although he did acknowledge on occasion that public agencies could function successfully in entrepreneurial roles). What Adams does is to revise Schumpeter's concept to focus on entrepreneurial interaction with government. Hence, in contradistinction to what Adams (perhaps a bit simplistically) labels the "Progressive" view of business-government antagonism, he posits the story in this instance of remarkable business-government cooperation and synergy.

Adams is at pains to stress that the relationship between business and government—between Kaiser and the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration—was not a one-way street. He does not present a simple story of Kaiser using government to attain his ends. Indeed, it was often the other way around, with the administration using Kaiser to attain its ends. Most accurately, Adams's story is one of a mutually rewarding relationship: Kaiser's initiatives were typically undertaken with administration prodding and encouragement. The list of Kaiser's allies in Washington reads like a who's who of New Dealers: Tommy Corcoran, Marriner Eccles, Leon Henderson, and Harold Ickes,

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not to mention Roosevelt himself. Adams's point is that energy, initiative, innovation—entrepreneurship—came both from public officials and from Kaiser. They came to him for help in challenging oligopolistic industries, for example, and he came to them with concrete proposals on how to accomplish their objectives. This was, Adams holds, a kind of New Deal "industrial policy" (p. 102) reflecting a blending of public and private objectives and skills. Or, as the author puts it in discussing the two prime movers, "Henry Kaiser was Franklin Roosevelt's industrial alter ego" (p. 10).

Clearly Kaiser as a business personality fit the New Deal mold. He was not just a government entrepreneur; he was a New Deal entrepreneur, and if not *sui generis* then at least *par excellence*. Kaiser was anything but a stand-pat conventional "manager" presiding over an established, on-going corporation, adjusting here and adjudicating there. He disdained formal organizations, hierarchical structures, and fixed channels. He was a "personal" capitalist, intervening, adapting, and improvising as he went along. He exercised "political savvy," employed "lawyer-lobbyists," was a promoter as well as an industrialist, and entered diverse fields, pouncing wherever he saw (or was provided) an opening.

Adams's book is less a "case" than a "special" study. Outlining late New Deal economic ideas, he writes of Kaiser that it would be "difficult to imagine a government ideology better suited to the personal style of a businessman" (p. 56). How many entrepreneurs are as well-suited by personality, skills, empathy, and background to fit a reform administation as was Kaiser?

Although I find Adams's concept of government entrepreneurship illuminating and quite agree that it has appeared on one form or another throughout American history, I wonder whether the particular confluence of Kaiser's and the New Deal's characteristics constitutes a fortuity not easily replicable in terms of its singular success. Whatever one's reservations about the generic applicability of the book's conceptual apparatus, however, "Henry Kaiser's saga" (p. 45) makes for a good historical story now just as it made for lively journalism during World War II.

THEODORE ROSENOF
Mercy College

G. PASCAL ZACHARY. *Endless Frontier: Vannevar Bush, Engineer of the American Century*. New York: Free Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 518. $32.50.

Vannevar Bush never wanted a biography. One of the United States' most influential World War II scientists, by the end of the century Bush had faded into historical obscurity. According to G. Pascal Zachary, Bush may have wanted it so. Not that Bush was modest or apologized for his role in creating a national scientific and engineering establishment funded largely by the federal government. Rather, Bush had little confidence that non-scientists could get the story right. "I hope nobody'll ever write a biography of me," Zachary quotes Bush, "because I think it would probably be terrible" (p. 7). What Bush meant was that he did not "have much use for biographers"—or historians. Zachary reports that Bush "looked down his nose at the methods of historians, writers and the emerging fields of psychology and sociology. 'I have great reservations,' [Bush] once said, 'about these studies where somebody goes out and interviews a bunch of people and reads a lot of stuff and writes a book and puts it on a shelf and nobody ever reads it' " (p. 94).

As Zachary notes, by Bush's definition "much of history, the social sciences and the humanities were a failure" (p. 94). Fortunately for history, if not for Bush, Zachary has written a superb biography of one of America's foremost engineers. It would be a shame if this thoughtful book languished unread on dusty library shelves.

Zachary appropriately celebrates Bush's considerable achievements. Vannevar (*Van-EE-ver*; rhymes with beaver) Bush chaired the National Defense Research Committee (NDRC) before becoming wartime director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD). In both positions, Bush served as President Franklin D. Roosevelt's chief scientific and technical advisor. Best known for providing civilian leadership to World War II's major military research and development projects—radar, submarine detection, the proximity fuse, the atomic bomb—Bush helped mobilize American scientists in their own university and corporate laboratories. Although the war effort built major national science laboratories, Bush helped create a new federal science establishment largely built on research contracts with universities, research institutes, and industrial laboratories. At war's end, Bush became a leading advocate for the National Science Foundation (NSF) as envisioned in his landmark 1945 report *Science—The Endless Frontier*. Yet, if Bush deserves credit for being the "father" of the NSF, Zachary also records that Bush became disillusioned by the politics of big science. According to Zachary, Bush worried that "second-rate colleges" and "bogus research projects" would win federal funding while "top-flight" scientists might be hampered by political interference.

Admirable? Bush was no scientific populist, and perhaps not even a democrat. Zachary obviously admires Bush for his unqualified defense of J. Robert Oppenheimer when the Atomic Energy Commission purged the nuclear physicist as an alleged security risk. But while Bush could be heroic—"the Grand Old Man of American Science" (p. 378)—Zachary also writes that he was a strong-willed elitist well suited to serve Roosevelt during the war, but an anachronism in the post-war "American Century" he so profoundly shaped. Bush was no Boston Brahmin, but like many self-made men he had little appreciation for the social and political conditions that provided the foundation for his own success. The son of a Universalist minister, as a child Bush tinkered in his father's basement. He

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was an excellent student at Tufts and MIT, where he became an electrical engineer. Later, as a young engineering professor, he pioneered the development of analog computers and co-founded the Raytheon Corporation. In 1938, he moved to Washington, D.C., to become president of the Carnegie Institution. Remarkably, Bush was not required to resign from the Carnegie Institution when he later accepted his positions from the federal government. More problematic, Zachary writes, Bush and his colleagues were insensitive to conflict-of-interest matters. Because Bush wanted to fund only the most competent scientists, not surprisingly (from his perspective) he recruited among friends and associates during World War II. Zachary soberly comments, "Just eight contractors accounted for more than half of OSRD's spending, and the biggest contractor by far, MIT, had close ties to Bush and his senior deputies" (p. 248). While Bush's cozy old boy network thrived under the cloak of wartime secrecy, it proved an inappropriate model for the expansion of science in postwar America.

Was Vannevar Bush the twentieth century's reincarnation of Benjamin Franklin, as Zachary suggests? I think not. Zachary's portrait will not burnish Bush's image among postmodern critics of American science and technology. Nevertheless, his richly textured biography deserves close attention by students of recent United States history.

JACK M. HOLL
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NELSON D. LANKFORD. *The Last American Aristocrat: The Biography of David K. E. Bruce, 1898–1977.* Little, Brown. 1996. Pp. xi, 484. $27.95.

David Bruce lived a charmed life of sorts, and Nelson D. Lankford provides a fascinating chronicle of it. This lively and well-written biography, based heavily on research in Bruce's papers and diaries, presents World War II as the essential divide in Bruce's life. As the descendant of Virginia gentry, he enjoyed a privileged upbringing and fine education. In search of adventure, he served in World War I but saw no combat. Afterward he stayed on to sample the pleasures of Europe and began his "love affair" (p. 43) with that continent. When he returned to the United States, the charming and handsome Bruce proved something of a dilettante, unwilling to pursue a serious career. His 1925 marriage to Ailsa Mellon, daughter of Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon and partial heir to a vast fortune, removed any financial need for him to do so. Admired for his style and sophistication, Bruce lived in luxury and attended to certain Mellon interests, especially the development of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., but his marriage failed and he grew increasingly "uncomfortable in the gilded Mellon cage" (p. 106). World War II gave him the opportunity to escape.

Adolf Hitler's aggression confirmed Bruce as an internationalist, and he quickly rallied to support Britain by serving as the London representative of the American Red Cross during the Blitz. He then joined "Wild Bill" Donovan's Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and from 1943 headed OSS's European operations from London. Racing with Ernest Hemingway down the Champs-Elysées during the liberation of Paris helped to satisfy his youthful desire for adventure, but as Lankford persuasively outlines, the war also stimulated in Bruce a desire to do something of real value with his life. He divorced the troubled Ailsa Mellon and married Evangeline Bell, with whom he had worked at the OSS London headquarters. She would be his striking partner in a postwar diplomatic career that spanned every presidential administration from Harry S. Truman's to Gerald Ford's.

Bruce participated in the postwar American diplomatic revolution that drew the United States into an integral involvement with Western Europe. Lankford thoughtfully recounts Bruce's career, beginning with his work with Averell Harriman to secure passage of the Marshall Plan and his move to Paris to oversee its implementation. Truman named Bruce ambassador to Paris in 1949, and there he worked assiduously with Jean Monnet to develop plans for European economic integration and supported plans for a European Defense Community (EDC). A brief term as Dean Acheson's undersecretary in 1952 confirmed for Bruce that he much preferred the diplomat's calling to that of Washington policy maker.

Thereafter he had his preference most assuredly met. Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed Bruce special representative to the EDC and then ambassador to Bonn. In both posts, he focused his efforts on strengthening Western defenses. John F. Kennedy sent him back to London, where he labored against the odds to enhance the "special relationship" between Britain and the United States until the end of the Johnson administration. Bruce then attempted retirement but found it not to his liking, so he accepted both Richard M. Nixon's unrewarding assignment as head of the American delegation at the Paris Peace Talks and a 1973 appointment to head the first American liaison mission in Beijing. He found little to accomplish in China and was relieved to be asked by Ford to serve as American representative to NATO and the European Community. It was a fitting final appointment for this committed American Europeanist. Bruce did retire in 1976 and died the following year.

Lankford reveals well how David Bruce moved stylishly through his times, but his study does not cast much new light on these times or on the ways in which Bruce significantly influenced them. He proclaims Bruce "the essential diplomat" (p. 408) but is unconvincing in demonstrating Bruce's indispensability. He certainly clarifies that Bruce was much more than a "social ambassador" given to entertaining and fine living, but the Bruce who emerges from Lanford's story is less of a formulator of policy and more of a sounding board for and supporter of the policies developed by

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Monnet, Acheson, and Dulles. In a sense, Lankford's fine book unintentionally illustrates the limited influence in the determination of foreign policy of even so talented a diplomat as David Bruce.

WILSON D. MISCAMBLE, C.S.C.
University of Notre Dame

ARNOLD KRAMMER. *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1997. Pp. xi, 209. $21.95.

In contrast to the scholarly attention that has been devoted to the internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II, scant attention has been devoted to the case of Germans. Arnold Krammer seeks to remedy this neglect by offering an account of the political forces behind the decision to place 10,905 German aliens in dozens of internment and detention camps throughout the country, while simultaneously providing a sympathetic portrait of those who he is convinced were the victims of a gross injustice, or in the words of his title, of an "undue process."

Krammer's intent is to chronicle the assault on the civil liberties of Germans residing in America who, once the United States entered World War II, were increasingly viewed with suspicion by both the general public and the government. This assault, he argues, raises two major legal questions: what right did the government have to confine people without trial until a determination about their political loyalties could be made; and was it constitutionally permissible to detain indefinitely those found to be disloyal? The book does not, however, attempt to answer these questions. Rather, it assumes that both policies constituted unconstitutional acts.

The legal bases for the detentions during this era were contained in the Emergency Detention Act of 1939 and the Alien Registration Act passed the following year. These acts set into operation a campaign of surveillance into the German community in America. While the German-American Bund and similar organizations that had expressed public support for Adolf Hitler came under intense scrutiny, no group, however apolitical, appears to have been immune from investigation.

Krammer has a tendency to depict these events in overly stark terms by pitting, on the one hand, illiberal villains such as J. Edgar Hoover and, on the other hand, innocent victims caught up in the draconian policies of a nation at war. In fact, as is evident from the narrative the author provides, matters were considerably more complex. To begin with, Krammer never adequately wrestles with the reality of genuine national security concerns, which needed to be balanced with an appreciation of the civil liberties of citizens and resident aliens. Attorney General Francis Biddle does come across as a powerful voice of reason, but the reader does not obtain a very clear sense of the conflicts among the main political forces shaping governmental policies and public opinion.

One of the interesting features of the book regards what might be called "Hoover's dilemma." While Hoover's immediate wartime task was to ferret out Nazi saboteurs, his animus toward anti-Nazis, many of whom were Jewish and in his view likely to harbor communist sympathies, led him to be equally suspicious of their presence in America.

A most vexing issue concerns the number of those interned who actually were security risks or could in some fashion be defined as disloyal. Krammer contends that the number of committed Nazis in the camps ranged between fifteen and twenty percent, but he fails to provide evidence for this estimate. Furthermore, he makes no mention of the percentage of those who might be considered Nazi sympathizers.

This is an unfortunate omission, since one of the striking features of the camps was the prominent role Nazis played in them. For example, Nazis routinely used the camp's newspapers for propaganda purposes, and in other ways they appear to have wielded considerable authority among camp residents. Sometimes they relied on thugs to intimidate other internees. Why this was tolerated by the camp superintendents is never made clear. Moreover, I would have liked to know considerably more about the relationships among competing factions within the camps. Krammer contends that the authorities often confused ardent German nationalism with pro-Nazism and implies that the resentment that internment generated made the camps breeding grounds for pro-Nazi beliefs. I would like to have seen more compelling evidence for this claim than is offered herein.

Although this book does make a valuable contribution insofar as it introduces readers to a topic that has received little previous attention, it is only a beginning. Krammer engages in a bit too much muckraking, and, in the end, the book is long on condemnation but short on critical analysis.

PETER KIVISTO
Augustana College

WARREN F. KIMBALL. *Forged in War: Roosevelt, Churchill, and the Second World War*. New York: William Morrow. 1997. Pp. 422. $25.00.

Between September 11, 1939, ten days after the outbreak of World War II, when the president of the United States opened a back channel contact to the newly appointed first lord of the admiralty in London, and April 11, 1945, the day before his death and less than a month before Germany's surrender, when he assured the now prime minister that "our course thus far is correct," Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill exchanged over 1700 messages, nearly one per day. In these exchanges, the basis for Anglo-American cooperation was established, grand strategy developed, and vexing problems resolved. Together with nine wartime meetings, they established the firm

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friendship between the two men, made possible the finest example of coalition warfare in all of recorded history and, of course, orchestrated the defeat of Germany and Japan. Warren F. Kimball, who spent well over a decade trying to locate all of the pieces of that correspondence, has now undertaken a full appraisal of the wartime relationship between Roosevelt and Churchill and of what they accomplished together.

It is certainly a stirring tale, and Kimball has told it vigorously and well. In trying to interweave the all-too-many strands of the story, he occasionally obscures the forest with trees, but in the process reminds us how complex World War II really was and how uncertain its outcome appeared to be for so long. He deftly wends his way through the maze of World War II diplomacy, politics, and strategy in the various portions of the globe where the war was fought, assessing the impact the two leaders had on these developments and the strengths—and weaknesses—of their leadership that was thereby revealed. He devotes more time and space to Roosevelt, both because Churchill's conduct appears to have been more straightforward and direct, though not necessarily more enlightened, than that of the man he characterized as the juggler, and because the United States increasingly paid the piper as the war progressed, thereby allowing that man to call the tune. In a field as worked over as this one, Kimball has little new ground to break and few, if any, revelations to make, but he has carefully examined the existing literature and generally chosen wisely and well from among the various interpretations.

Among many other things, Kimball attempts to lay to rest the two Pearl Harbor myths: the older one that FDR deliberately sacrificed the Pacific fleet to enter the European war through the back door, and the newer one that his response to the attack was a persuasive example of the American racism that the proponents of this view blame for the wartime internment of Japanese-Americans and the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Kimball also rejects the various myths that have grown up about the last of the wartime conferences, the meeting with Stalin at Yalta, and in an appendix he argues against the oft-repeated allegations that Roosevelt's declining health was responsible for the allegedly reprehensible decisions that he made there.

These conclusions will not often please the ideologues of either the right or the left or, for that matter, the terminally politically correct. Like his other books, however, they give proper consideration to the forces unleashed by World War II, nationalism the most prominent among them, which produced results that neither Roosevelt nor Churchill could foresee or control, and they are supported both by whatever hard evidence can be mustered and by simple common sense. There are forty pages of frequently substantive notes and an adequate index. The otherwise comprehensive bibliography unaccountably omits *Roosevelt and Churchill: Their Secret Wartime Correspondence*, edited by Francis L. Loewenheim, Harold D. Langley, and Manfred Jonas (1975), which first published the key documentary sources for the present study and whose lengthy introduction and extensive annotations comprised the first serious attempt to explain what the two leaders forged in war.

MANFRED JONAS
Union College

C. X. GEORGE WEI. *Sino-American Economic Relations, 1944–1949*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 185.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1997. Pp. xvi, 230. $59.95.

In this book, C. X. George Wei seeks to remedy the tendency of historians to neglect the economic side of relations between the United States and China during the 1940s. This is necessary, he argues, to understand the reasons for the Nationalist failure and the impact of American economic policy on China during the crucial postwar years. Written against the backdrop of the Nationalist (KMT)-Communist (CCP) civil war and the emerging Cold War, Wei discusses the postwar United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) aid program in China, the Marshall Mission and its economic consequences, the Sino-American Commercial Treaty, the conception and enactment of the China Aid Act, the implementation of the China Aid Program (CAP) and the resulting bureaucratic conflict between the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) and the State Department. Wei revisits territory covered by Grace Hawes and Kenneth Kan, but he also breaks new ground in his discussion of the negotiation of the commercial treaty, the efforts of American business to shape economic policy, and the Shanghai Power Company.

What is novel is the interpretive framework that Wei imposes on these topics. Wei argues that postwar Sino-American economic relations were marked by conflict rather than cooperation, because both nations held very different economic objectives and ideologies. The United States sought to encourage liberal, capitalist, economic development in China in order to protect American business interests and to develop China into a powerful ally of the United States, thereby ensuring stability and peace in East Asia. The KMT regime, however, desired to establish a rapidly industrialized, planned economy to strengthen China against the threats of potential rivals in East Asia and the restoration of foreign imperialism. Ironically, American postwar aid to China under UNRRA, based on government-to-government funding and administration, undermined the American preference for reliance on the private sector. It also mislead KMT officials, who contradicted their commitment to self-sufficiency, to pin their hopes on continued large U.S. government assistance to advance their ambitious program of reconstruction and industrialization. Relations were further strained by American business organizations that pressured Washington to ensure a freer market and greater opportunities for their clients.

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Nanking was forced to make some meaningful concessions, but these did not satisfy private American interests or many government officials, who never achieved a complete consensus on short-term policy goals. Wei faults both sides for insisting on inappropriate models and unrealistic goals that, in the end, robbed Americans and Chinese of rich opportunities.

Wei's conceptual framework, which has been applied by scholars to other aspects of American postwar foreign policy, is insightful for some of the issues under study, but it is less useful in understanding others. In particular, he minimizes the impact of the civil war; the corruption, mismanagement, and disintegration of the KMT regime; and the intensification of the Cold War that cast doubt on his assumption that "rich opportunities" could be realized right after the war. Wei is also confusing and inconsistent in arguing whether "misjudgments" and "misunderstandings" of policy makers or different ideologies were primarily to blame for conflicts. Further, Wei's emphasis on the novelty of the unprecedented government-to-government UNRRA aid program slights the experience, and the resulting antipathy between American officials and Chiang Kai-shek's regime, during World War II.

Still, Wei makes a number of other contributions in his slim volume. His study confirms the limited influence of the China Lobby on the China Aid Act, but Wei provides a nuanced argument that takes issue with John Feaver's interpretation. Differing with the late Warren Tozer, Wei maintains that the Shanghai Power Company's decision to remain in China was based on policy decisions by company officials and not government policy or advice. Wei offers a sophisticated distinction between the political and economic use of economic instruments. His account traces the growing importance of political objectives between 1945 and 1949 more fully than Hawes, Kan, and others have done in their accounts of American aid to China.

Wei's study is based on extensive and thorough research of government and private American and Chinese archives; it also draws on many Chinese-language publications. Scholars interested in the topic should find it worthy of a careful reading and serious attention.

NOEL H. PUGACH
University of New Mexico

GREGORY D. BLACK. *The Catholic Crusade Against the Movies, 1940–1975*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 302. Cloth $59.95, paper $17.95.

With this sequel to *Hollywood Censored: Morality Codes, Catholics, and the Movies* (1994), Gregory D. Black completes what amounts to a two-volume Whig interpretation of movie censorship. What is (now), is right. The current rating system resulted from the unfolding of the natural logic of motion picture viewing in a free and democratic society. Black sharply criticizes the moral censorship practiced by Hollywood's Production Code Administration (PCA), under the direction of Irish Catholic layman Joseph Breen, and the Legion of Decency, a Catholic pressure group. Ironically, he nearly reduces the history of movie censorship to his own little morality play, pitting evil Catholic reformers against virtuous, humanistic film makers, with cowardly (and yes, greedy) studio executives watching from the sidelines. Black presents the PCA and the Legion as a united front: Breen "had more influence on the content and structure of films than any other single person in the long history of Hollywood" (p. 141), and "Legion priests . . . turned the Legion into a national board of censorship" (p. 2). Black acknowledges real disagreement between the PCA and the Legion over particular films, but he presents these conflicts merely as proof of the arbitrariness of moral censorship. Primary research that could have served as the basis for a study of the institutional dynamics of political pressure groups merely feeds Black's conspiracy theory of how a "religious organization got . . . power, used it, and finally lost it" (p. 3). The "vicious nature of the Catholic action" (p. 101) is tempered only by the Legion's prescience on the need for an age-based rating system and the heroic efforts of "theologians, Legion officials, priests, bishops, and, most of all, lay Catholics exercising their right of conscience" (p. 242). Black's book adds nothing to the current literature on the Legion and the PCA, and if anything, marks a serious step backward in the historiography of film censorship.

Following a chapter-long summary of his earlier book, Black continues his account of censorship through a series of case studies of controversial films. In the 1940s, with studio executives cowering under Breen's reign of terror, it was left to independent and foreign producers to challenge the code. The main challenge was, of course, sex, with Howard Hughes peddling Jane Russell's flesh in *The Outlaw* (1943) and David O. Selznick steaming up the wild west with his lust-in-the-dust epic, *Duel in the Sun* (1946). Italian neo-realist films drew criticism not only for their frank portrayal of sexual relationships but also for alleged Communist sympathies and hostility to religion. In the 1950s, screen depictions of sexual life took a darkly psychological turn in the various adaptations of the plays of Tennessee Williams. This repeal of reticence continued through the 1960s. By the 1970s, despite the best/worst efforts of the Legion, "brutally frank portrayals of the human condition" (p. 236) featuring profanity, graphic violence, and explicit sex had become the norm. Black acknowledges the material factors at work in the rise of the code (the studios' desire to avoid federal regulation and maintain monopoly control) and in its decline (the challenge of television), but he consistently subordinates these to a story of the natural, inevitable triumph of a middlebrow modernism among the masses. He uses canned summaries of various decades in place of historical analysis and embarrassingly long plot summaries of well-known films in place of textual analysis. Quotations from archival sources serve simply to connect the

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chronological dots of a basically moral, ahistorical story.

Film scholarship has long since moved beyond the "heroic" interpretation of censorship as a struggle between artistic freedom and repressive moralism. Francis G. Couvares has convincingly argued that the PCA and the Legion of Decency are best understood as attempts by Jewish and Catholic outsiders to achieve some measure of cultural authority within the Protestant moral consensus of mainstream America. Leonard J. Leff and Jerold L. Simmon's *The Dame in the Kimono: Hollywood, Censorship, and the Production Code from the 1920s to the 1960s* (1990) provides a much more insightful account of Breen as an up-from-the-streets ethnic, who, despite a strong anti-Semitic streak, had much in common with the Jewish studio executives; Frank Walsh's *Sin and Censorship: The Catholic Church and the Motion Picture Industry* (1996), while sharing some of Black's righteous indignation, provides a more complex account of the conflicts within the Legion of Decency and the larger Catholic community.

CHRISTOPHER SHANNON
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DANIEL J. SINGAL. *William Faulkner: The Making of a Modernist.* (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 357. $29.95.

Daniel J. Singal is a brave man. Surely anyone who is willing at this late stage of the game to enter the labyrinth of William Faulkner scholarship ought to be called courageous. By Singal's own count, "one recent Faulkner bibliography contains almost six hundred pages of entries" (p. 1). Intimidated neither by the existing volume of scholarship nor by the mine field of southern literary studies in the 1990s, Singal sets out in this brilliant but controversial book "to synthesize the existing scholarly literature on Faulkner" (p. ix) and to chart once and for all "the structure and nature of his thought" (p. 1).

Readers familiar with Singal's first book, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1945* (1982), will see that he has returned to his favorite story line: that of the rocky road taken by writers of the southern literary renaissance from the culture of Victorianism, in which they subscribed to the moral absolutes of their Cavalier ideology, to the reassembled fragments of an ultimately more "authentic" modernism, in which these same southerners, now worldly wise, accepted the universe as ambiguous and human identity as conflict-ridden. Where they once feared "animalistic" instincts, which they sought to conquer and repress, they now accepted the terrible complexity of "selfhood." Yet Singal has modified the view of Faulkner he advanced in his earlier book, wherein he concluded that "both visions of the southern past, Modernist and traditional, became inescapable for him, giving rise to the profound ambivalence that runs through his best writing" (p. 197). The subtitle of this new book reveals the extent of Singal's changed perspective. Although Faulkner, he now argues, suffered numerous regressions into Victorian absolutism, there is a clear trajectory evident in his work, the end point of which is essentially modernist.

This book, which combines close readings of Faulkner's work with psychoanalytic speculations about his life, is a combination of old-fashioned literary history and what English professors rather mistakenly refer to as "the New Historicism." As such, it will elicit both the wrath of conservative "New Critics," who will object to Singal's insistence upon committing what W.K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley called "the intentional fallacy," and the frustration of younger, left-leaning critics who will detect traces of neo-conservatism in his argument. Many southern literature experts will quarrel with Singal's not-entirely-successful effort to rehabilitate Faulkner's ailing reputation in the area of race relations. *Light in August* (1932), Singal insists, "is a damning portrait of the wellsprings of southern racism so advanced in its insights that it was decades ahead of its time" (p. 175). The contention of James Baldwin and others that Faulkner had a tendency to create African-American characters who "show no willingness to band together and challenge white domination," Singal further maintains, is "extremely unfair" in light of "the historical context in which Faulkner worked" (p. 263). Yet one could easily argue that Faulkner did more damage than he did good to racial harmony, and that Singal's otherwise well-argued book would have been even more persuasive had he incorporated the multiplicity of African-American perspectives on Faulkner's characters. One thinks of Houston A. Baker's dismissal of "the murmurings of Faulkner's Clytie and Dilsey" as minstrel distortions; indeed, Baker's *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance* (1987) would have made a critical addition to Singal's massive bibliography (Baker, p. 24). When one considers Faulkner's representation of African Americans against those of African-American southern modernists such as Alain Locke or Jean Toomer—or when one compares Faulkner's lame pronouncements on race to those of radical African Americans of the South such as Hosea Hudson—Faulkner falls short.

Yet while deaf to Faulkner's most severe critics, Singal is no apologist for Faulkner. Although Singal is stubborn and, to this reviewer, somewhat wrongheaded about the liberalism he wants to attribute to Faulkner, he has produced a powerful paradigm by which to evaluate this most famous of southern writers. If Singal is too dismissive of the most crushing critiques of Faulkner, his explications are both seamlessly written and stingingly original. It is abundantly clear that he has devoted a lifetime to thinking about Faulkner's work, and the study he has produced can

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lay claim to being one of the most engaging one-volume studies of Faulkner to have appeared.

THOMAS A. UNDERWOOD
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ED CRAY. *Chief Justice: A Biography of Earl Warren.* New York: Simon and Schuster. 1997. Pp. 603. $30.00.

Ed Cray has combined ten years of exhaustive research with judicious use of the insights of previous biographers, including Leo Katcher and G. Edward White, to produce the most comprehensive biography to date of the late Chief Justice Earl Warren. Cray's portrayal of Warren demonstrates the informed common sense that is the hallmark of a successful biographer, who must depict both the events of his subject's life and the context in which they occurred. Thus, he chronicles Warren's rise in the shifting kaleidoscope of California politics from assistant district attorney of Alemeda County to three-term governor, vice presidential and presidential candidate, and chief justice of the Supreme Court. For three decades, Warren was able to parlay his partisan use of a carefully crafted nonpartisan image, and his use of primary election crossfiling, into domination of the critical middle of the California electorate, despite the almost fanatical opposition of the right wing of his own Republican party and a massive Democratic edge in voter registration. Although Cray justifiably emphasizes the brilliance of Warren's personal political triumphs, it is ironic that they left the moderate-liberal wing of the California GOP in leaderless disarray and, with his departure from California politics, no match for its well-organized and financed Nixon-Knight-Knowland right wing.

The author's treatment of Warren's career as chief justice is more analytical and less gossipy than that presented by Bob Woodward and Scott Armstrong in *The Brethren* (1979). Cray's discussion of the politics behind the appointment adds little to what is already known. However, he correctly recognizes the crucial significance of Warren's victory over Felix Frankfurter in the struggle for the leadership of the court. Once Warren assumed that leadership and solidified the support of Hugo L. Black, William O. Douglas, and William R. Brennan, the three liberals who, along with Warren, became known as "the Jesus Quartet," he never looked back. Cray clearly describes the major decisions on civil rights, apportionment, criminal law procedure, and religion and the public schools that were at the heart of the Warren Court's judicial revolution.

That this most unlikely of men would use what Archibald Cox called constitutional decisions as instruments of reform seems, in retrospect, amazing. As Cray points out, however, the stunning activist decisions that marked his tenure as chief justice and stood in such marked contrast to his behavior during the Japanese internment crisis of World War II were the product of a matured conscience that would not allow Warren to escape confrontation with those aspects of American life that violated his fundamental sense of fairness.

The work is not without flaws. Cray misjudges the permanence of some of the precedents set by the Warren Court. His optimism must certainly be qualified, given the departure in recent decisions from the broad application of the exclusionary rule about tainted evidence in criminal prosecutions and the breakdown of the Warren Court's wall of separation in religion-state matters. Has Cray, as some critics have charged, overstepped the line between objective and overly sympathetic portrayal of his subject? Although he does tend to get carried away in his epilogue, where he likens Warren to an Old Testament prophet, there is no pattern of bias throughout the work, where he freely incorporates his own and others' criticisms of Warren. A case in point is his frank treatment of Warren's enthusiatic participation in the removal and internment of Japanese-Americans for security reasons during World War II, his later defensiveness about it, and his slowness to support redress for its victims.

Despite flaws in the work, Cray has most certainly captured the essential nature of Warren's personality, his ability to change and adapt without surrendering his principles. It is, after all, no mean feat to present a balanced, fascinating view of the personal and public life of a chief justice who shaped the constitutional doctrines of a dynamic, diverse society where liberty persistently contests with security and freedom and equality are eternally at war with each other.

JAMES C. DURAM
Wichita State University

ELIZABETH COBBS HOFFMAN. *All You Need Is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 306. $27.95.

Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman has given us the most comprehensive, balanced history of the Peace Corps to date. Grounded in a multinational archival base and supplemented by interviews with former volunteers (although unfortunately lacking a bibliography), her book covers the span of the Peace Corps' existence from 1961 to the 1990s. The bulk of the story focuses on the administrations of John F. Kennedy (who created it, under the leadership of his brother-in-law, Sargent Shriver), Lyndon B. Johnson (who believed in it and promoted it), and Richard M. Nixon (who sought unsuccessfully to eliminate it).

This finely crafted book demonstrates the author's sophistication in her ability to tell stories and explain developments at many levels. From the opening chapter, Hoffman deals carefully with both the ideology and the institution of the Peace Corps as each changed over time. She reveals both the construction of U.S. foreign policy by presidents and their advisers and the experiences abroad of individual volunteers. While focusing on this specifically American agency, she also

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clarifies the international context of "a larger global movement of volunteers" (p. 235) from Britain, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, France, Germany, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China—whose efforts particularly drew the attention of liberal Cold Warriors in the White House—going to work in the new non-industrialized nations.

One of the best examples of how this book operates at more than one level is its illumination of the mutual relationship between the United States and those countries receiving Peace Corps volunteers. Here Hoffman rejects the interpretation of the Corps as primarily a weapon of cultural imperialism. Her case study of Ghana enumerates the advantages for each side in the exchange, in particular the desire of the government of Kwame Nkrumah for an influx of English teachers to help tie that newly independent nation together linguistically.

In the earliest years of the Peace Corps, most volunteers were young college graduates who worked primarily as English teachers, going for a two-year stint to any nation that welcomed them. By the later 1960s, the Corps began a shift toward volunteers who were often older and had specific skills appropriate to the task of encouraging economic development, such as engineers and agricultural specialists. By the 1990s, the Corps was even sending volunteers to the nations of the former Soviet bloc, many of them with backgrounds in business. What Hoffman does so well is to capture the complexity and ambiguity of their experiences abroad: their joys, successes, frustrations, satisfactions, guilt, anger, and depression. Her respect for the commitment of the volunteers, their sacrifices, and their respect for the cultures in which they sojourned (what she calls their "seasoned liberalism" [p. 253]), moderated by a critical eye, drives much of the narrative of this book.

How important was the Peace Corps for understanding U.S. foreign relations and American society in the 1960s? Hoffman calls the Corps "the first mass movement of young Americans" (p. 251) in that decade. The African-American students who engaged in sit-ins across the American South in the spring of 1960 better deserve that description, but her point remains: tens of thousands of young Americans went abroad to work in places vastly poorer and culturally more foreign than any they had ever known, affecting both the people they worked with and themselves. The Peace Corps had arisen from the tensions between decolonization and the Cold War; it represented an effort to improve U.S. relations with new nations of the Third World and to encourage them to orient toward the West rather than the Eastern bloc by tapping the idealism of American youth. The Corps suffered from those tensions, as its staff and volunteers resisted their superiors' frequent efforts to wield them simply as tools of anticommunism.

Hoffman finds that resistance substantially successful. Rejecting what she calls "the sometimes hypercritical treatment of the Peace Corps" (p. 176) by other scholars, she concludes that the Corps drew on and kept alive "the best traditions of the United States" (p. 259), especially the belief in self-determination for all peoples. Yet she is in no way naïve about the many other, less altruistic aspects of U.S. foreign policy in these years, especially the war in Vietnam, "whose impact was far greater" (p. 259) than that of the Corps. Her contrasting of the work of volunteers, who lived and identified with Third World peoples, with the labors of American soldiers sent to kill people they commonly reviled as unknown "gooks" is poignant and painful.

Here we see in juxtaposition what some might call the "hard" and "soft" faces of empire. Students of the hard face will not likely deem the Peace Corps ultimately very important. But the soft face has found one of its best and most sophisticated historians in Hoffman. Her book abounds in insights and will reward a close reading by all whose business is either the 1960s or the American relationship with the rest of the world.

THOMAS BORSTELMANN
Cornell University

THOMAS A. TWEED. *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 224. $35.00.

In this first book-length study of Cuban-American Catholicism, Thomas A. Tweed analyzes devotion to Our Lady of Charity as an expression of Cuban diasporic nationalism. An American religious historian whose previous work concerned Buddhism in the nineteenth century, Tweed's turn to contemporary ethnography reflects several trends in the field: the study of the recent past, emphasis on marginal groups, use of multiple methods, and greater theoretical sophistication. From this case study, he develops a theory of religion and place that has wider implications for understanding the religion of displaced peoples.

In the first part of the book, Tweed sorts out the origins and multiple meanings of the shrine to its devotees. The story of Cuban exile Catholicism begins in 1961 on the feast day of Our Lady of Charity, when a replica statue of Cuba's patron saint was smuggled out of the island and reunited with the Cuban diaspora in a Miami baseball stadium. By 1973, a newly built shrine dedicated to the saint and looking over to Cuba across the waters of Biscayne Bay had become the sacred center of the exiled community. The great majority of the devotees are older, white, middle-class Cubans who see the shrine as a symbol of pre-Castro Cuban nationalism. Tweed's analysis, however, teases out undercurrents of conflicted and contested meanings. A minority of the shrine's visitors, for example, are Afro-Cuban followers of Santeria who see Our Lady of Charity as a manifestation of the African Yoruba goddess Ochún. While both groups celebrate a common Cuban national identity, Tweed demonstrates

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through interviews, participant-observation, and material artifacts how the shrine's Santeria devotees give different meanings to the Virgin's appearance, the uses of holy water, and annual rites that deemphasize the majority's emphasis on war and patriotism while highlighting the significance of slavery and race. Within this contested national identity, moreover, is a struggle over religious identity, tellingly illustrated by the Cuban clergy's use of the shrine as a means to purify nominal Catholics of the residue of Santeria that survives in their popular devotions. Tweed's striking analysis of these and other "contested meanings" is at times short on evidence (he offers only one example of an "invented ritual"), but he succeeds in revealing undercurrents of dissent and innovation within the dominant meaning of the shrine.

In the latter portion of the book, the author advances a theory of diasporic religion. Building on the insights of Jonathan Z. Smith and Charles H. Long, who argue that religions are ongoing processes wherein individuals map, construct, and inhabit worlds of meaning, Tweed holds that for first and second generation migrants, this cultural process is "translocative" and "transtemporal" in its tendency to move the exile community back and forth in place and time between the homeland and the new land. He shows the many ways the new immigrants transform their homes and neighborhoods to look, sound, and even smell like "the Cuba of memory and desire" (p. 10). Correspondingly, Our Lady of Charity is seen as a place that celebrates "Cubanness" more than Catholicism, for the shrine has few rites of baptism, marriage, or death. But this is the place where newborns are brought to visit the Virgin and be blessed by the priests, and the dead are remembered in prayers. Despite different understandings of what the shrine's symbols ultimately mean, all the devotees are joined by an attachment to the traditions and geography of the homeland.

Although some of Tweed's theoretical statements, such as "constructing place religiously involves engaging with contests with others" (p. 93), need further empirical grounding, his broad interpretive framework provides a new starting point for understanding the religion of displaced peoples. In a postscript, he appears to suggest that his study is intended not so much as a contribution to our understanding of Cuban-American Catholicism or as a theoretical reflection on the interconnections of religious identity and place, although it is both of these. Rather, it is an attempt to move students of American religion from older preoccupations with denominationalism, theology, and similar pursuits toward the theme of place—and the related subthemes of mapping, meeting, and migration—as indispensable for narrating religion in the United States and the Western Hemisphere. As pluralism enriches our present and is increasingly discovered in our past, studies like this point the way to one promising future for the field.

DAVID G. HACKETT
University of Florida

HOWARD GILLETTE, JR.. *Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning, and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 297. $32.95.

In an often brilliant, exhaustively as well as exquisitely researched analysis of Washington, D.C.'s physical and racial history, Howard Gillette, Jr., juxtaposes Pierre L'Enfant's plan, the tortuous history of the Mall, the shaping of F. L. Olmsted, Jr.'s Rock Creek Park, the evolution of the city's suburbs (spurred by the 1883 Pendelton Act), the turn-of-the-century James McMillan Commission and Washington as the "City Beautiful," and postwar redevelopment and gentrification against the history of the the city's weaker commitment to racial and social justice. In the latter, more diffuse examination, the author explores the District of Columbia's failure to address a shaky urban opportunity structure and to better the generally sordid living conditions of a growing black population, which by 1900 crowded the courts and alleys adjoining the sublime architectural treasures of Capitol Hill.

Throughout his study, Gillette raises the issue of Washington's exceptionalism. He sees Washington not only as a city carved out of a swampy wilderness and, despite George Washington's and L'Enfant's intentions, denied the tax base and infrastructure necessary for commerce and industry but also, and insightfully, as a creature of federal policy itself, for most of its history bereft of autonomy as well as the government largess enabling it to truly promote civic well-being. Although the district achieved a semblance of territorial administrative autonomy as a center of slave trading in the 1850s, Congress reasserted control in the 1870s, when, with the city's black population burgeoning, Mayor Sayles Bowen and political boss and public works director Alexander Shepherd, backed by business promoters, pursued an aggressive policy of city beautification (see Alan Lessoff's *The Nation and Its City: Politics, "Corruption," and Progress in Washington, D.C., 1861–1902* [1994]). The era, argues Gillette, sealed the district's fate as a city whose business was government and whose goal was beauty etched in marble and a sinuous Rock Creek Park. Like Shepherd, the 1901 McMillan Commission ignored the racial hovels of the "Secret City," although it was during the early twentieth-century Progressive era that the National Capitol Park and Planning Commission helped expose the city's alley world.

Gillette carries the tangled story of race and beauty through the 1930s (the creation in 1934 of John Ihlder's Alley Dwelling Authority and the rise of public housing) into the postwar era, the dislocation and havoc of renewal, the "community action" of the late 1960s that spawned the Model Inner City Community Development Organization, and finally, and somewhat ironically, to downtown renewal under the highly controversial product of the civil rights and black power movements, Marion Barry.

His conclusion, harder to decipher from the Barry

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saga than from his meticuloulsy sculpted earlier history, harkens to Washington's flawed structure of governance whereby, from the city's beginning, a "parsimonious" Congress "lack[ed] the will to pay for services not linked to its functioning" (p. 2). Instead, contends Gillette, Congress—through soaring architecture and imperial planning—symbolically separated the Capitol city from the real city, exacerbating a racial cleavage that worsened year after year. Gillette's remedy is the recession of Washington (the real city) to Maryland and the "Greater Baltimore" area, leaving the Capitol complex alone to the fate of Congress.

Gillette's beautifully crafted dichotomy is masterful, although his exploration of the modern era ignores most of the usually problem-ridden housing, social service, and educational initiatives running from the New Deal through the Great Society and Carter eras. More significantly, his study begs a closer inspection—not really part of this worthy study—of the similarities of Washington, D.C., to Philadelphia, New York, Atlanta, and other cities where similar research has been undertaken. Possibly, as Douglas S. Massey and Nancy Denton have shown in *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (1993), the key variable is race alone, and America's problem is racial segregation, a force so powerful that it transcends even the uniqueness of Washington as America's federal city. These are not meant to be criticisms but embellishment of an otherwise superb piece of urban and urban planning history.

JOHN F. BAUMAN
California University of Pennsylvania

JON C. TEAFORD. *Post-Suburbia: Government and Politics in the Edge Cities*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. v, 249. $32.50.

Jon C. Teaford suggests that, whereas much notice has been paid to the evolution of suburbs into what have variously been called "edge cities" or "technoburbs," there has been insufficient attention given to the development of post-suburban governmental structures. To make his case about the continuing significance of the suburban ideal in a post-suburban environment, Teaford examines six counties: Suffolk and Nassau in New York, Oakland in Michigan, DuPage in Illinois, Saint Louis in Missouri, and Orange in California.

Teaford offers his own periodization of suburban development, beginning with what he calls "the age of the suburban haven," which roughly occupies the period between the world wars, during which more elite-based suburbanites sought to reconcile "the village of the past with the conveniences of the present" (p. 10). He highlights the innovative organizational reforms in Nassau County, which served as an advance guard and then a model in addressing, through the establishment of a county executive structure, the issues of fragmentation and consolidation of services.

The postwar era (1945–1960), to Teaford, was "the heyday of suburbanization" and yet crystalized the ways in which suburban ideals of nonpartisanship, consensus decision-making, anti-urbanism, pro-village biases toward voluntarism, homogeneity, and autonomy clashed with emerging postsuburban realities. Initially, Teaford describes a "co-urban" set of compromises as postwar suburbs welcomed the industrial parks, the office complexes, and the shopping malls that brought employment opportunities and the tax revenues to pay for burgeoning suburban services. He justifies his use of the notion of post-suburbia through presenting evidence of the shift in all six areas of the relationship between home and work by 1970. By that point, more than half of the residences, in some cases upward of three quarters, were working within their home counties. As such, he points to the weakness of regionalization arguments that presuppose a community of interests between city and periphery; rather, he concludes that the new post-suburbs were increasingly in competition with cities.

Teaford describes the process by which early efforts at regionalization ran into resistance from those still committed to the suburban ideal of village autonomy. He devotes considerable attention to what he calls the "post-suburban imperialists" of the 1970s and 1980s, whose response to fragmented services was to seek consolidation through county operations. He offers innumerable examples of the power of the suburban ideal successfully blocking, diverting, or modifying post-suburban demands. Teaford does not consider the above tragic or merely nostalgic; rather, he suggests that a tenuous balance has been achieved between the two contending forces. He concludes by calling the mix of suburban parochialism and post-suburban planning "a marriage of convenience" (p. 206). Teaford transcends, for the most part, the battles, still unfortunately with us, between those whose admiration for the city requires them to excoriate suburbs in general and those whose embrace of the developing post-suburb too glibly lead them to pronounce the demise of our older urban centers.

Teaford's argument, however, is weakened by his virtual obliviousness to the ways in which the narrative of suburban and post-suburban have been marked by considerations of race, gender, and social class. In only a few and very brief moments does he address the ways in which the resistance of suburban communities to regionalization, consolidated services, especially regarding schooling, rested on racial attitudes and behavior. He ignores court rulings, particularly those dealing with school busing and regionalization, which have had profound impact on precisely the kinds of governmental issues addressed. One would like to know more about the ways in which developments in family life and gender relations and in social class differentiation were felt on the suburban ideal. Teaford does provide thoughtful evidence of the tensions between corporate, electoral, and local interests, but I would prefer a more nuanced examination of the tensions within those suburban villages. His periodiza-

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tion also tends to be confusing, given that he simultaneously views the postwar era as both suburban heyday and yet the period characterized by "the emerging post-suburban pattern" (p. 44). Nevertheless, this is a very useful and well-told narrative in which Teaford contributes much to our understanding of the history of suburban politics and government.

PAUL LYONS
Richard Stockton College

FRANCIS X. WINTERS. *The Year of the Hare: America in Vietnam, January 25, 1963-February 15, 1964*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 292. $29.95.

In 1963, the United States government encouraged the military coup that overthrew President Ngo Dinh Diem of the Republic of Vietnam. Neither President John F. Kennedy nor the officials who persuaded him to support the coup had in mind a competent replacement for Diem; they simply hoped that someone better would emerge. Francis X. Winters believes the decision was arrogant, foolish, and disastrous. He bases this book on declassified documents, published sources, and interviews with participants.

Winters is at his best tracing the details of the way the decision was made—who said what to whom at successive meetings. Some of this is new, and even familiar incidents are often so bizarre that their repetition is not boring. He does not try to shift blame away from Kennedy by placing it on second-level officials in the State Department. Kennedy made these officials' policy the policy of his government.

When Winters tries to place the decision in a broader context, key points often are inadequately proven. He is convinced that Kennedy planned to abandon Vietnam in 1965; that one reason that Kennedy was so unconcerned with the implications of the coup was that he had no long-term interest in Vietnam. A few people have testified that Kennedy told them he was going to abandon Vietnam, but Kennedy told a larger number of people he would not do so. Winters needs to explain more clearly why he is so sure Kennedy was telling the first group the truth about his plans, and not the second.

Winters believes that the war could have been ended in 1963; Diem had been about to begin direct peace talks with Hanoi when he was overthrown and killed. Even if everything in Winters's exaggerated account of the preliminary signals about this possibility had been true, it would be hard to see a basis for his hope that the direct talks could have produced, within weeks, a successful peace agreement.

Winters shows little interest in the war itself, except to wish that the United States had gotten out of it. He fails to notice the extent to which the Kennedy administration *was* interested in the war. He almost completely ignores the domino theory, the arguments that raged during 1963 over the progress of the war in South Vietnam, and the accusations by Diem's critics, in the U.S. government and in the press, that Diem's gross mismanagement of the struggle against the Communists was crippling the war effort. The last was a major motive for opposition to Diem—the primary motive, for some key players. Having omitted it, Winters exaggerates the extent to which these people were motivated by ideological distaste for Diem.

Winters says the Kennedy administration was demanding that Diem establish an American-style democracy in South Vietnam and turned against him in rage when he failed to do so. His detailed account of the events of 1963, however, does not support this view. There were many American demands that Diem reform his government, but these stopped far short of demanding American-style democracy. Winters traces the Kennedy administration's policies to an American belief that no political leader "could legitimately claim merit for a society that was structured on principles other than those of Jefferson and Madison" (p. 214). Unable to support this with quotes from Kennedy or Kennedy's top advisors, he devotes nearly two pages (pp. 212–13, 217, 218) to a Robert Frost poem recommending that the United States impose democracy in Third World nations.

Winters is unaware that there were U.S. military advisors in Vietnam in the late 1950s; he thinks that up to late 1961, Diem was able to shield South Vietnam from such a "taint of foreign influence" (p. 67). His belief that Diem placed a high priority on building democracy at the village level, seeking "to recapture the traditional ethos of the autonomous village" (p. 160), might have been illuminated by a study of the Strategic Hamlet program. There are many smaller errors.

This book is too unreliable, in broad outline and in detail, to be recommended for the student, the general reader, or the specialist.

EDWIN E. MOISE
Clemson University

H. R. MCMASTER. *Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies That Led to Vietnam*. New York: HarperCollins. 1997. Pp. xviii, 446. $27.50.

Over the years, numerous explanations have been given for America's failure in Vietnam. They range from the difficulty of the terrain to the work of the antiwar activists, from the deficiencies of America's Saigon partners to the superior dedication of Communist foes, from a flawed military strategy to the clash of incompatible cultures. In this thoroughly researched and fascinating book, H. R. McMaster emphasizes another reason for the failure. He finds the seeds of disaster in the bureaucratic maneuvering, petty competition, and private purposes and ambitions of the policy makers at the White House and the Pentagon.

McMaster confines his study to the period before July 1965, when Lyndon B. Johnson decisively committed the nation to a long and agonizing war by ordering large numbers of troops into the field. He also confines

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himself to a restricted cast of characters. His focus is almost entirely on the two presidents, John F. Kennedy and Johnson; their circle of close advisers, particularly Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and the bright young technicians upon whom he relied; and the military men, especially Maxwell Taylor, William Westmoreland, and members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). There is enough blame to go around.

Johnson earns McMaster's condemnation because he was seduced away from any serious consideration of Vietnam, first by the desire to be reelected in 1964 and then by his obsession with the Great Society programs. He also deserves criticism because he demanded consensus among his advisers and discouraged or ignored any dissenting opinion. Johnson (like Kennedy) distrusted military men and never weighed their counsel honestly. The civilian advisers, meanwhile, were cocky, more confident about statistical analysis than about the advice of experienced military officers, and eager to supply Johnson with exactly what he wanted to hear.

McMaster does not spare the military men. In some ways, the generals and admirals who comprised the JCS were the most culpable of all. They had a statutory duty to advise the president and a constitutional responsibility to the American people. But they were easily coopted by the White House and so deeply divided by loyalties to their individual services, so suspicious of the hidden aims of their colleagues, that they were unable to give unified or disinterested advice. For the sake of possibly gaining their ends piecemeal, they resorted to cowed silence and docile obedience in the face of presidential wishes, even when they knew better. In the process, they misled the American people by seeming to give the stamp of military approval to measures taken against their better judgments. Taylor, Earle Wheeler, and Harold Johnson come in for special criticism, although for differing reasons.

McMaster is not the first to notice that these political and military leaders played loose with the truth when they dealt with Congress or attempted to influence public opinion. His most important revelation is the extent to which they deceived *one another*. They did not share information that undercut their own positions, they shaded the truth with astounding regularity, they excluded one another from particular meetings, they played on personal friendships to get their ways, and they said nasty things about those who were not in the room.

These men were charged with deciding important policy and strategy questions. Should we use gradual pressure against the enemy or hit them with a "hard blow" at the start? Should we increase our presence in Vietnam or withdraw with as much dignity as possible? If the former, should we flood troops in quickly or trickle them in? Should our war aim be to defeat the North, to safeguard our credibility and prestige, to establish a viable South Vietnamese nation, or simply to deny the Communists a victory by fighting to a stalemate? These critical questions, McMaster convincingly argues, were rarely discussed seriously in the inside circles of political and military responsibility. They were always being subordinated—if not to Johnson's political needs and quirky personality, then to little struggles within the bureaucracy or suspicious interservice rivalries.

McMaster has done an admirable job of combing the records. He has digested countless memoranda, phone tapes, minutes of meetings, memoirs, position papers, handwritten notes, and interviews. No one will accuse him of failing to immerse himself in the documentary record, and he has done so with intelligence and control and fairness. If this important book is open to any criticism, it is about one of McMaster's basic assumptions. He seems to believe that if the presidents had been wiser leaders, if the advisers had been humbler and more honest, if the military men had been less petty and more courageous, if they had all been more open with Congress and the people, then, somehow, things in Vietnam would have turned out better for America. That is a matter of airy speculation, of course, and quite beyond the scholar's compass. Nevertheless, there will be many who will both admire this fine book and question its underlying assumption.

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ALLEN J. MATUSOW. *Nixon's Economy: Booms, Busts, Dollars, and Votes*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. xii, 323. $35.00.

Allen J. Matusow's important study of Richard M. Nixon's economy fills a gap in the historical literature. A gracefully written work, it is replete with penetrating and often startling insights, sharp analysis, and impressive research, and it offers a fresh account of how economic policy was shaped in accordance with the political objectives of the Nixon presidency.

According to Matusow, Nixon displayed little interest in domestic economic matters during the first two years of his administration: he simply went along with the policy of gradualism, via monetary and fiscal policy, hoping that it would produce a soft economic landing before a solid pick-up occurred in time for the 1972 election. Yet he worried that a recession could undermine his effort to construct the new majority he needed to ensure reelection in 1972, especially since unemployment remained at six percent in late 1970.

The results of the 1970 midterm election, which saw Democrats keep tight control of Congress at a time of rising concern about unemployment, changed the context for policy making at the White House. Nixon, reading the polls, knew that unless there was an economic turnaround, he was extremely vulnerable to Democratic attack in 1972. Determined to deny his opponents an issue while seeking to attract blue-collar voters, Nixon opted to move in a different direction. Thus, he appointed former Texas Governor John Connolly secretary of the treasury to help him redirect

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and redesign the administration's economic policies. A bold political operator, Connolly quickly took charge and persuaded Nixon to adopt a new economic policy that closed the gold window, forced Japan and Germany to reevaluate their currencies, imposed a ten percent border tax on imported goods, and instituted price and wage controls. Nixon regained the political initiative with those actions, and the Democrats lost control of their key domestic issue on the eve of the 1972 campaign.

If Nixon's new economic approach was driven by domestic political considerations, so was his conversion to a deficit fiscal policy and tax cuts amounting to over $11 billion in 1972. Working in tandem with Nixon was Arthur Burns, chair of the Federal Reserve Board, who responded to White House pressure and sharply increased the money supply in 1971 and 1972. The stage was set for the boom to come in an election year. And although that undertaking was successful from a political standpoint, it laid the groundwork for the large-scale economic disaster that followed, namely, the Great Inflation and the Great Recession.

Matusow contends that Nixon could have gotten what he wanted in 1972 without the dire consequences to come if he had had the patience to continue a gradualist policy that eschewed controls, larger deficits, and tax cuts. Nixon, however, was under extreme pressure not only to lower the inflation rate, but, more important from his perspective, to reduce the unemployment rate before the 1972 election. Moreover, Nixon had no reason to think that he was acting irresponsibly; his own advisors, including economist Herbert Stein, had informed him that there was enough "idle capacity" (p. 186) in the system to tolerate his policy of stimulated growth without fear of sparking serious inflation. By the time Stein admitted "we misinterpreted" (p. 186), the damage was long since done. It was not the first or last time in the Nixon years that policy advisors made recommendations based on faulty or erroneous information and judgments.

The wheels began to fall off Nixon's economy long before he was finally caught in the coils of Watergate. Matusow effectively narrates the story of that collapse with thoughtful analysis and rich detail. While moving from the jump in food prices to the energy crisis and the oil shock, he carefully explains how and why rampant inflation and a deep recession intersected inside the American economy, leading most Americans to be concerned with the high cost of living rather than Watergate. His background analysis of the energy crisis and its connection to the oil shock produced by the Organization of Petroleum Export Countries (OPEC) is especially impressive. Matusow makes a good case for the argument that government regulation of energy prices and oil allocations exacerbated the domestic market situation, making everything worse for American consumers.

By 1974, Nixon was finished as an effective president, just as the worst recession of the postwar era, largely provoked by the energy crisis, was about to unfold. Ironically, however, his administration opted to fight inflation rather than the spreading recession; this was, according to Matusow, the wrong medicine to apply to the patient. At the same time, Burns cut back on the money supply, which contributed to the "recessionary debacle" (p. 295). Thus, what should have been the proper policy in 1971 was pursued, wrong-headedly, by both the administration and the Federal Reserve Board in 1974.

As the Nixon presidency fell, it took with it the optimism and high hopes associated with the golden age of American capitalism. In addition, Nixon's mismanagement of the economy, concludes Matusow, "demonstrated the dangers of activism and exposed the inadequacies of the usual tools of policy" (p. 307). The new age of stagflation had arrived with a vengeance, bringing with it the emerging crisis of the welfare state and the beginnings of a conservative political renewal.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

K. O. LAURENCE. *Tobago in Wartime, 1793–1815*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies. 1995. Pp. viii, 280. $13.00.

Tobago was the shuttlecock of Anglo-French imperial rivalry. Acquired by Britain in 1763, taken by the French in 1781, recaptured by the British in 1793 but returned to France in 1802, recaptured again in 1803, it was finally retained by Britain at the peace in 1814–1815. Its strategic position—to windward of all the British Caribbean possessions except Barbados, and conveniently close to the markets of Spanish America—more than its economic value made it attractive to the warring imperial powers. In this well-researched book, K. O. Laurence examines the impact of English and French attention on the colony and its inhabitants through a series of topics including population, politics, administration and constitution, the slave system, the economy, the Christian churches, and the organization of defense. Laurence also locates the colony in the wider context of Caribbean developments, entering the debate with established authorities such as Lowell Ragatz and Eric Williams, although the subsequent revisionary overview of Seymour Drescher is missing from his bibliography.

The problem in reflecting on the wider debate from the Tobagan perspective is, as Laurence admits, that the apparent impermanence of imperial ownership made Tobago a special case. There was a reluctance among British speculators and mercantile houses to make long-term investments in an island that might be restored to France in a peace treaty. Hence Tobago failed to share in the dramatic economic expansion of neighboring Trinidad or the Dutch Guiana colonies under British occupation. It remained far more depen-

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dent than other islands on supply from the United States and was consequently subject to economic upheavals from the wildly fluctuating relations between that country and Britain. Hence while, like others, Tobago seized upon the catastrophe that befell French Saint Domingue to expand its sugar production, high costs from periodic shortage of provisions and lumber prevented it from benefiting by higher profits. Unlike other islands, it became an exclusive sugar monoculture, and by 1819–1821 it was paying the price with its slave population experiencing the highest rate of natural decrease in the British West Indies.

Uncertainty as to its political future also permeated the colony's relations with the imperial government, making it more anxious to please than other colonies in the 1790s. Disillusion at its return to France in 1802 soured the attitude of Tobago's Assembly from its reoccupation in 1803 until the popular governorship of Sir William Young (1807–1815). Young was one of the most intelligent of British West Indies' governors, an estate owner himself and the leading advocate of "amelioration" in the treatment of slaves as an alternative to abolition. He made it his business to be informed on the slave economy, and Laurence draws heavily on his voluminous letters and reports. This is necessary in view of the relative poverty of surviving documentary sources on the state of the island beyond the Colonial Office records in the Public Record Office in London. Laurence appears to have missed some Tobago estate accounts at Rhodes House Library, Oxford, and in the Chancery Masters' Exhibits at the Public Record Office, but otherwise he has been assiduous in scouring the archives, making particularly good use of the Ruddock-Steuart correspondence at the National Library of Scotland and of the records of the Moravian and London Missionary Societies. Partly through Young's efforts, Tobago has gained a reputation of being among the more enlightened colonies in its treatment of its slaves, though Laurence's account questions how far benignity extended beyond words into action. More direct information on slave life on particular plantations is needed, and in its absence Laurence remains heavily dependent on the wider eastern Caribbean coverage of B. Marshall's 1972 thesis on the British windward islands, Barry Higman's *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* and Elsa Goveia's *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands*, but this does enable him to show that many Tobagan ideas were derived from precedents in other islands.

Prolonged war, revolt (actual or, in Tobago's case threatened), and the abolition of the slave trade made the period from 1793 to 1815 critical in Caribbean history. Laurence has provided an able analysis of the impact of these events on Tobago in what is easily the most comprehensive examination of any individual British sugar colony at this turbulent time.

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SUSAN SCHROEDER, STEPHANIE WOOD, and ROBERT HASKETT, editors. *Indian Women of Early Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. x, 486. $29.95.

Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett's edited collection is a welcome addition to the colonial Mexican bibliography, both as a supplementary textbook for university teaching and as a scholarly resource. It adds new information and opens fresh perspectives on "women's history" for the premodern era and on the points of intersection between gender and ethnohistory both within and beyond those themes that are germaine specifically to Latin American history. The book's fourteen essays are distinguished by their regional foci and cluster thematically around women in the family, inheritance, marital patterns, and sexuality as well as women's roles as economic producers and active participants in religious movements and open rebellions in the context of Iberian colonialism. The illustrations, including regional maps, are appropriately selected, and the comprehensive bibliography provides a useful reference for ethnohistorical and gender studies.

This book offers a welcome geographic breadth, transcending the customary boundaries of the Mesoamerican city-states of central Mexico to include the Maya of Yucatán and the Tarahumara and Tlaxcalan peoples of the northern frontier. Chronologically, "Early Mexico" bridges the transition from late pre-Conquest social and cultural formations to colonial developments (i.e., from the late fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries). As Schroeder, Wood, and Haskett readily admit, the volume has no overarching thematic framework and, in some cases, the authors' conclusions "seem tentative [and] may even contradict one another" (p. 12). This gives the book flexibility and affords the contributors freedom to present widely diverse materials, but it weakens the editors' concluding remarks that, in a few instances, stray into inconsistencies and generalizations. To observe the distinction between sedentary and nonsedentary societies, for example (pp. 319, 327) or to assert that "differences in time, space, class . . . may well underlie the variegated sociocultural landscape inhabited by colonial indigenous women" (p. 320) is hardly new to the working methodologies of Latin American ethnohistory.

The contributions selected for this volume are based on primary sources as widely varied as notarial records, land titles, codices, ecclesiastical treatises, and criminal trials. The authors culled the archives for materials produced by or focused on indigenous women of New Spain and, where appropriate, placed emphasis on native language materials. Marta Espejo-Ponce Hunt and Matthew Restall deliberately contrast Mayan and Spanish documents in their discussion of "Work, Marriage, and Status" among different ranks of indigenous women in colonial Yucatán. Nahuatl-Spanish equivalents and their changing meanings are central to Wood's analysis of rural women's inheritance patterns, to Rebecca Horn's discussion of accul-

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turation viewed through naming patterns, to Arthur J. O. Anderson and Louise M. Burkhart's portrayal of marriage and domestic life, and to Francis Karttunen's spirited defense of Malinche. The use of native-language materials undoubtedly enriches the source base, but some of the essays slide into lengthy textual quotations and philological analyses that tell us more about the documents than about the histories they were meant to reveal.

Susan Kellogg, on Tenochca Mexica Women, and Susan Deeds, on the Tarahumara and Tepehuan women of Jesuit missions in Nueva Vizcaya, each provide theoretically sophisticated discussions of gender relations in the context of colonial domination. Kellogg integrates the symbolic realm of language with the material realm of marketplace exchange in her exploration of gender complementarity and social hierarchy through litigation. Deeds examines the "double jeopardy" of indigenous women in the mission *reducciones* that established a political hierarchy of male officials and explicitly set out to control the sexual, conjugal, and domestic lives of their neophytes (pp. 258–59). Through the prism of an unusual murder case, she relates the economic constraints on the Indians (men and women) who sustained the missions to criminal allegations of witchcraft and sexual deviance that were frequently levelled against women.

Leslie S. Offutt's study of the Tlaxcalan settlement of San Estéban in Coahuila focuses on the evolution of colonial ethnic identities in relation to the community. Offutt is sensitive to the limitations imposed by the documentary record for "hearing women's voices" even as she highlights a few cases in which women dared to "take more aggressive steps into the public realm" (p. 283), often to protest arbitrary acts by local authorities. She distinguishes between the corporate identity of these transposed Tlaxcalans who defended their town against the encroachments of Hispanic *vecinos* of Saltillo and the struggle by individual women of San Estéban to defend their personal rights in the colonial courts.

This same theme of community underlies Kevin Gosner's study of rebellion in the southern frontier of Chiapas. His discussion of women's roles in the Tzeltal/Tzoltzil Maya uprising of 1712, precipitated by the religious revelations of a young peasant girl, constructs a dual conceptual framework around gender and moral economy. Gosner explores the way Maya women bridged the private and public spheres, occupying places of greater or lesser visibility in the political, economic, and ceremonial life of their communities through direct contributions to the tribute economy and participation in ritual food exchanges (p. 223–25).

A recurring leitmotif that runs through these separate contributions centers on the concept of gender complementarity, distinguished from the dual paradigms of equality and patriarchy. Although elite women were more easily captured in the documentary record than their humbler sisters, this collaborative work is marked by a salutary recognition of class differences that produced contrasting historical experiences within the category of "Indian women." Ronald Spores's overview of Mixteca *cacicas* and noble lineages argues strongly for continuity in the strength of kinship ties that perpetuated the *cacicazgos* and for the important role that indigenous elites, men and women, played in forging the colonial culture of post-Conquest Mesoamerica (p. 195). Spores suggests that Mixteca *cacicas* had equivalent social and economic roles to their male counterparts, restricted only from formal officeholding. Lisa Mary Sousa's study of women and crime in colonial Oaxaca underscores the experiences of commoner women and explores the notion of complementarity in the familiar contexts of household and community. Taken together, the empirical evidence and case-by-case analyses presented in this volume constitute an important contribution in their own right and lay a promising foundation for future studies that may grapple further with the limits of complementarity and reciprocity in colonial milieux, in which social inequalities were frequently enforced by the intersecting divisions of gender and ethnicity.

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TIMOTHY E. ANNA. *Forging Mexico, 1821–1835.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 330. $40.00.

This is Timothy E. Anna's fifth and most challenging book. During the past twenty years, he has published a body of major works dealing with Mexico, Peru, and Spain during the crises of the colonial era and the *ancien régime*, the struggles for independence, and the attempt to establish working political systems during the 1820s. This study focuses directly on federalism. Anna rightly explains the contemporary importance of this topic in Mexico and points to the experience of the first generation of federalists as a guide for the working out of current issues. This focus highlights the relationship between the provinces and the center as a prevailing theme of nineteenth and twentieth-century Mexican history. Given the centralist bias of political institutions and perspectives since the Mexican Revolution (in a nominally federal system) and of much of the historiography, this relationship, the author states, has not been given the attention it deserves. The book argues a strong case for the primacy of the provincial dimension in the formation of Mexican nationhood. It also makes important comparisons with the Canadian and United States experiences, differentiating the Mexican case from them.

Anna discusses the important historical issues presented by nationalism, nationhood, and state-formation. He argues that the Mexican nation was not "imagined" but "forged" (in the industrial sense of word) from the localities and provinces upward and outward. Nationhood neither came into existence au-

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tomatically upon independence nor resulted from imposition by the center. Anna interprets the process of creating nationhood clearly and with due attention to detail and to specific cases. He rejects the traditional notion that post-independence Mexico presented a scene of disintegration in favor of a view that asserts the constructive nature of the process of reaching a balance between provinces and center: "the attempt to define a nation out of many, long-standing regional identities" (p. xii). Federalism grew, as a result, on native Mexican soil as a response to Mexican problems; it did not represent an imitation of the U.S. Constitution of 1787.

The author's principal concern is the distribution and exercise of power in a newly independent country. Anna's view is that Mexican federalism argued for the parallel and complementary functioning of a dual sovereignty between the states and the federation. When centralist regimes overthrew this balance, instability resulted because the constitutional basis of the republic had been threatened. Mexico in 1823–1824 chose to become a representative, popular, federal republic in reaction to three centuries of Spanish colonial centralist absolutism and to the neo-Bourbonism of Agustín de Iturbide's First Mexican Empire (1822–1823). Anna draws on his knowledge of Iturbide from his previous book and concludes that "The fall of Iturbide represented the final collapse of the Bourbon state" (p. 97). This book emphatically asserts "the legitimacy of provincialism and regionalism in Mexican history" (p. 21). Accordingly, Anna argues that a national project did not become possible in Mexico "until the regions played their fair share in defining it" (p. 22). The federalist movement in provinces such as Jalisco, Zacatecas, Oaxaca, and Puebla from the summer of 1823 onward is given the attention it deserves and assessed in relation to the subsequent constitutional documents, the *Acta Constitutiva* of January 1824, which laid the basis for a federal system, and the Constitution of October 1824. Anna paraphrases the opening of the former document by way of reinforcing his argument: "The Mexican nation . . . was a union of sovereign provinces reciprocally joined into a federation of equals. Nation and province were the same thing, two sides of one coin" (p. 101). At the same time, however, he relates this stance to the determination of the center to recoup whatever of its old powers it could before the constitution was promulgated and thereafter.

The case presented here is particularly convincing because it arises out of recent historiography of the late colonial and independence period, which has generally emphasised provincial and local dimensions over the traditional "national" approach. This enables Anna to obtain a sharper perspective from the regions and, accordingly, assess developments in the post-independence era within this regional context. The strength of the book lies precisely in its treatment of the transfer from colonial structures to those of the incipient federal system. The result was a compromise between the recalcitrace of the center and the aspirations of the provinces in 1823–1824. Anna argues that federalism facilitated a wider distribution of power through its emphasis on a broad franchise and popular participation. Although not the focus of the book, attention is given to the question of municipal autonomy, particularly with respect to popular support for the type of representative system offered by federalism in 1824. In this respect, Anna's work relates directly to recent studies of peasant and lower-class mobilization and the popular roots of mid-century liberalism, such as those of Guy Thomson, Antonio Annino, and Peter Guardino.

Anna's subsequent analysis of the breakdown of this first federal experiment takes account of a number of fatal flaws in the initial political construction, such as the distribution of revenue between regions and center. Above all, the author make the point that federalism faced strong opposition from centralists, such as Lucas Alamán, who interpreted Mexican history in a different way and sought to build a system in accord with the colonial-era predominance of Mexico City. This involved terminating the structures of dual sovereignty established imperfectly in accordance with the Constitution of 1824 and dismantling the process of power-sharing that had begun to operate at several levels. Anna identifies the beginning of the breakdown with the rupture of constitutional legitimacy at the presidential level in 1828–1829. The rebellion of the deposed President Vicente Guerrero and the war in the south in 1830–1831, furthermore, raised fears of a renewed lower-class mobilization among all components of the political elite. The judicial murder of Guerrero in February 1831 did not dispel these apprehensions. The final chapters do not have the strong impact of the first part of the book, largely since the author is concerned to narrate a process of political disintegration, which is relatively familiar from the existing historical literature. In Anna's view, the later predominance of the *caudillos*, or regional chieftains with armed followings and national aspirations, dates from the collapse of federalism in 1835–1836 and the accompanying climate of demoralization on the eve of the Texas war.

Anna strongly engages the reader with his argument and underlines the importance of the central theme of federalism for the three North American countries. As is customary with Anna's work, this book is researched in depth and carefully thought through. It is obvious from the way the book is written that the author has spent a good deal of time weighing these arguments, relating them to a general framework, and drawing important comparative conclusions. The book will be of especial benefit to historians interested in making linkages between historical developments and issues across North America.

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MARSHALL C. EAKIN. *Brazil: The Once and Future Country*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. xvi, 301. $35.00.

Anyone who has done research there can attest that it is not easy to be pessimistic about Brazil: tourist vistas, plenteous natural resources, and exuberant people do not lend themselves to doom and gloom pronouncements. Still, the visitor must be careful not to be seduced by the country's charms, which conceal lugubrious realities: gross disparities of income, high levels of political and criminal violence, environmental destruction, and racial and sexual discrimination. Marshall C. Eakin has written a get-acquainted text for beginners that presents both sides of Brazil's Janusian face, yet he is an unabashed optimist, convinced that one day soon the nation will live up to its destiny as a mighty economic power that does not neglect social justice. The author wears his love for Brazil on his sleeve in a way that should prove contagious to student audiences.

Divided into five sections, each devoted to a key component of Brazilian civilization—history, geography, society, politics, and economics—this book is most successful at compressing multitudinous facts into thirty and forty-page chapters. But while this method is commendable as fodder for lecture material, it leaves little room for reflection on the human condition in Brazil. We learn the names of a few prominent politicians, business figures, and sports stars, while the joys, sufferings, hopes, and disappointments of the masses are left to the imagination. Another pitfall is Eakin's tendency to denote broad trends in Brazilian history through labels such as the corporatist ethos, economic liberalism, and statist industrialization. This approach makes the sad state of Brazil's impoverished appear the result of inexorable historical laws rather than conscientious decision making on the part of the political elites.

Factual flaws, selective omissions, and dubious interpretations blemish this impressive summary. The Brazilian Communist Party was not the largest in the world outside of the Soviet bloc in 1946 (p. 47); that distinction fell to the Italian Communist Party. The military regime (1964–1985) did not simply "control" salaries in the industrial sector (p. 225); it depressed them, going so far as to falsify inflation figures in refusing to raise the minimum wage. The women's movement receives only a cursory glance, and the author fails to incorporate recent research done by Elizabeth Kuznesof, Donald Ramos, and others that challenges traditional assumptions about the importance of female-headed households and the alleged instability of the Afro-Brazilian family during the colonial period.

After years of neglect by the American media, Brazil is once again in the news, thanks to president Fernando Henrique Cardoso's thus far victorious effort to combat inflation and lure foreign investment. Novices looking for a succinct appraisal of what makes Brazil tick should pick up this book. However, for history with a more personal touch, the kind that will make students not only want to read further but actually visit Brazil, Joseph Page's *The Brazilians* (1995) and Alma Guillermoprieto's *Samba* (1990) are unsurpassable and should be on the same reading list as Eakin.

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ANTHONY W. PEREIRA. *The End of the Peasantry: The Rural Labor Movement in Northeast Brazil, 1961–1988*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1997. Pp. xxi, 232. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

This incisive, well-crafted book examines major social, political, and technological transformations that occurred in the northeastern Brazilian state of Pernambuco just prior and subsequent to the military coup of 1964. Anthony W. Pereira is to be commended for successfully untangling this complex regional history by means of intensive archival and ethnographic research that follows these changes through the nominal restoration of democracy in the late 1980s. The central theme in this intricate narrative is the decline and virtual disappearance of an extensive peasant society and its political expression in peasant leagues, and their subsequent transformations into a complex, rural proletariat and agrarian unions.

The background themes of this history of deep social change and agrarian subaltern politics in Pernambuco are the rapid technological modernization of sugar production and a reordering of political power subsequent to the military coup. Pereira thus integrates the analysis of two "great transformations" that are usually treated separately in the history of rural societies. One of these is the rise of "modern" industrial capitalist agricultural out of peasant-based, more "traditional," labor-intensive forms dominated by feudal-like rural estates. The second is the shift from "dispersed" forms of local political control exercised by large landlords over rural subalterns to the "integrated domination" of labor by the central state as part of its greater project of national economic development and the reproduction of class relations in both rural and urban areas.

Pereira also addresses a seeming paradox: namely, the growth of progressive unions representing sugar plantation workers as a component of a much larger national labor movement that is dominated by the conservative state. Indeed, why, after dismantling the progressive peasant leagues, did the state promote unions? Pereira's analysis centers on a complex dynamic in which the state, by extensive efforts to build official unions over which it could maintain political control and ideological hegemony, created the very organizations that empowered workers. While the unions were able to obtain improvements in wages and working conditions for their newly proletarianized workers, they were also riddled with contradictions, as might be suspected from their problematic origins.

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The central theme that ties these various related strands together is the decline of the Brazilian peasantry and the rise of complex class positions and cultural identities that are primarily but not monochromatically proletarian in nature. The causes of this transformation that Pereira identifies are complex: a state dominated by elites bent on modernizing the enterprises they monopolize in the face of increased global competition, high population growth rates, and the need to contain subaltern demands for larger shares of the national wealth.

Whereas in the 1950s, the central issue in rural Pernambuco was land reform, by the mid-1980s, rural politics centered on wages, working conditions, and benefits for agricultural workers on large plantations. Moreover, in the 1950s, the main actors were what Pereira appropriately calls a "peasantariat" (that is, rural people who rely heavily on subsistence agriculture supplemented by seasonal wage income), but by the 1980s, the prevalent social types were salaried rural and urban industrial workers. Given the complexity of this transformation of class positions and social identities, Pereira is reluctant to refer to it as "proletarianization," as is common in the literature on rural modernization. Instead, he prefers to speak of "depeasantization," thus avoiding the implicit unidirectional assumption that, with modernization, peasants become workers. Indeed, as Pereira shows, many do, but in complex and subtle forms of differentiation that also lead to former peasants becoming small farmers, supervisory personnel, and various kinds of technicians, while some remain subsistence farmers, and all have divergent economic interests. The patterns of differentiation attendant on modernization thus lend a complexity to politics that is belied by a model of class differentiation that assumes "class polarization between a small group of capitalists and a mass of destitute workers" (p. 14). Whereas state-controlled unions were the main vehicles for the political aspirations of these new identities, they also found expression in a variety of new social movements. And, finally, Pereira describes how yet more complexity of class and identity results from extensive migration in search of work that has become a deep structural feature of the newly "modernized" northeast Brazil.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

HARRIET I. FLOWER. *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 411.

The portrait mask in wax (*imago*) was for at least two centuries the visual image that evoked *par excellence* the ruling nobility of Rome. The 107 literary attestations of the phenomenon catalogued by Harriet I. Flower leave no doubt of the potency of the ancestral mask appeal. The survival of that potency in the empire has recently been confirmed by discovery of the senatorial decree banning the images of Piso, the enemy of Germanicus Caesar, from the funerals of the Calpurnii. The traditional ways of displaying these masks neatly linked the twin locations of noble power: the forum, in which the masks were displayed in the funerary ritual that reenacted the descent-group of the dead man's family, and the atrium of the noble household, where the masks were displayed in their wooden cupboards.

Flower's aims are to assemble in full the evidence bearing on such *imagines* and to understand their nature, context, and social function. There can be no complaints about her thorough collection of material and sensible and balanced discussion of what it can and cannot tell us. There are helpful pointers, too, on the function of this aristocratic ritual in defining and maintaining the political precedence of a group of families and in reproducing the competitive ethos among the young in a culture of honor and shame. The Roman nobility, like good *mafiosi*, were men of honor whose social rituals served simultaneously to daunt outsiders and to police their clan.

Although we hear much about the importance of *imagines*, they prove invisible on the ground. Despite the excavation of so many atria, archaeologists have yet to find a convincing ancestral mask. Of course, given that they were made of wax, it was perhaps foolish ever to hope to find them. No one should have taken seriously Maiuri's arbitrary identification of four small heads in a shrine in the peristyle of the House of the Menander as *imagines*: they are not in the atrium, they have no identifying elogia, and they are not life-size wax masks. But even secondary depictions of wax masks in stone or paint let us down. The Barberini *togatus* so often cited in this context is carrying solid busts, not wax masks of his ancestors. In fact, it proves extraordinarily hard to imagine how wax masks were constructed and what they looked like. The use of wax for a death mask, with which *imagines* are frequently confused, is obvious: but how do you construct a mask of wax robust enough to put over the head for impersonation of ancestors at a funeral, or for sitting through the centuries in the smoke of the atrium? Or could they have been simply profiles, to be held against the side of the face in a procession to be seen from the side?

The greatest interest in *imagines* has always been occasioned by what they inspired rather than what they were, and it is here that Flower's discussion is disappointing. The "Roman look" is defined most vividly by the extraordinarily rich tradition of Roman portraiture, funerary or honorific, in marble or bronze or mosaic or encaustic, from Rome to Egypt to Palmyra. Art historians have long assumed, or argued, a tight connection with ancestral masks, although debate continues to rumble over whether masks actually enabled and inspired the technical accomplishment of realistic

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art or whether noble ideology simply underlay the social taste for portraits.

Much of this debate is sterile and best ignored. Yet the precision of Flower's focus prevents us from relishing a paradox: the symbol that a group of families at a certain historical period attempted to use to establish and justify an exclusive monopoly of power was in fact ideal for appropriation by outsiders, and it became in their hands a symbol of Roman identity. The best representation of a Roman "noble" funeral comes from the tomb of the freedman Haterii. The "veristic" portraits with craggy feaures and wrinkled skin, which fooled many collectors into thinking them portraits of the high nobility, are largely from the graves of freedmen. Of course, we are no longer talking about wax masks: but what counted about the *imago* was its image, its impact on the imagination. That is why Roman nobles themselves, as the elder Pliny so bitterly complained, transferred their tradition to images on silver shields, *imagines clipeatae*: you could not wear them at funerals, but on a daily basis, hung in the atrium or from the columns of the Basilica Aemilia, they made a bigger impact and gave the same message. Those concerned with Roman image-making will find this study definitive within its chosen limits but are urged to keep moving beyond them.

ANDREW WALLACE-HADRILL
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RICHARD MARSDEN. *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*. (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, number 15.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 506. $80.00.

This learned, meticulous, and beautifully printed volume provides scholars with an authoritative guide to the texts of the Vulgate Old Testament that were available in Anglo-Saxon England and the relationships between them. It is a work of exemplary clarity from its initital assignation of *sigla* to the twenty extant manuscripts and numerous fragments to its detailed critical textual analysis of all parts of the extant texts and the helpful historical and cultural background provided for each manuscript and fragment. Moreover, Richard Marsden's study extends not just to extant manuscripts but also to what can be deduced from the scriptural quotations in the leading Anglo-Saxon exegetical, hagiographical, and historical works and to the texts that underly the surviving Old English translations of books of the Old Testament. For reasons of time and space, he had to omit consideration of the text of the Psalms (where the surviving manuscripts are so much more numerous because of their importance in the monastic liturgy), but apart from this it is evident that Marsden has left very few stones unturned in the effort to understand how Anglo-Saxons would have encountered the Old Testament. At every stage he compares the readings of his manuscripts with Jerome's text, as established by the editors of the Rome *Biblia Sacra*. The book is dominated, of course, by two magnificent pandects: the *Codex Amiatinus* of the early eighth century and its sister texts from Monkwearmouth-Jarrow and the equally vast "Royal Bible" (London, BL, Royal 1.E vii + viii) of the late tenth century from Christ Church, Canterbury. Marsden's subtle analysis establishes beyond doubt that *Amiatinus* proves a remarkably successful example of good copying of an Italian text of high quality, and he establishes more thoroughly than earlier scholars the complex nature of its relationship to the work of Cassiodorus's monks at Vivarium. Marsden demonstrates conclusively that the "Royal Bible" can be linked directly to Carolingian biblical scholarship, but to the circle of Theodulf of Orleans rather than that of Alcuin. It is remarkable, however, how limited was the influence of these huge manuscripts. Although Marsden gives reason to suspect the hand of Bede in much of the preparatory work that underlies *Amiatinus* and its sisters, Bede's own quotations often reveal his use of older variant texts. The other manuscripts and fragments studied here and the quotations from other authors add to the complexity. There was no single Anglo-Saxon biblical textual tradition. Everything suggests that, despite the fine textual work in eighth-century Monkwearmouth-Jarrow and in a number of centers of tenth-century monastic reform, most English houses were content to obtain whatever biblical manuscripts or part-manuscripts they could. Marsden's work has not made the story of the reception of the Old Testament in early England a simple one, but for the first time, it looks credible.

N. P. BROOKS
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PAULINE STAFFORD. *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1997. Pp. xi, 371. $34.95.

ANNE J. DUGGAN, editor. *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College, London, April 1995*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1997. Pp. xxii, 357. $90.00.

Pauline Stafford's book is, as the author warns us, not a biography. Instead, Stafford, who has already contributed greatly to our understanding of early medieval queens, uses what is known about these two eleventh-century royal women and their predecessors to produce an exhaustive and richly nuanced study of eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon queenship that also illuminates tenth-century queenship and Anglo-Saxon royal politics in general.

Stafford begins the book's first section with a brief sketch of the known facts of each queen's life. Then the various narrative sources are explored, with each work set clearly in its chronological and political context. We see how the writers of narrative sources identified Emma and Edith variously as someone's daughter, as someone's mother, and as queen; how

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chroniclers' themes shaped their portrayal of the two women; and how events such as the Norman Conquest could change those perceptions. To wrap up this section, Stafford analyzes the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and the *Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, the narratives commissioned by Emma and Edith themselves and through which they presented their own versions of events, each with an eye to her own security and reputation.

The second and longest section of the book examines "structures" and the various roles of the queen in a series of minutely detailed, densely argued, and often highly technical chapters. One major theme is the multiple identities of each royal woman as wife, mother, lady, and queen. Another is the argument that family politics were an absolutely integral part of national politics—that in the late Anglo-Saxon royal family, no sharp distinction can be drawn between public and private activity. Stafford also emphasizes the shifting fortunes of the queen as determined by the life cycle, which encompassed both biological functions and social expectations. She points out the divergence of an often complicated reality (involving second marriages and stepchildren, for example) from the simple ideals of marriage and family promoted by religious and secular institutions. For all these reasons, Emma and Edith, like many of their predecessors, found their status shifting and their position threatened at many junctures in their lives. The role of mother, for example, carried conflicting potentialities: the succession of a son might cement his mother's dynastic role as *mater regis*, but it also made her vulnerable to eclipse by a new queen-consort. The author poses this central question: did Emma and Edith move beyond the roles of wife, mother, and lady into the role of queen? Two sources that answer in the affirmative are the women's own narratives; the regal role is more prominent in Emma's and Edith's own narratives, Stafford argues, than in any other evidence.

In many ways, this is a masterful book, but it is not without flaws At times, Stafford assumes the reader's familiarity with events, texts, and stories that are not explained here, in a way that may be daunting to non-Anglo-Saxonists. In this otherwise well-written work, the occasional non-standard punctuation and the repeated use of "forefront" as a verb are jarring. On another level, the author's reluctance to treat even Emma and Edith as personalities makes the book less human than one might hope; and there is no sense at all of any character other than those two as a distinct personality. The reader expects the third and final section to fill this gap, consisting as it does of Stafford's fully developed "twentieth-century narratives" (p. viii) of Emma's and Edith's lives. But even here, Emma's chapter is somewhat disappointing as a story, although Edith's is a good read.

The book's strengths, on the other hand, are impressive. They include detailed and balanced discussions of the Anglo-Saxon royal succession, of court life, of the queen's household, of the meaning of power, of queens' landholding, and of royal patronage and reputation (the analysis of later negative views of Edith is particularly good, with its exploration of twelfth-century writers' attitudes and of the multiple meanings of gifts and giving). Throughout all this, Stafford demonstrates her intimate familiarity with a complex series of events, deftly marshaling examples, evidence, and comparisons and squeezing every possible meaning out of available evidence without ever stretching the evidence to support her theories. Moreover, she presents a very full context for every theme and event, both chronologically and geographically, and she is highly sensitive to change and fluctuation over time. This book is not a quick read, but it has something for every Anglo-Saxon historian in it, as well as something for any historian of women.

Stafford and Queen Emma also make an appearance in Anne J. Duggan's edited collection, the proceedings of a 1995 conference. Stafford's theme of the queen's power through family politics (which she emphasizes here while touching on many of the arguments in her book) is one that resonates in many of these papers, although few of them explore it so successfully. Steinmar Insen shows us a number of influential Scandinavian queens, such as Margaret of Norway, who had "shifting formal status" but real power through her position as mother and stepmother to kings; other queens, as consorts, were very active administratively and politically. Insen argues that a unique political situation gave queens their power in this period; later queens' roles were more limited, although they may well have equalled the power of many of the women discussed in this book. Family politics are also emphasized in Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke's essay, which sees the power of early German queens waning around the twelfth century, as the rise of the territorial princes and the shift to the election of kings limited the opportunities for women to exploit their dynastic advantages. Valerie Wall traces the career and undoubted influence of St. Margaret of Scotland, but the explication of Margaret's actual power is not as clear here as one would like. Similarly, Volker Honemann's otherwise fine essay on Agnes, dowager queen of Hungary, tells us that she had great power in her widowhood, but in the context of so much scholarship indicating that family roles were usually essential for women's power, one wants to know just how Agnes achieved this.

Several of these papers argue for an official queenly role. Janet Nelson's detailed survey of early coronation rituals shows the king and queen in a partnership of sorts, with the queen being directed to perform a number of definite duties. Liz James takes us into the Byzantine court, arguing that empresses in the fourth to sixth centuries had official roles and sometimes were not even dependent on the emperor for their position. As in medieval Scandinavia, there were women who ruled in their own right or virtually by themselves. In fact, the majority of the early Byzantine empresses wielded considerable power. On the other

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hand, Dion C. Smythe finds a very different situation in eleventh and twelfth-century Byzantium. Women still ruled occasionally, but the empress's position in general had been limited, not least by legal developments. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, another region where women inherited the throne (five different women between 1118 and 1228) is surveyed by Sarah Lambert, who shows that the political factions there increasingly "marginalized" the hereditary queen for their own political purposes.

The other major emphasis in this volume is on the image of the queen—whether created by others or promoted by the woman herself. John Carmi Parsons's essay on funerals and tombs shows queens shaping their own posthumous images as well as being exploited by their survivors. Honemann shows how Queen Agnes's relationship with her stepdaughter was manipulated by later political commentators, just as Hungarian queens were frequently used as scapegoats (interestingly, not because of their sex but because of their foreignness), according to János M. Bak. Despite (or perhaps because of) the somewhat arbitrary decision to juxtapose twelfth and thirteenth-century literary images of queens with Christine de Pizan's much later *Livre des Trois Vertus* (1406), Karen Pratt produces an interesting survey of a queen's role in literary sources. Visual images are examined by Mary Stroll (papal use of images of the Virgin Mary as queen), Diana Webb (the influence of Mary's regality on her patronage of Italian city-states, where she exemplified the expected "mercy and charity of queens" [p. 221]), and Paul Crossley (a group of German Gothic churches influenced by royal women); the illustrations throughout the volume are clearly reproduced and pertinent to the text (though, unfortunately, Webb's otherwise admirable essay is not illustrated). The most evocative note is sounded by George Conklin's analysis of the letters in Ingeborg of Denmark's divorce case, in which the queen's own voice is clearly heard.

Although the individual subjects in this volume are disparate, the recurring themes of power and representation give the collection some unity, and the authors also refer to each other's papers in helpful ways. More uneven but more accessible than Stafford's book, this collection will be of use to any historian interested in queenship or in one of the regions covered here.

EMILIE AMT
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JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH. *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 300. $49.95.

After nine hundred years of continuous reflection on the causes, consequences, and meanings of the taking of Jerusalem by Western Europeans on July 15, 1099, can anything new be written about the early crusading movement? Jonathan Riley-Smith's seventh book on the crusades provides impressive evidence that the rich tapestry of crusading still yields important threads worth following. In his study of the first generation of men and women to take the cross, Riley-Smith chose to tug on two intertwining strands, aristocratic piety and kinship ties, to get at the fabric of early crusading.

Largely Europe-centered and practically devoid of military history, this book explores the social and religious consciousness of the armsbearing class. Riley-Smith, taking a cue from Giles Constable's insight that long-ignored charters hold important evidence for all kinds of crusading activity, gathered and analyzed data on 791 men and women recorded in more than 440 cartularies, histories, annals, and letters in a search for the motivations that encouraged and then sustained the first crusaders.

In Riley-Smith's account, the first crusaders emerge as members of the middle nobility who had the family connections and the resources those connections brought to underwrite crusading. Not coincidentally, the same families also appear to have been religiously sensitized to crusading by monastic reform movements, the institution of pilgrimage to atone for guilt, and increasing clerical condemnation of lay violence. The revolutionary notion of pious violence—first adumbrated in the early stages of the Christian reconquest of Muslim Spain, then crystallized and focused on Jerusalem by Urban II, and finally refracted by numerous preachers in the wake of Clermont—galvanized members of the armsbearing class to take up the cross, this time with their weapons. Now pious warriors could achieve "self-sanctification" (p. 75) by practicing rather than renouncing their profession and their social and familial obligations for a life of penitence in a monastery. The crusade itself formed "a great military abbey on the move" (p. 78). The transformation in the Christian ideology of violence did not produce kinder, gentler warriors as much as it legitimized their violence and brutality.

The charter evidence with its record of prayer associations, gifts of relics, dispute settlements, endowments, sales, donations, and other activities that bound the early crusaders to monastic communities lends impressive specificity to the interpenetration of the monastic world and the world of the crusading families. But the early crusaders remained resolutely focused on their own families and their extended kindred. Here Riley-Smith makes two important claims for the power of kin. He challenges the perception that women, fearing their vulnerability in the absence of their protectors, inhibited recruitment to crusading. Certainly much personal anguish accompanied a warrior's departure for who knew what end. The frontispiece Riley-Smith chose for his book depicts a statue of an early crusader, his wife pressed close to his side with her left hand resting poignantly on his chest. And Riley-Smith reports Ida of Louvain's journey to Jerusalem in 1106 in search of her husband, who went missing in action eight years earlier. But the collective evidence of some sixty families notable for their commitment to crusading suggests another common de-

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nominator: linkages through mothers, sisters, and wives encouraged family participation in crusading just as it did in monastic reform.

The Montlhéry clan, whose four sisters were connected to almost three dozen crusaders over two generations, illustrates Riley-Smith's second point about the significance of crusading kindreds. Kindred ties enabled certain families to take advantage of the opportunities the very volatility of crusading politics provided them. King Baldwin II, a son of Melisende Montlhéry, used strategic marriage alliances and placed relatives in important positions in the East to bolster his power, even to the point of honoring less cooperative members of the clan. The Montlhérys showed how a family could dominate crusading if only for a time. Later, the Lusignans (descendants of another powerful woman, Almodis of La Marche) and the Briennes would emulate their model.

Riley-Smith imbeds his principal theses in important pages on recruitment and preparation for the crusade and on the return from the East of those he calls "survivors." Those who survived and those who did not emerge in Riley-Smith's readable and compelling account as actors who demonstrated "how prone a movement depending on spontaneous reactions, individual enterprise and collective support was to determined initiatives" (p. 195).

JOHN J. CONTRENI
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JOEL KAYE. *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought; Fourth Series, number 35.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 273. $54.95.

By the end of the fourteenth century, the scholastic conception of nature had shifted from a static, universal hierarchy that was absolute and fixed to a dynamic flux of relational values measured by geometrical proportions. Joel Kaye poses the important and difficult question: how did this new scientific view come about? His response is lucidly simple: the scholastic thinkers who constructed the new science were equally engaged in economic analysis that was stimulated by the evolving commercial and monetary environment from the end of the thirteenth century. This resolution is not vulgar Marxism but the result of a highly sophisticated history of ideas that seeks to analyze verbal and formal components and to follow their parallel developments.

In the first and longest section of the book, Kaye traces the history of economic analysis from the rediscovery of Aristotle's *Ethics* at the beginning of the thirteenth century to the treatises of Nicholas Oresme and John Buridan in the fourteenth century. With a wealth of detail, his exacting discussion treats scholastics at Paris and Oxford from 1260 to 1380 and includes Godfrey of Fontaines, Henry of Ghent, Peter John Olivi, John Duns Scotus, Geraldus Odonis, Walter Burley, Richard Kilvington, Thomas Bradwardine, and John Dumbleton. Aristotle's celebrated discussion of justice and exchange contained inconsistencies and obscurities that required clarification from Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. Aristotle did, however, formulate the basic conceptual components that occupied subsequent scholastic attention. As a medium of exchange, money provides a universal measurement of value based on human need or utility and makes disparate goods commensurate in the marketplace. Economic exchange establishes a common value in the market price, which is constant to the larger community, although it may vary for individuals. As the result of an impersonal equilibrium, the market price is the just or "natural" price. It comprises not only materials and labor but also the intangible qualities of mercantile skill, entrepreneurial responsibility, and the compensation of probable damages. It is not a precise figure or point but a range on a continuum, a latitude between two lines, and therefore not an exact determination but a fluctuating process. Consequently, the economic world operates not according to the rules of arithmetic but according to those of geometry, which compares relations between unequals that are always expanding or contracting.

In the second and shorter section, Kaye shows in parallel fashion that the "calculators" of Merton College, Oxford, in their mania for measuring everything, sought to devise a common standard for all kinds of phenomena, qualities as well as quantities, love and grace in theology as well as heat and whiteness in physics. Like market exchange, they wished to relate diverse species to a single continuum. Oresme, for example, sought to measure latitudes of qualities, and Buridan devised a theory of equalization and speculated on the anti-Aristotelian proposition of the plurality of the worlds. For both, relational geometry replaced static arithmetic; both prepared the way for Copernicus and Galileo.

How are these remarkable parallels to be explained? No schoolman consciously related his economics directly to his science, but Oresme composed well-known treatises on both subjects, and Buridan treated money as a common measurement in the context of abstract relations between motions and equalities. As philosophers, they sought to purify their science from all contingent experience; as scholastics, they retained suspicions over the morality of commerce and money. Nevertheless, they inhabited the lively commercial environment of northern Europe where the monetary policies of monarchs created havoc on the markets. Oresme and Buridan struggled with these problems as administrators in the University of Paris, where they were neighbors to the money changers on the Pont-au-Change. Bradwardine helped to oversee the estates of Merton College. If the characteristic lack of self-awareness inhibited them from articulating their practical experiences and thus producing explicit documentary connections, Kaye's minute and careful

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explication of the parallels makes a persuasive circumstantial case. The economic chapters benefit from a wealth of previous scholarship from Raymond de Roover to Odd Langholm; those on science from the insights of Edith Sylla, Anneliese Maier, and John Murdoch. As the shorter section, the last chapters can doubtlessly be further developed. Medievalists have neglected the history of ideas in our generation, but this study shows how it should be revived and practiced.

JOHN W. BALDWIN
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PETER ARNADE. *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 298. $45.00.

Peter Arnade's book builds on recent work by David Nicholas and by Belgian historians such as Wim Blockmans, Marc Boone, and Walter Prevenier to rethink the relationship between Ghent and its fifteenth-century overlords, the dukes of Burgundy. His chapters focus on Ghent's ceremonial practices to show how feudal lordship and civic institutions were repeatedly brought both to reluctant consensus and to crisis and conflict.

After the first two chapters sketch the local scene, chapter three considers Ghent's confraternities of archers and crossbowmen, elitized regroupings of civic militias; Duke Philip the Good's conciliatory participation in a shooting festivity in 1440 is the climactic moment here. In chapter four, Ghent and Duke Philip go to war over the duke's attempted salt tax and the quarrels it engenders (1451–1453). Sustained by traditional armed public assemblies on the main marketplace, the quarrels ended in military defeat and "ritual stipulations" symbolizing Ghent's loss of privileges that had been painfully gained over centuries (pp. 120–24). Chapter five contrasts two ducal receptions in Ghent ("joyous entries"): a friendly one in 1458, which partly repealed the humiliations of 1453, and a second in 1467 that intensified conflict with Duke Charles the Bold. Carried on into 1468–1469, the conflict involved a non-elite group from Ghent, Saint-Lieven pilgrims parading their relics, which put city elites as well as the duke in conflict with people like these whose inherited customs and privileges they had sworn to observe. In fact, all the incidents narrated by Arnade show conflicts between elite and non-elite city customs, for Ghent's historical situation was always three- and not simply two-sided (Ghent's oligarchic governments versus its overlords), not to mention its quarrels with neighboring cities and lordships. Arnade concludes that Ghent's active, prestigious civic life shifted from participating in political rallies and armed sports like the shooting confraternities to winning prizes in peaceful rhetorical rivalry (*rederijker* festivals gain in number and esteem after 1450). Politically, the shift was unavailing. In 1539–1540, the military and economic might of Charles V's world empire reduced Ghent's local autonomy to zero; the Habsburgs had no need to kow-tow to a city beginning to decline economically.

Arnade skillfully presents these topics as conflicts and denouements; necessarily, perhaps, he sometimes resorts to gratuitous psychology to provide narrative continuity. Describing Charles the Bold's reaction (1467) to an ordinary citizen who demanded that he repeal some of the "ritual stipulations" of 1453 on the day of his formal entry into Ghent as duke, Arnade writes: "Charles departed in a furious mood, incredulous that a mere servant had seized the initiative and thereby validated the rioters' bill of complaints [those of the parading Saint-Lieven pilgrims] . . . The aldermen and many of Ghent's guild deans . . . watched in resignation" (p. 152). This passage's footnote cites three chronicles and another more particular account, none of which are quoted. Perhaps these emotions are stated in all letters in these sources, but it seems unlikely. Attributed emotions rather than verbatim analyses of sources tie together the narrative. Readers of this book are mostly left without resources to judge for themselves, with the important exception of chapter six, where excerpts from archives are frequently given. This is unfortunate, because scholars look to books like this, a recent doctoral thesis on an innovative subject, for access to untapped areas of documentation. A reasoned résumé and not just a listing of primary sources consulted, with significant discoveries, would have been very welcome.

Compartmentalizing each "realm" of ritual in the short-term narrative slots covered in each chapter makes readers lose sight of overriding continuities. No statistics provide access to the economic costs and subsidies (from princes, from city councils, from guilds) for these ritual phenomena, nor are iconographic and semiotic aspects of ritual behaviors dealt with in more than passing manner. Since this book so often displays historical acumen and diligence in assembling archival and secondary materials, are we not confronting here an adverse effect of the immense pressure put on young scholars to produce books quickly in order to secure tenure?

SAMUEL KINSER
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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

MAURO AMBROSOLI. *The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1350–1850*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xxiv, 460. $69.95.

Mauro Ambrosoli's achievement is a rarity in a well-worked field. He has found a new body of evidence on European agricultural history, or rather created one by pulling together known but widely scattered items as a single source. This comparative material comes not merely from printed texts (an unfashionable return from the archive and computer to the library) but from the annotations that readers inked into the volumes.

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Ambrosoli traces the international diffusion of editions of classical, medieval, and early modern farming books. He then examines their authors' ideas and what—from their marginal notes—readers found most interesting. Thus he discusses works by Palladius, Pier de'Crescenzi, Agostino Gallo, Camillo Tarello, John Fitzherbert, William Turner, Barnato Googe, Gervase Markham, Samuel Hartlib, Richard Weston, and Jethro Tull, as well as the valuable comments inserted by known and unknown owners of the texts. His expositions of both the treatises and readers' emendations are lengthy and detailed.

Given how expensive early printed and especially early illustrated books were, readers defaced them with surprising freedom. Ambrosoli convincingly demonstrates that annotated copies are numerous enough to form a class of evidence in themselves. For example, of 172 surviving examples of de'Crescenzi, *Liber cultis ruris* (*ca.* 1305), Italian readers wrote in sixty-six out of eighty-nine, while French and English readers marked half of the remainder. Such books were regarded as working tools, not ornaments. Ambrosoli has devoted a lifetime's labor to them, doing his bibliographic detective work in Italy, France, and England. He has meticulously compared the various editions and notes in Italian dialects, French, English, and the slowly fading *lingua franca* of Latin.

The particular concern of his investigation is the diffusion of nitrogen-fixing fodder crops from Italy, their naturalization further north, and their complex assimilation into fresh agricultural systems. This involves innumerable arcane questions of plant nomenclature and esoteric matters of local farm practice. Much early observation was reported unclearly, and many recommendations were dubious, to say the least. Sorting all this out is a labor of love, requiring great patience and learning on the author's part. Before the adoption of the Linnean system of naming, the chances of confusion were high. Even after this system came to be used in most of Europe, the French persisted in using Tournefort's system, despite the need for a common system because the cost of the engravings in botanical works was so high that to sell enough copies necessitated publishing the same title in French, Flemish, and Latin.

Ambrosoli does succeed in showing, for example, that for a century, lucerne and sainfoin went under the same name in England, which partly frustrates separating their diffusions (and he does not, or cannot, apportion the contribution of the two species to productivity). His interest is in an aspect of agricultural history that has become almost as unfashionable as the contribution of heroic "improvers" or literary sources. This is the development of techniques of husbandry: how things were done rather than what the results were. Today, the subject has become highly aggregative, with leading practitioners engaged in statistical analyses of generalized patterns of change, especially of productivity growth. It is salutary to be reminded of the struggle that even leading agriculturists had in early modern times to master unfamiliar methods. They were, after all, operating in a very slow-moving market for information, predating even the advent of newspapers. Abstract modern histories have a habit of compressing time and making diffusion seem too easy. Ambrosoli's work brings us back closer to practical reality and helps restore the reputation of maligned "book farmers."

As to the deficiencies of this otherwise valuable book, there are four of them and they are partly interrelated. First, the detail is excessive for the interpretive purposes to which it is put. Second, the language is sometimes a little obscure. This may be a problem with the translation (an immense task, of course) but seems likely to reflect an allusiveness in the original Italian. Maps would have better clarified processes of diffusion that are not easily described in narrative form. Third, and connected to these points, the implied contribution of the "new" fodder crops to English agricultural change is hard to pin down. Fourth, the author indulges himself in comments on the present day, summed up by saying that he does not like market economics. His remarks on this topic are at best muddled and represent untoward intrusions of politics into a work of history. Leaving his irrelevant conclusions aside, however, he has given us a most original work of scholarship.

ERIC JONES
Melbourne Business School

ANN BLAIR. *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 382. $45.00.

Jean Bodin's *Universae naturae theatrum* (1596) is not a well-known book. It has been all but completely neglected by English-speaking scholars, and until now there has been no full-scale study of it in any language. The main cause of this neglect is the intellectual remoteness of the genre itself. Bodin's "Theater of Nature" is a humanist system of nature not yet influenced by the mathematical and empiricist conceptions of modern science. Like many other contemporary systems, it is a restatement, with variations and additions, of Aristotelian physics, and it is characteristically arbitrary in its organization, frequently credulous in its findings of fact, and bizarre in its explanations.

Ann Blair's ground-breaking and often brilliant study of the *Theatrum* is not intended to revise this judgment. She does not contend that the book is particularly original, theoretically profound, or even of very great historical importance. Her aim, rather, is what she calls an *histoire totale* of the *Theatrum*: an intensive study of every aspect of its formation, context, and reception in order "to elucidate through this example the practice and purposes of learned natural philosophy in the late northern Renaissance, outside a small elite of 'avant-garde' figures" (p. 232). To this enterprise she has brings a vast range of erudition as well as high intelligence.

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Among other things, she clearly explains, through many examples, the purposes and methods of humanist natural science. It is not driven by a systematic program of research in order to test general laws. It is rather a "generalized and encyclopedic kind of curiosity" (p. 100). Its materials are gathered, in typical humanist fashion, from classical texts in natural philosophy supplemented by personal experiences, travellers' reports, and other accidental findings. The aim is not so much to find new facts, or to show how nature may be used, as to explain phenomena already known. The various forms of this "literary empiricism" are examined in chapter one and the difference between this interest in nature and the newer empiricism associated with Francis Bacon is neatly laid out in an epilogue.

Especially revealing is Blair's account of the "methods of bookishness." The indispensable core of humanist natural science is the book of commonplaces, and Blair's luminous study of this method explains why the finished product is often puzzling to modern readers. Since the categories are imposed from without on facts culled from disparate sources and often taken out of context, there is no way to confront a body of facts systematically. The "facts" collected can be related via disparate categories in all sorts of "interesting" ways, but not always coherently or even consistently. And since the facts themselves are derived from authorities rather than controlled observation, one cannot evaluate a writer's findings of fact without understanding his or her selection and ranking of authorities. Bodin's choices of authorities are worked out by Blair in great detail along with an extended section on his use of them for constructing arguments.

This setting of the *Theatrum* in context inevitably throws light on Bodin's own thought as well as on the mentality of the times. The *Theatrum*, Blair shows, belonged to that genre of nature systems that were meant to exhibit a natural theology. The essential point of Bodin's work is thus to show that nature was designed by God for the good of humanity, and his case for this conclusion is the most complete expression of Bodin's irenic and neo-Platonizing religiosity. Blair's masterful reconstruction of the theology of the *Theatrum*, furthermore, includes an illuminating discussion of Bodin's identification of intermediating links to exhibit order in the chain of being. His idea that opposing elements in nature are held together and reconciled on every level by intermediate beings reflects, Blair shows, an harmonic conception of order that also underlies his theory of political justice in his *Six livres de la République* (1576).

Blair's scholarship is admirable throughout this study. But in chapter six, which deals with the reception of the *Theatrum*, it is truly something of a feat. She seems to have processed every known scrap of evidence bearing on the distribution of, and reaction to, every Latin as well as French edition and has traced all the editions in German of the various books of excerpts taken from it. She is able thereby to give us some genuine clues as to how the work was received in various places by diverse strata of the reading public.

With this exhaustive study of its reception, Blair's *histoire totale* of the *Theatrum* is brought to a successful and very useful close. It deepens our insight into the methods and purposes of humanist science by using the work of one of its most prominent practitioners as a point of entry. And, in this process, it also gives us an enriched understanding of Bodin himself.

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SARA SCHECHNER GENUTH. *Comets, Popular Culture, and the Birth of Modern Cosmology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 365. $49.50.

If we no longer marvel at the appearance of the bearded star, this is because its arrival is foretold and its path is known. Until the mid-seventeenth century, comets were seen as portents of war, civil discord, disease, poor harvest, tidal waves, earthquakes, and sundry other calamities. The roots of these beliefs lay in ancient folklore, which had been appropriated by early Christians and interpreted as signs of God's wrath. Origen and, at a later date, medieval theologians including Thomas Aquinas extended the significance of comets and ascribed to them the demarcation of periods in both sacred and secular history. Comets, it was said, had heralded the birth of Christ and the Reformation and would, in due course, set the sky ablaze at the Second Coming. As Sara Schechner Genuth shows in great detail, people in the seventeenth century continued to regard comets with awe and trepidation. In England, for instance, the eight comets that appeared between 1660 and 1682 were thought by many to augur the Apocalypse or the Millennium, the end of the world or its renovation. Preachers urged people to repent, and more worldly pamphleteers took advantage of the situation to call for radically new social institutions in preparation for a new world order.

Isaac Newton and Edmund Halley are generally considered to have swept away these superstitious beliefs when they mathematically demonstrated that comets travel in closed orbits within the solar system. Schechner Genuth challenges this assertion in two ways: first, by arguing that neither scientific theories nor philosophical debates were sufficient to dispel the widespread belief in cometary divination, and second, by showing that the great Newton himself retained something of the traditional lore. He never linked comets with changes in state or church, but he gave them a role in phenomena on a cosmic scale, from Noah's Flood to the renovation of the earth. The comet of 1680 had come a little too close for comfort, and astronomers became "authorized prophets" as Johann Lambert was to call them. William Whiston, the Comte de Buffon, P.-L. Moreau de Maupertuis, Immanuel Kant, William Herschel, and P.-S. de Laplace considered, to varying degrees, how comets

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influenced the creation of the earth and its ultimate fiery consummation. Scientific calculation made it progressively less likely that comets had such wide-ranging importance and Schechner Genuth identifies the demise of cometary lore (at least among scientists) with a tract published by the French astronomer Dominique François Jean Arago in 1832. The blend of popular and high culture that ensured that comets received more attention than would seem to be warranted after Newton has not vanished altogether. Readers of this fascinating book will find much that they will recognize in the astrology section (and on neighboring shelves) of modern bookshops.

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WENDY ASBEEK BRUSSE. *Tariffs, Trade and European Integration, 1947–1957.* (The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Series on Diplomatic and Economic History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. 318. $45.00.

In spite of the accumulated historical evidence that long-run international trade patterns were crucial in determining the form taken by West European integration after 1945, most scholarship continues to treat the evolution of the European Economic Community (EEC) almost exclusively as a problem for political and diplomatic history. It is hard to see how this tendency can survive the publication of Wendy Asbeek Brusse's eminently useful, clear, and intelligent book. The three elements of the main title indicate exactly the order of priorities by which the book proceeds. Starting from the historical problem of the causes and consequences of mid-twentieth-century tariffs and proceeding into the complexity of the extraordinarily numerous attempts by different sets of countries to liberalize both tariff and non-tariff barriers to international trade, Asbeek Brusse ends up by succinctly and accurately explaining the origins and nature of the EEC. The short conclusion should be recommended reading for all students in the diplomatic or international history of the postwar period. The book is based on thorough historical research in several countries and on an extensive and thoughtful consideration of the contributions made to this subject by scholars in economics and political science, so that the footnotes, unfortunately relegated to the end of the volume, are as interesting as the text and should not be skipped.

Overall, this is a reassuring volume for those who remain unpersuaded that historical research leads only to a competing universe of personal discourses. Asbeek Brusse amply demonstrates the capacity of sustained, cumulative, detailed effort by several groups of scholars over the last twenty years to reach a coherent and persuasive view of the postwar international order and the role in it of the pursuit of separate state interests. It could not have been written without these earlier efforts, but Asbeek Brusse participated in them and has made her own contribution, without which the book would not have been so comprehensive. She gives a statistical picture of European tariffs for the year 1951. She also goes into the hitherto neglected and less enticing institutional corners of her subject, explaining for the first time the proper significance of the so-called Pflimlin Plan and various other abortive GATT plans. I would have liked to have seen an even longer-term consideration of the tariff problem, including more on the role of tariffs as revenue providers for states, for the story told here of course is of enormous contemporary significance and is not yet in its last chapter. But that would be asking a lot of a first book. As the book actually exists, it can be recommended as clearly written, jargon-free, broad in its perspectives, and a scholarly contribution to the international history of postwar reconstruction as well as to the history of the EEC. It is especially recommended to all those who still analyze the European Union without reading books with titles like this one.

ALAN S. MILWARD
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LAURA HUNT YUNGBLUT. *Strangers Settled Here among Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England.* New York: Routledge. 1996. Pp. ix, 178. $55.00.

"An acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia," wrote Thomas Babington Macaulay, and the thousands of aliens who came to England during the Elizabethan period would probably have agreed with him. Indeed, England has long enjoyed a reputation as an "island refuge," and, according to Laura Hunt Yungblut, the historical roots of that reputation lie in the sixteenth century. Her book is a study of Elizabethan aliens, and she is chiefly interested in three aspects of this subject: the attitude of natives toward aliens; Elizabethan government policy toward them; and the economic effects of their presence.

Yungblut is hardly the first to explore this field. In addition to the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* (1885-), there are relatively recent books by Robin Gwynn (*Huguenot Heritage* [1985]) and Andrew Pettegree (*Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* [1986]). It is indeed debatable whether the author provides "a new perspective on the roles played by those aliens," as is claimed on the first page. That being said, Yungblut has covered the ground in a diligent fashion in only 117 pages of text, giving us many numbers and a useful bibliography.

It is unfair to criticize an author for not having written a different book, but in this case, one really does get the impression that the goal has been reached by the path of least resistance. There is so much more to the subject than appears here, more that could have been obtained from a good grounding in contemporary English literature, which would have made this book more interesting. Most of it reads like a cross between a thesis proposal and a government report. The reliance on "authorities" to make the most obvious and

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undebatable points is symptomatic; do we really need Wallace MacCaffrey to tell us that the year of the Ridolfi Plot was a "deeply uneasy" period for Elizabeth (p. 23)?

More troubling, there is absolutely nothing in this book about Jews, apart from an irrelevant reference to "the internment of alien Jews in the 1940s." This is surprising, especially when one considers that it was a Jew who was executed in 1594 for having been deeply compromised in a Spanish plot to poison the queen. The conviction of Roderigo Lopez, Elizabeth's personal physician, not only placed at risk his fellow Jews, whose illegal religious profession was an open secret in Elizabethan London, but also stirred the cauldron of anti-Spanish prejudice, which could easily have boiled over into widespread violence against all aliens. It is astonishing that none of this appears in Yungblut's book.

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DAVID PARNHAM. *Sir Henry Vane, Theologian: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Religious and Political Discourse*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses. 1997. Pp. 370. $46.50.

According to the still-prevailing orthodoxy concerning the history of England and New England between 1630 and 1660, the religious ideas of the younger Henry Vane ought to be of major significance. He was one of a handful of members of the English gentry who physically participated in the Puritan migration to Massachusetts in the 1630s. Such was his preeminence among the residents of New England that he displaced John Winthrop as governor of the colony in 1636. The twenty-three-year-old son of an English privy councillor occupied this position for one rowdy year, after which the Bostonians restored the conservative and anti-papist Winthrop to the position. The same Henry Vane was a prominent member of the Long Parliament and was one of ten men who were executed by the restored government of Charles II for regicide in 1662. Were we to continue to take seriously the tired old paradigms of the Puritan migration to New England preceding—and causally linked to—the Puritan Revolution in old England, there ought to be a place in the historians' hall of fame for the life and theology of the younger Henry Vane. Instead, his political ideas and career have been of only marginal interest to scholars, while his theology has been almost totally ignored.

This book by David Parnham "seeks to provide remedy" for this "case of neglect" (p. 11). Based on a doctoral dissertation (with too few revisions to pave the way for a wider audience than the committee of examiners), the book seeks to make Vane's theological writings intelligible. In some respects, Parnham achieves his goal. There is no doubt that the book provides an intelligent, exhaustive, and scholarly analysis of the "unconquerably obscure (and) undomesticated" (p. 11) theological output of this remarkable man. The book is enriched by sixty-eight pages of notes, many of which contain perceptive comments on debates among modern historians over the issues at the heart of Vane's theological output. Often the notes are more accessible than the text.

Parnham concedes that Vane's writings were difficult but criticizes modern scholars for being unduly influenced by Richard Baxter's and Gilbert Burnet's self-interested views that their eccentric but socially and politically elitist contemporary made no sense. Baxter's and Burnet's pronouncements, asserts Parnham, "have assumed canonical authority among adherents to the mystique of Vane" (p. 57). Just because Vane is difficult, he argues, is no reason to ignore him. The prize for such an effort is deeper understanding of the richness of the mid-seventeenth-century English intellectual life, for Vane was simultaneously "a speaker of the languages of mid-century sectarianism (and) a speaker, and demystifier, of the language of orthodoxy" (p. 269). Parnham argues that Vane advanced a unique set of theological ideas that were as critical of the various brands of sectarianism that flourished in Interregnum England as conventional Protestantism. The outcome of the running war he waged with virtually all contemporaries was, Parnham concludes "part-trinitarian as well as part-Socinian, part-Calvinist but also part-Arminian and part-Antinomian" (p. 265).

In his basically successful attempt to "make sense of Vane as theologian" (p. 18), Parnham has written a technical book about the issues that preoccupied a small number of theologians and preachers in the 1650s, such as the covenant of grace, apophatic trinitarianism, and spiritualism. Like most technical treatises, however, the book is not an easy read. "Vane's kataphatic God is covenantally immanent, not substantially immanent, and it is at this level of *federal* theology that Vane's mysticism proceeds and terminates" (p. 85). Such sentences make this reviewer sympathize with Baxter and Burnet.

It is unfair to criticize an author for not writing the book the reader would have preferred. Parnham might, however, have made a few concessions to his readership. He could have done more to place Vane and his writings firmly in their historical and historiographical context. Vane wrote a number of treatises between the early 1650s and 1662, and Parnham might have explained the context of each. Clearly he has read these works with extraordinary care, but he treats them as if all that Vane wrote was a single text at a single moment. Vane was a very active participant in some of the most important events in the history of early modern England, the Puritan settlement of North America, and the first of the modern European revolutions. Is there nothing to be said about a possible connection between his complex and eccentric theology and contemporary politics?

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PATRICIA FARA. *Sympathetic Attractions: Magnetic Practices, Beliefs, and Symbolism in Eighteenth-Century England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 326. $45.00.

This book represents Patricia Fara's ambitious attempt to place the study of magnetism in the context of our current understanding of eighteenth-century English culture. In a succession of wide-ranging and densely documented chapters, Fara outlines various facets of the ways in which the powers of the magnet were investigated, presented to the public, and put to practical use during the period. Placing natural philosophy center-stage, she convincingly illustrates the various ways in which its ethos and findings became increasingly prominent in the society of the day: thus she illustrates the appeal of experimental demonstrations to a burgeoning consumer culture; the uses to which improved magnets could be put in maritime affairs; the links of the magnetic charting of the world to the ethos of British supremacy; and the role that magnetic phenomena played in religious apologetic and historical debates.

At the same time, the book also explores some of the conflicts associated with magnetism. The differing priorities of naval administrators, seamen, and intellectuals as to what types of compasses were to be preferred are tellingly explored, as are the rival worldviews associated with differing interpretations of magnetical phenomena, not least in terms of their potential medical benefits. Above all, Fara explores the attempts by natural philosophers to use their studies of magnetism to define and legitimize their discipline in contradistinction to the activities of rival figures like instrument-makers. Throughout, the work has a strong constructist streak, deploying the ideas of authors like Bruno Latour to make sense of the struggle for cultural authority in Enlightenment England. This is accompanied by a sharply critical attitude toward more traditional approaches to the subject.

One of the strengths of the book is the pantheon of characters to whom we are introduced. A case in point is Gavin Knight, an almost archetypal example of the kind of upwardly mobile figure on whom Fara concentrates, a prominent member of the Royal Society who became Director of the British Museum and whose advocacy of artificial magnets reaped benefits as much in terms of naval contracts as of philosophical renown. We also gain a novel view of Hutchinsonian and other critics of the predominant Newtonian worldview, while the last chapter contains an account of the English advocates of Mesmerism. Moreover, all of these themes are illustrated not only by telling detail in the text but also by a careful selection of striking contemporary illustrations.

Full of interest as it is, the book is not without its flaws. Although its presentation is highly accomplished, at times the text becomes almost too sophisticated, presenting material in an arch and allusive way that makes it hard to follow, while the range of reference within a single paragraph also sometimes becomes a little bewildering. In addition, the thematic arrangement of the material deployed in the book occasionally seems a little arbitrary, at times giving rise to a sense of repetition. Although the author criticizes her predecessors for artificially compartmentalizing Gavin Knight, for instance, her own treatment means that he is dealt with in more than one place in her work, while her thematic structure also means that there is less emphasis on chronological development during the period than might have been desired. However, these flaws only slightly mitigate the value of a study which offers real insight into a crucial facet of the ideas of the period and into the interrelationship of such ideas with their milieu. Undoubtedly, the study of eighteenth-century magnetism has been raised to a new level.

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RICHARD L. GREAVES. *God's Other Children: Protestant Nonconformists and the Emergence of Denominational Churches in Ireland, 1660–1700*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 472.

There was a time, not long ago, when a book of Irish history, written by a historian of England who treats Ireland as a conceptual extension of England, would have been refused a reading. Fortunately we are now far enough from the old colonial days that a conceptualization of the Irish religious situation in English-derived terms actually has intellectual fecundity. Richard L. Greaves has worked prodigiously in primary and secondary sources documenting the behavior in Ireland in the second half of the seventeenth century of Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Quakers, with brief sidelights on the Anglicans as well.

The physics of Irish religion in this period is usually defined and explained by the use of force-vectors of Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Ulster Presbyterians, with only minor references to the Nonconformists as defined in England (the Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, and the English branch of the Presbyterians). This practice fits the primary Irish historical realities well, but it misses a secondary set of realities: namely, that the minor denominations (minor in statistical and political terms) had a life of their own, and that these tertiary groups interplayed with each other in historically interesting ways. As long as one treats this book as a heuristic exercise (no competent religious historian would write the religious history of late seventeenth-century Ireland with the Catholics as null figures and the Anglicans as mere supporting voices), it is fascinating. Not only does the interplay of the minor religious groups become clear, but so, too, does their relationship to English and Scottish base groups. Without using the word "imperialism," Greaves has written a very subtle chronicle of one of the ways groups from

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the "mainland" attempted to gain cultural hegemony in Ireland.

Historians of Ireland will understand this, and they also will easily compensate for Greaves's one major failing: despite his immersion in several local controversies, he has no sense of Irish geography and the different social rules that even a few miles of countryside can make in the meaning of a given set of events. The only worry is that historians of religion in England and in North America will take this fine exercise as an indication not of how things were with the major players taken off the stage, but as the central drama.

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PATRICK FAGAN. *Divided Loyalties: The Question of the Oath for Irish Catholics in the Eighteenth Century.* Dublin: Four Courts Press; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1997. Pp. 202. $45.00.

With the lines clearly delineated and seemingly always without doubt, the popular telling of Irish history has too often been clouded by a partisan ideology of we or them, Irish or English, Catholic or Protestant, Republican or Unionist. Perhaps second only to the Famine, the eighteenth-century heyday of the Protestant Ascendancy has long been pointed to as a time when Irish Catholics were forced to bend under the weight of restrictive land measures, repressive penal laws, and a forced oath of allegiance to a Protestant and foreign king. Patrick Fagan has taken on the difficult task of the oath and shows that it was not all that popular imagination might believe.

Following a chronological approach by chapter and a topical approach within chapters, Fagan sees the oath as the "connecting thread" of a century of Irish politics during which the British government tried to formulate an oath of fidelity for a Catholic populace whose loyalty was believed to be bound to the Stuarts and whose faith adhered to a papacy that claimed the power to depose rulers while dispensing Catholics from their oaths of allegiance to heretical princes. Thus, with many Protestants in Ireland believing their religion and British interests to have been built upon each other, the government saw itself faced, on the one hand, with a dissident faith closely entwined with the claims of the exiled Stuarts and, on the other, with opposition in Parliament from the landed proprietors who looked upon concessions for Catholics as undermining the status quo. Formulating an oath that Catholics could take and that Protestants could tolerate proved no mean accomplishment.

Not limited merely to Parliament, where bills were proposed for a statutory oath, significant debate also took place within the Catholic community, where many may have been inclined to the oath had it not included articles of faith. And although there were Irish Catholics who sought the means to take an oath, there were also Protestants who wished to accommodate them, not merely out of tolerance but because they believed it was better to have an oath of allegiance taken than refused. The lesson, albeit not one that was quickly learned, was one of compromise: that there could be an oath if the wording was such that Protestants thought it sufficient and Catholics could take it. The difficulty for Catholics was always, as Fagan makes clear, the twin burdens they carried of "outmoded" papal claims and the increasingly "lost cause" of the Stuarts.

Still, with the exception of times of war with France and Jacobite unrest, toleration "by connivance" had largely stalled direct operation by government of the laws against Catholic education and religion, and draft oaths continued to be proposed (by Father Cornelius Nary about 1727; the Protestant bishop of Derry in 1767; and possibly again in 1774 when a committee of Catholics offered their own version, in which papal civil jurisdiction in Ireland and the deposing and dispensing powers were renounced), but the oath finally passed by Parliament in 1774 was not without dissent among Catholics. Even so, the saving grace of that oath was the recognition that came with it that Catholics were subjects, a starting point for eventual emancipation. The oath, long in the making, was largely accepted when the benefits of the Catholic Relief Acts, passed a few years later, made it worthwhile for both Catholic clergy and laity to do so.

Index references to items such as the "Catholic Committee," the "Congregation de Propaganda" and the "Sacred Congregation," and the "Volunteers" and "United Irishmen" would have proved helpful, and primary sources are not listed in the bibliography. I noted only three misprints (the date on page 22 should be 1697, "White boys" on page 128 should be one word, and "measured" on page 81 is either a typo or should have been silently corrected or indicated as *sic*). The format used, whereby multiple footnotes are run together in one paragraph, is not helpful, and "Moody's Rules" seem absurd when "Junto" and "Vatican" are capitalized but "catholic" is not. Those points aside, Fagan has produced an admirable exposition of the history of the oath of allegiance in eighteenth-century Ireland while clearly demonstrating that the lines for and against it were not nearly as unwaveringly drawn as popular belief might have it.

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FEARGAL COCHRANE. *Unionist Politics and the Politics of Unionism since the Anglo-Irish Agreement.* Cork: Cork University Press; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1997. Pp. xiii, 426. Cloth $47.95, paper $26.95.

In this important contribution to the recent political history of Northern Ireland, Feargal Cochrane attempts to explain the dynamics of unionist political behavior by focusing on the campaign against the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. The agreement was vehemently condemned by unionists because it established

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a formal role for the Dublin government in Northern Ireland's affairs. Cochrane shows that unionists initially achieved a high degree of solidarity in their opposition to the accord. Yet this unity quickly shattered as fundamental divisions emerged over how to challenge the agreement and present an alternative political blueprint for Northern Ireland.

Cochrane traces the political divisions that undermined the anti-agreement campaign to the diverse socioeconomic and cultural interests within the unionist community. He shows that unionism is a multilayered ideology with often contradictory components. Some unionists emphasize a regional Ulster identity, see the link with Britain as contractual, and are prepared to resist violently the government in London if it is perceived to be acting against their interests. Others see themselves as part of a British cultural tradition, stress support for the union in terms of economic advantages or the protection of civil liberties, and are extremely reluctant to defy Westminster. Consequently, a major fracture in the anti-agreement campaign developed between those who advocated violent street demonstrations and moderates who argued for constitutional agitation.

The cultural diversity at the core of unionism is further reflected in political divisions over the future of Northern Ireland. Unionists are split between those advocating various forms of devolution, integration with the United Kingdom, and complete independence. The author argues that this factionalism ultimately impairs the intellectual coherence of unionism and diminishes its political muscle.

Cochrane supports his thesis by the extensive use of oral interviews. With the notable exception of Reverend Ian Paisley, he talked with most of the leading unionist political leaders and elicited some fascinating responses. Nevertheless, while these sources provide an important insight into the mindset of unionist politicians, Cochrane does not include interviews with other key elements of the unionist community such as church officials, trade union leaders, or grassroots activists. The author fails to address how much the views of these segments of unionism conform to his thesis or the degree to which their vision of unionism differs from the political elite.

Cochrane also claims that "the cultural preoccupations and political writ of Orangeism are infused throughout unionism" (p. 393). He further contends that David Trimble's role in the 1995 Siege of Drumcree, when the Orange Order insisted on its right to parade through Catholic neighborhoods, played a vital part in his rise to leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party. Yet, despite these assertions, Cochrane fails to provide a detailed analysis of the Orange Order. We are given little indication of its influence in shaping the unionist response to the Anglo-Irish Agreement or the wider role of Orangeism in the unionist community.

Cochrane maintains that if the union is to survive into the twenty-first century, unionism must "divest itself of its sectarian baggage" and contemplate significant compromise in Northern Ireland's constitutional position. He insists that the best way forward is "to make the Union more acceptable to the nationalist community by recognizing not simply nationalists' 'aspirations' but by reflecting their cultural and political identity within the structures of the state" (p. 394).

While offering this prescription for the future, Cochrane laments that unionist paranoia is likely to prevent significant political compromise because it will be viewed as a "slide down the slippery slope towards an all Ireland state" (p. 395). In adopting this position, the author concentrates on the intransigent dimensions of unionism but makes little attempt to explain or understand unionist concerns. Unionist fears are partly based on the fact that their community has borne the brunt of over twenty-five years of IRA violence designed to force them into a united Ireland. Cochrane does not make it clear that a settlement of the Northern Ireland conflict will require progressive thinking from both unionists and nationalists alike.

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THOMAS WORCESTER. *Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse: France and the Preaching of Bishop Camus.* (Religion and Society, number 38.) New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 1997. Pp. ix, 306.

In the seventeenth century, sermons still provided the principal vehicle by which to spread information throughout society, and in France there was no more prolific sermonizer than Jean-Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley (1584–1652). Thomas Worcester offers a sensitive, close textual analysis of the many hundreds of homilies published by Camus between 1608 and 1652. This body of work, although quite extensive, represented only a portion of Camus's publications, which included sentimental novellas, pastoral advice books, and theological treatises. Worcester quite understandably only considers these other genres insofar as they illuminate the metaphors and messages conveyed in the sermons. A one-man publishing industry, Camus was at once exceptional and typical of the age. He was exceptional in that no other ecclesiastical figure at the time in any way matched his use of print to promote the message of Catholic reform; as such, he recognized and profited from the burgeoning market for pious publications. His decision to quit his see in 1629 seems motivated by a desire to devote his energies to writing and residing in Paris, close to his patrons and publishers. The extent to which he molded or simply reflected public opinion remains an open question, however. At the same time, Camus typified many of the currents of thought and devotional practice that characterized the mainstream of Catholic renewal during the first half of the seventeenth century. Indeed, Camus's historical significance lies in his utter banality, his general lack of originality, and his conformist moderation on topics subject to potential controversy. These safe qualities

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explain why Camus found favor in the eyes of Cardinal Richelieu, for the Bishop of Belley epitomized the kind of obedient *dévot* the Cardinal prized over against the unruly followers of Pierre Bérulle and the Abbé St.-Cyran.

Worcester begins by placing Camus in the context of his times, examining preaching and religious culture as it developed following the Council of Trent and the long, arduous, selective adoption of its decrees in France. Camus's family background also helps to explain his loyalty to the crown and folksy touch. Like Jean-Baptiste Colbert, he descended from merchants and urban office holders who, during the Wars of Religion, entered the ranks of royal service as revenue agents of the king. Young Camus studied law more than theology, although as Frederick Baumgartner has shown, such training was often typical of men who pursued careers in the French episcopacy. The relationship between oral discourse and printed text raises a number of difficult problems, as readers of Walter Ong know all too well. Considering preaching as a performance rather than simply as discourse, as Worcester primarily does, might help to advance our understanding more. Indeed, Camus preached as many sermons to wealthy congregations near the court in Paris as he did to the humble folk in his rural diocese in eastern Burgundy. Yet Worcester largely treats such sermons in the same manner despite the startlingly different cultural settings in which Camus delivered them. In fact, as Roger Chartier has long pointed out, early modern culture was profoundly multivocal—and not always very harmonious! Any suggestion of a single "cultural discourse" holding sway in seventeenth-century France remains quite unconvincing in the end.

Nevertheless, Worcester's close content analysis of the sermons in chapters three through seven can be studied quite profitably for what it reveals about Camus's strategies to uplift his auditors, whoever they might be. Among the themes pursued are conversion, feasting and fasting, gender relations and holiness, and questions of political morality. Camus's teachings offered fervor without controversy, a supple accessibility and "doable" devotion that valued sincere effort over heroic feats of ascetic self-denial. Camus stressed the emotional side of religious experience rather than the arid intellectualism that fueled so many theological disputes. He sought to soften the doctrinal dichotomies that so often ruled discussions of right religion during this period. His ecumenism—at least within Catholic circles—came through in the role models he emulated: Francis de Sales, Charles Borromeo, and Ignatius Loyola. Camus stressed the commonalities, particularly in their Christocentrism, rather than the differences in these archetypes of renewed piety and missionary zeal. Indeed, his appreciative comments about Loyola finally explained, to me at least, why many among the French truly thought the Jesuits to be reverend fathers.

Worcester's book makes a modest though quite competent contribution to our understanding of seventeenth-century Catholic religious culture as reflected in the writings of a prelate-publicist whose corpus by its sheer quantity more than compensated for its usually pedestrian quality. For it was Camus's very ordinariness that rendered him so unthreatening to authorities and popular to the wide range of people from all walks of life who listened to or read his sermons.

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WILLIAM BEIK. *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: The Culture of Retribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 283. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

In this lucid survey, William Beik deepens our understanding of the cultural contours of seventeenth-century urban protest in provincial France. Beik is not interested in presenting urban protest as a mechanical reaction to increases in the price of food or the weight of taxation, and, in fact, he provides virtually no quantitative information on wages, prices, or taxes for the cities under study. What Beik proposes to do instead—and he does it very well—is to uncover the cultural meaning behind the actions of the crowd and to present the repetitive forms of behavior that frame popular action. His approach is ethnographic rather than sociological and is informed by meticulous research in a wide variety of provincial archives.

Beik discusses a range of types of urban protest, from the aggrieved individual who exchanged insults with an antagonist to the highly sophisticated, broadly based Ormée movement in Bordeaux. Only Parisian resistance is left aside. From his study, Beik concludes that urban protest in this period was characterized by a distinctive "culture of retribution." Whereas the religious riots of the sixteenth century sought to cleanse the community from the pollution of heresy and the food riots of the eighteenth century tried to restore paternalistic practices threatened by the forces of the market, the retributive riots of the seventeenth century attempted to call to account those responsible for communal welfare and to punish evildoers.

At its most elemental level, the culture of retribution was based on a notion of honor: that is, that an individual's sense of self-worth could not be violated, even by social superiors, with impunity. From individuals, honor radiated out to encompass social groups and even entire communities. When the wellbeing of a social group was threatened by a new tax or other harmful measure, various sectors of the populace rose up to demand that the perpetrators be punished and humiliated. The goal of these riots was not merely to restore the community to an earlier, more equitable state of being but to ensure that damaging practices were exposed to public scrutiny, stopped, and never revived. To this end, popular protest usually followed certain routine forms of action: the identification of

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specific enemies, the pillaging of homes, the burning of ill-gotten wealth in sacrificial bonfires, and the humiliation of the perpetrators, a practice that sometimes took violent and gruesome forms including the display of dismembered or naked corpses. Although it is not easy to define who constituted the "people" in popular revolts, Beik argues that this group was drawn from the mass of artisans and laborers who struggled daily for survival. Parishes, neighborhoods, guilds, and urban militias provided the micro-units through which individuals were mobilized. In more complex revolts, such as that of the Ormée, intermediate groups of legal officials, merchants, and prosperous artisans provided organizational skills and other resources that allowed popular movements to challenge local structures of power more effectively.

Beik differentiates popular movements of retribution from power struggles based in clientage and faction. Although authorities vied for the support of the lower classes in factional conflicts, the disputes revolved around leadership within the elite itself. Patrons wooed potential clients with banquets, ribbons, and presents, and aristocratic cadets engaged in ostentatious military exercises. Women were frequently present in popular revolts demanding justice, but they were excluded from factional battles. Needless to say, elitist patrons could not always keep their popular allies in check, and crowds often demonstrated minds of their own.

Although limited in scope to the seventeenth century, Beik's study of the culture of retribution has implications for other periods, notably that of the French Revolution, when grisly, vindictive episodes of popular justice surfaced once more. The heritage of urban protest, however, was not limited to violent, punitive measures. The Ormée, for example, was characterized by the swearing of oaths of fidelity, the formation of *ad hoc* ruling committees, the merging of the orders inside the city under the aegis of the Bordelais bourgeoisie, and the mobilization of urban militias to defend the *patrie* (that is, the city of Bordeaux). The parallels with revolutionary events in Paris and other cities after 1789 are striking and lead one to wonder to what extent earlier urban traditions of protest were not only resurrected but nationalized as the revolution unfolded. Such questions go beyond the scope of Beik's study, but they reveal the interest that his work can generate for periods other than that of the seventeenth century. Beik has written a book that students of popular protest in any period will find stimulating and rewarding.

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FRANÇOIS CARON. *Histoire des chemins de fer en France*. Volume 1, *1740–1883*. Paris: Fayard. 1997. Pp. 700.

François Caron's pioneering dissertation on the Northern Railroad Company, published as *Histoire de l'exploitation d'un grand réseau: La Compagnie du chemin de fer du Nord* (1973), established the author as a leading authority on the history of French railroads. Drawing on exceptionally well-preserved company records, Caron analyzed the "Rothschild railroad" as a complex technological system and explored its many interactions with the larger society. Now, after writing extensively on French economic development and twentieth-century technical change, he returns to his scholarly origins. The result is a fascinating synthesis of original research, secondary literature, and university theses, often written under his direction.

Caron argues that the institutions of the Old Regime formed the foundation for what would become the French model of railroad building. The widespread faith in commerce as an engine of economic growth encouraged the monarchy to build roads and canals to reduce the costs of transportation, and the famous Department of Bridges and Roads emerged to execute these undertakings, which continued unabated into the early nineteenth century and achieved considerable success. When the railroad made its "intrusion," state engineers quickly claimed the right, as the guardians of the public good, to build a state-owned system. The French railroad industry faced powerful institutions of state control from the beginning, and the complicated evolution of continuous state involvement is a major interpretive theme in this work.

The countervailing weight of similarly powerful private interests appears as a second unifying theme. In the 1830s, a railroad lobby of Saint-Simonians and pro-business liberals created a legislative stalemate with their calls for an unregulated private system on the British model. The result, as Caron stresses, was a defining compromise between the government and private investors in the law of 1842, which projected six main lines radiating out from Paris. The state and its engineers would lay down the roadbed and infrastructure; private companies with long-term concessions would furnish the rolling stock and operate the trains. Offering a detailed examination of this enduring marriage of convenience, Caron shows that it was far more complicated than generally realized. For example, in the 1840s, the state seldom guaranteed railroad bonds and promoted cut-throat competition that led to losses and some bankruptcies. Only in the 1850s did the state encourage monopolistic consolidation in six big regional firms, but in return the Second Empire (and the Third Republic to 1883) deftly secured the continuous expansion of the national network that was universally desired, as well as a share of the super profits that never materialized. Caron concludes that the French model of public-private compromise worked well, implying that it harmonized with basic French realities.

Going far beyond a study in political economy, Caron's massive investigation reaches numerous medium-level conclusions that will be of interest to historians of technology and enterprise. He stresses, for example, the centrality of safety concerns in the drive for technical solutions, the continuing importance of elite school engineers as both state regulators

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and company managers, the strict discipline of hierarchical management based on military models, the cost-cutting possibilities of ever more intensive utilization of men and equipment, and the distinct cultures of the different companies and the different groups of railway workers. Yet Caron has a grand integrating view of these complex components. They are all linked together in the first modern macrotechnological system capable of effecting the entire range of human behaviors.

This is clearly seen in the last fifth of the book, which addresses the impact of railroads on the French economy and on perceptions of modernity. These sections are gems. It is hard to imagine a historian of France (and modern Europe) who will not be stimulated and enlightened by them. For example, linking back to the recurring motif of passengers as consumers, Caron examines popular perceptions of railroad travel. He shows, quite amusingly, that the French traveler sought solitude above all else, and that a whole literature of unpleasant trips and vulgar encounters in the "unbearable promiscuity" of the railway compartment grew up. This is part of a sophisticated demonstration of the ubiquitous presence of railroads in French fiction and art as symbols of modernity by the 1880s.

To conclude, this outstanding work is likely to stand for a long lime as the preeminent one-volume study of early French railroads. It testifies to the enduring validity of historical sub-disciplines, as well as to the benefits of combining those specialties in a larger whole. Indeed, Caron has woven the political, economic, technological, social, and cultural dimensions of his topic into a remarkable total history of railroads in France to 1883. Moreover, he writes in a precise, well-turned style that recalls the classic prose of Voltaire and Guy de Maupassant—a delightful bonus that enhances our anticipation of the next volume of this study.

I have only two minor criticisms. I wish that Caron had developed a bit more his passing allusions to differences between France and other countries. And a concluding chapter drawing together themes and findings would have been appreciated.

JOHN P. MCKAY
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DALE VAN KLEY, editor. *The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789.* (The Making of Modern Freedom.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 436. $60.00.

When the conference out of which these eight essays by leading American historians of the French Revolution emerged was held in 1991, the "revisionist" critique of the revolution associated with the work of the French historian François Furet was in the ascendant. The revisionists saw the revolution as a largely unsuccessful attempt to institutionalize liberal freedoms. The revolutionaries, Furet argued, remained in thrall to political notions inherited from the Old Regime, particularly the belief that the sovereign had the right to impose limits on individual freedoms in the name of a vaguely defined public interest. In this interpretation, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789), with its repeated references to legal limits on such rights as freedom of expression, was less a charter of liberty than a blueprint for oppression.

Although the contributors include Keith Baker, one of Furet's principal allies in the revisionist debates of the 1980s, this collection as a whole exemplifies a trend that has already been labelled "post-revisionist." Without returning to the Whiggish view that the Declaration represented the decisive step toward universally applicable liberal and democratic values or, alternatively, that it was the manifesto of a successful "bourgeois revolution," editor Dale Van Kley and his colleagues critique both the revisionists' gloomy reading of the document and their interpretation of the Old Regime as a thoroughgoing absolutist system. The defining charter of the French Revolution emerges as a contradictory and often ambiguous reaction to unforeseen circumstances that drew on many hidden traditions embedded in the French past.

The volume's most original essays are those that trace the origins of the revolution's concept of liberty to Old Regime practices. Rather than looking for the sources of 1789 in the radical counter-culture of the French Enlightenment, David Bien argues that privileged groups, ranging from tradesmen's guilds to holders of venal offices, honeycombed Old Regime France with "thousands of mini-parliaments" (p. 48) dedicated to defending their members' rights against arbitrary government action. David Bell shows how lawyers, more than men of letters, articulated notions of due process and imprescriptible rights while also pioneering the practice of appealing to public opinion through printed legal briefs. Thomas Kaiser demonstrates that the redefinition of the notion of property often assumed to have occurred "overnight" in 1789 was anticipated in Old Regime jurisprudence; he also explains how the new formulations in the Declaration perpetuated traditions from feudal and seigneurial property law. Van Kley demonstrates that the political discourse of the revolution drew on traditions of argument that had developed during the great eighteenth-century disputes between the crown and the royal courts or parlements. The patriotic pamphleteers who emerged as spokesmen for the revolution in 1788 and 1789 fused familiar royal propaganda arguments against aristocratic privilege with long-standing *parlementaire* demands for national representation and thereby created a new synthesis capable of transcending the Old Regime's institutional deadlock.

Whereas the focus of most of these essays is on the background to the revolution, Baker looks at the immediate circumstances surrounding the drafting of the Declaration. Often read as the natural culmination of Enlightenment thought, the Declaration was actu-

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ally a hastily drafted product of circumstances. The deputies to the National Assembly were by no means unanimously in favor of the project, and the difficulties they encountered led to repeated suggestions to abandon it. The circumstances of its composition explain its heterogeneous character. As J. K. Wright demonstrates, even articles dealing with related subjects, such as those that defined the principles of national sovereignty, incorporated contradictory elements, reflecting the shifting balance between moderate and radical members of the Assembly.

Two essays stand somewhat outside the volume's main framework. Raymond Birn contends that even the royal edict granting civil rights to Protestants in 1787 and the de facto toleration of an increasing range of publications still fell short of any genuine conception of freedom of religion and expression. The cautiously hedged formulations of 1789 reflected continuing fears about the dangers of too much public divergence of beliefs. Shanti Singham's overview of the revolutionary legislators' debates about whether Jews, blacks, and women were included in the document's purview reaches a more strongly stated conclusion, to the effect that "intolerance to difference" was "the Revolution's major shortcoming" (p. 153).

As a whole, these essays make a persuasive case for the existence of a wide variety of Old Regime traditions that contributed directly to the revolutionary constitution-making of 1789. Their net effect is not so much to define a distinctive "French idea of freedom," however, as to suggest stronger affinities between the French and Anglo-American traditions than are generally conceded. Like their English-speaking cousins, the eighteenth-century French valued such concrete, positive freedoms as the right to own property, the right to legal due process, and the right to participate actively in defending their own privileges. On both sides of the Channel, notions of rights had developed over time and bore the mark of historical circumstances, which account for, among other things, the French tendency to concede the necessity of some legal restrictions on the exercise of rights that had, in the past, led to devastating conflicts. The French were as far removed as the English from anything resembling the interiorized and spiritualized notion defined in Leonard Krieger's classic *The German Idea of Freedom* (1957).

Successful in enriching our understanding of the connections between the Old Regime and the Declaration of 1789, this volume is less suggestive for our understanding of what happened afterward. Bien's assertion that "after 1789 the whole society became in a sense one enlarged corps of the Old Regime type" (p. 71) does not explain why the revolutionaries turned so ferociously against every vestige of prerevolutionary associational life. Baker's careful reconstruction of the drafting of the Declaration does not prepare us for his concluding warning against the "radical dynamic" that came out of it and ended up subverting "the rights of individuals in the name of the right of the nation" (p. 196). These essays do not explain how liberty, as an abstract conception, came to be sacralized at the expense of the concrete freedoms enumerated in the Declaration, a process well laid out in Gerd van den Heuvel's *Der Freiheitsbegriff der Französischen Revolution* (1988). Although they look backward in time more than forward, the contributions to this book nevertheless mark an important new direction in the understanding of the French Revolution.

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JEAN-PIERRE GROSS. *Fair Shares for All: Jacobin Egalitarianism in Practice*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 255. $49.95.

This short and pithy book is one of the most refreshing and stimulating essays on the Terror of the French Revolution to appear in many years, if only because it challenges so much of the dominant recent scholarship. In contrast to the work of the late François Furet (and indeed, most of the leading historians of the French Revolution today), Jean-Pierre Gross argues that most Jacobins during the Year II were not proto-Bolsheviks who used violence to intimidate Frenchmen toward some collectivist fantasy; rather, they were proto-Liberals who differed from their Girondist counterparts and from thinkers such as Adam Smith only in degree, not in kind.

Gross's book is a straightforward account of Jacobin social and economic policies as they were carried out by deputies-on-mission in the provinces. In separate chapters, we see Convention deputies traveling to villages and towns across France and introducing new policies that addressed food rationing, land tenure, progressive taxation, employment, and education. Gross's deputies were neither malicious ideologues nor even reluctant Terrorists moved to radical acts because of circumstances. He portrays them as moderate improvisers who tried to tailor new laws to fit the needs of particular towns.

If the deputies-on-mission have received a bad press from historians, it is because scholars have focused only on the most colorful and violent "ruthless henchmen" (p. 29)—such as Claude Javogues and Joseph Fouché—rather than on the far larger group of men who tried to avoid violence and terror. Indeed, according to Gross, "a rough calculation shows that some 20 percent" of the deputies belonged to hardliners of the Javogues and Fouché species, "while the remaining 80 percent represent" a much more moderate wing of "the Jacobin mainstream" (p. 17).

Gross highlights the views and political behavior of five deputies, who he argues were representative of the moderate mainstream: Jeanbon Saint André, Joseph Lakanal, Gilbert Romme, Jean-Baptiste Bo, and Pierre Roux-Faxillac. In one chapter, for example, Gross compares Romme's efforts in the Dordogne with Fouché's in Lyons. Whereas they both carried

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with them the egalitarian ideas toward food rationing that had been adopted, in Gross's view, by a very wide consensus of Convention deputies, Fouché used the occasion as an excuse to forge a "class war, a war against the consumers of white bread, the urban bourgeoisie," whereas "the frugality and self-denial [Romme] asked of his fellow citizens was to be the fruit of exhortation rather than threat" (p. 90).

Gross reminds us that the Jacobins' "ideological prudence" often "stands in marked contrast to the boldness of their language" (p. 23). This is a reversal of what sometimes has been read into the work of Furet and others: discourse determined or shaped political behavior. When Furet noticed that the language of moderates and radicals was similar, he argued that it demonstrated the radical nature of the revolution from its beginning in 1789. Gross turns this interpretation on its head: by minimizing the ideological differences among revolutionaries, it allows him to argue that most Terrorists were operationally no more radical than the others. Indeed, even Maximilian Robespierre's "intellectual affinity with Locke and Smith makes him an awkward liberal of a novel kind" (p. 39).

Because of its relatively short length and unusual claims, this book might be easy to dismiss or ignore. But whether Gross is right or wrong about his liberal Jacobins, he clearly has done his homework: not only has he mastered the relevant secondary literature, but each chapter is full of examples drawn from the Archives Nationales and, more impressively, from a dozen departmental and municipal archives. Gross's book, then, belongs on the shelf of anyone interested in the ongoing debate about the role of the Terror in the French Revolution.

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HANS-JÜRGEN LÜSEBRINK and ROLF REICHARDT. *The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and Freedom*. Translated by NORBERT SCHÜRER. (Bicentennial Reflections on the French Revolution.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 304. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

In 1987, the exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus likened the apartheid regime to the "Bastille." The invocation—in another language and another hemisphere—of a fourteenth-century French prison fortress centuries after its demise attests to the extraordinary power of this institution in the shaping of modern global political consciousness. Since the seventeenth century, the Parisian Bastille has inspired a profusion of more than 2,000 symbolic textual and visual documents in France and Germany alone, deployed to denounce the tyrannies of state power or to celebrate democratic liberation from autocratic rule. Taking this vast record of popular political rhetoric as their object of analysis, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt reconstruct the extraordinary history of how the Bastille came to take on this powerful symbolic function in modern political culture.

Great symbols—the Bastille, the Hammer and Sickle, the Statue of Liberty—are not born, they are made. And their making is a many-handed and multigenerational project. Drawing on the notion of collective symbolism developed by the German social theorist Jürgen Link, Reichardt and Lüsebrink argue that collective symbols share a set of ascertainable cultural traits: metaphoric possibility, visual iconicity, specifiable contextual motivation (i.e. a script susceptible to transposition and reenactment), semiotic ambiguity, associative extension, and emotional appeal. Symbol formation, however, is above all a sociohistorical process. And the key to this process is cultural action. Reichardt and Lüsebrink document the progressive demonization of the Paris Bastille from the late seventeenth century onward, first in the published memoirs of prisoners and then, more eloquently, by imprisoned writers and political dissidents. Its life as a prison became more symbolic than real: the number of imprisoned political dissidents, and of prisoners more generally, declined over the eighteenth century while the number of horrific representations of the fortress produced by political journalists increased. By the eve of the French Revolution in 1789, a rich legacy of visual and textual documents had transformed the Bastille from a fortress into a generalized symbol of political tyranny and a ripe target for insurrectionary rage.

The storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, according to Reichardt and Lüsebrink, however, was the truly critical moment of the Bastille's metamorphosis into a symbol of mythic proportions, because it was then that the icon took on its bipolar signification as an emblem of both despotism and freedom—a polarity that moreover came to represent the narrative moment of rupture between past and present. A series of revolutionary practices—the hero cult of the citizens who participated in the storming, the narrative accounts of the events of July 14, theatrical and visual representations, the commemorative rituals of the festivals of federation, the cult of the relics of the former prison, the series of secondary "bastille stormings" in other cities—all played critical roles in the shaping of the symbol's two key figurations of national rebirth. On the one hand, the republican military heroism of "*la grande nation*" (a legacy of the patriotic citizens who rose up to save France) is still vividly reenacted with the annual military parade down the Champs-Élysées on July 14; and on the other, the revolution's legacy of popular insurrection is celebrated and renewed in the raucous popular festivals and radical demonstrations held on the Place de la Bastille.

The symbolic legacy of the Bastille in the nineteenth century offers further twists to this intriguing story of symbolic politics, not the least of which is the Napoleonic effort to neutralize a site associated with popular insurrectionary action by mounting a water foun-

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tain in the form of a giant plaster elephant on the location of the former prison. It remained there from 1806 to 1844. There were no official commemorations of the events of July 14 between 1815 and 1870 (although its subterranean cult remained vibrant). It was only with the revival of oppositional politics under the Third Republic that Bastille symbolism, again, became central to French political life. And so it has remained to this day, not only in France, but also in Eastern Europe and much of the decolonizing "Third World."

Since its original publication in German in 1990, this book has been widely recognized among specialists as one of the most innovative studies in the history of modern political culture to appear in this decade. It has deservedly been selected for translation and publication in the Duke series of Bicentennial Reflections on the French Revolution. The series editors are to be thanked for preserving all of the marvelous illustrations and appendixes of the original edition and, most importantly, for making this brilliant and engaging study available to the wider scholarly community.

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JOY HARVEY. *"Almost a Man of Genius": Clémence Royer, Feminism, and Nineteenth-Century Science.* (Lives of Women in Science.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 374. $62.00.

Joy Harvey's book is the first biography in English of Clémence Royer, who is best known for her controversial translation of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). Harvey presents Royer as a creative woman thinker working often in isolation and material discomfort to advance the sciences, whose institutional structures largely excluded the so-called inferior "second sex." Royer also championed women's rights in highly regarded feminist publications, such as Marguerite Durand's *La Fronde*, and in her writings on anthropology. (Royer was the first woman member of Paul Broca's Société d'Anthropologie.) Highlighting Royer's difficulties in promoting intellectual and social progress, this meticulously crafted intellectual biography is an excellent study of the relationship between science and gender in the nineteenth century.

Harvey emphasizes Royer's rebellious, courageous spirit. Born in Brittany in 1830, Royer was raised in a middle-class, Catholic, legitimist household but eventually became a republican and an atheist. Obtaining a rare, prestigious teaching certificate, she worked for over a year in Wales. In 1856, she abandoned teaching and moved to Lausanne, where she devoted herself to her studies. Two years later she met Pascal Duprat, an exiled republican, publisher, and lecturer, who provided her with crucial intellectual and emotional support. Although married, he became her constant companion and the father of her only son. In the late 1860s, the couple settled in Paris, where their public affair somewhat marginalized her. Thanks in part to Duprat's encouragement, Royer became a writer. From 1858 to her death in 1902, she produced a novel, several scholarly books, and many articles on economics, anthropology, political science, and science, which apeared in such journals as *Le nouvel economiste*, *La philosophie positive*, and *The English Woman's Journal*.

Royer's English skills, anticlericalism, ties to publishers, and knowledge of the works of Jean Baptiste Lamarck and Thomas Malthus made her the logical choice to translate Darwin's *Origin of the Species*. Royer launched five French editions between 1862 and 1892. As Harvey demonstrates, she infuriated Darwin by going beyond her role of translator. She added extensive footnotes and a preface to present her own interpretation of Darwinian evolution, which attacked Christianity. Royer also suggested that progress required the elimination of the weak, sick, and evil members of society. Harvey astutely criticizes Royer's racism, support for colonization, and theories of eugenics. She also underscores Royer's error in not examining Darwin's latest, corrected editions of the *Origin* before publishing her own third French edition—an edition that, moreover, severely criticized Darwin's unrelated theory of pangenesis.

Showing the interrelationship between her life and work, Harvey maintains that Royer's remarkable feminist philosophy reflected her own struggles. Royer encouraged women to take control of science and make it more affirmative, practical, and holistic. Royer also believed that women had the right to work, divorce, acquire an education, and bear children outside of marriage. Harvey points out Royer's role in the International Congress for the Rights of Women as well as her relationships with Marie d'Agoult, Maria Deraismes, and other prominent women. Yet the intellectual context of Royer's feminist ideas could have been explored more fully.

Harvey persuasively argues that Royer regarded her materialist explanation of matter and life as her most important work, and she traces its development through *L'Origine de l'homme et des sociétés* (1869), *Le Bien et la loi morale* (1881) and *La Constitution du monde* (1900). To eliminate the dualism inherent in Cartesianism, Royer maintained that fluid, expansive physical atoms were the building blocks of both organic and inorganic matter, which were similar. Her theory of the mutual repulsion of atoms challenged Isaac Newton's emphasis on attraction as the explanatory principle of the cosmos. From her physical law regarding the equilibrium of atoms, Royer built a universal scientific morality that tended to celebrate stability—a virtue which Harvey points out was paradoxically absent in her own life.

Ernest Renan called Royer "almost a man of genius," reflecting the prevalent view that it was impossible for a woman to be considered a genius, especially without losing her femininity. Yet Royer claimed that women had a special genius. She used herself as an example. Because she had been barred from universi-

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ties, academies, and laboratories, she asserted that she had not had to contend with the problems connected to scientific specialization. As a result, her work could be more creative, synthetic, and original. Unrestrained by "gentlemanly" codes of honor, she could challenge great scientists, such as Newton and Darwin. Nevertheless, Royer's independence came at a price. Her work was not remunerated or properly recognized. Finding it difficult to exchange ideas with scholars, who deplored her wide-ranging interests and status as an unwed mother, she lacked the means to express, test, and defend her thought. In 1895 she remarked, "I have done only the smallest part of what I could have done" (p. 169). Five years later, she finally received the Legion of Honor, the first such award granted to a woman for scientific work. Based partly on unpublished materials at the Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand, Harvey's even-handed, well-written book brings to light a pioneer woman scientist who served as an important role model.

MARY PICKERING
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SYLVIA SCHAFER. *Children in Moral Danger and the Problem of Government in Third Republic France.* (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 232. $49.50.

The July 24, 1889 law on the "moral abandonment" (*abandon moral*) of children is the centerpiece of this study of the early Third Republic's preoccupation with the family and population issues. Influenced by Michel Foucault and other deconstructionists, Sylvia Schafer is equally concerned with the language used by legislators and administrators to frame a new category of social "problem" and then develop ways to treat it. The nineteenth-century French state long had policies for aiding physically abandoned children or dealing with juvenile delinquents removed from parental custody. The "morally abandoned" were those judged by civil courts to be neglected or abused by parents. If children were so identified, public authorities provided alternate living arrangements for them. Yet, Schafer repeatedly emphasizes, this new category was also ambiguous, for it fell in between the obviously abandoned and juvenile delinquents. Officials thus pondered whether to place the morally abandoned (likely to have bad habits) alongside "normal" and presumably uncorrupted state wards. Ambiguity ultimately made the category problematical, and soon after 1900 it suffered "conceptual evisceration" (p. 145). Morally abandoned children often did not receive separate treatment, and a 1904 law added them to other classifications of children who were wards of the state (*pupilles*). Although the category lingered on after World War I, state policy after 1904 was more concerned with separating "innocent" wards from those labeled "vicious."

Schafer considers the moral abandonment law to be an important illustration of the state's assumption of the paternal role, and she argues that the Third Republic launched a new phase in this development. Paternal authority in the home was, of course, rooted in Roman law, Catholic teaching, and Old Regime legislation. If the French Revolution increased the power of the state at the expense of paternal authority, the Napoleonic civil code soon reinforced fathers' position. A department-level service for *enfants assistés*, begun by the First Empire in 1811, was further developed by subsequent regimes. Particularly stimulating is Schafer's discussion of the linkage between the circumstances surrounding the Third Republic's creation and new policies increasing the state's role in the lives of families—a theme previously addressed by Rachel Fuchs, among others. Born after the humiliating loss of the Franco-Prussian War and preoccupied with the issue of France's declining birthrate vis-à-vis that of Germany, the young republic quickly passed three laws in 1874 to protect children: one regulated child labor in industry, another addressed children who were traveling performers or beggars, and the Roussel Law protected infants placed with wet nurses. By the time the moral abandonment law was passed, the republic also had spent a decade reforming public education, beginning with the normal school law of 1879 and the Ferry Laws of 1881–1882 and culminating with a measure not mentioned by Schafer (but passed just before the object of her concern), the July 19, 1889 law making the national government responsible for public schoolteachers' salaries and thus better able to control what they actually taught. Although Schafer stresses that using familial metaphors made intrusions into private life more palatable to the republic's liberal supporters, she is not especially concerned with the "maternalist" discourse employed not only by philanthropists, male and female, but also by state officials who envisioned a larger public role for women, particularly as teachers. Indeed, nursery schools—first labeled *salles d'asile*—were brought under the state regulatory umbrella during the 1830s and given a maternal cast well before the Third Republic renamed them *écoles maternelles* in 1881.

Schafer has ably marshalled documentary evidence concerning the Seine department's initiation of a service for the morally abandoned in 1881, the legislature's debate on turning the Seine model into national policy, and the implementation of the 1889 law by public assistance offices in Paris and the departments. Some readers may find the book's linguistic concerns perplexing on occasion: for example, contexts for understanding the meaning of words become "situated grids of signification" (p. 7). Never explained (as author's choice or publisher's dictate) is the repeated use of the French term *abandon moral*—and other French words—without quotation marks or italics. Such quibbles do not undercut this monograph's value, however. Schafer takes her subject from legislative action to administrative implementation and the impact on selected individuals and families, skillfully

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linking it to the young republic's preoccupation with social issues and its ensuing decisions to intrude into the family circle to enhance the morality and health of future generations.

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ANNE COVA. *Maternité et droits des femmes en France (XIX^e^-XX^e^ siècles)*. (Historiques.) Paris: Anthropos. 1997. Pp. viii, 435. 250 fr.

France during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presents the paradox of a country that was obsessed with the "problems" of depopulation and the "degeneration of the race" and yet was in many ways slow to respond with the type of legislation that might have helped. Anne Cova takes us to the heart of this situation with her absorbing study of maternal welfare provision under the Third Republic. As she is at pains to show, France did have an exceptionally slow rate of demographic increase, but no less important in provoking the perception of a crisis was the background of military insecurity vis-à-vis Germany. There was fertile ground for measures to protect maternity, which feminists hoped to use to their own advantage. However, what Stanley Hoffmann described as the "stalemate society" of the French Republic was notoriously prone to indecisiveness when it came to enacting social legislation. Talk of a French lag was common at the time, although, as Cova points out, it was not always justified: if France was more reluctant than its neighbors to introduce maternity leave, it did, at least, pioneer family allowances.

The book's main concern is to discover where various feminist groups stood on the key issues of who was to be protected and how this was to be done. At this early stage, it was a matter of debate whether only working mothers would be covered, and whether the protection of maternity was a matter for labor legislation or the welfare services. Moreover, like most of their counterparts abroad, French women faced the problem of lobbying politicians answerable only to an all-male electorate. The approach taken is broadly chronological, with five significant periods being discerned: the 1890s, the run-up to World War I, the war period itself, the "mad years" of the 1920s, and finally the Depression of the 1930s. This survey takes us from the first suggestions for encouraging maternity leave and breast feeding to the extensive program embodied in the Family Code of 1939.

Cova has unearthed a mass of material from conference reports, newspapers, and periodicals, which, as she convincingly argues, allows us to hear what women had to say in an area all too often dominated by men. There was, of course, no single feminist view; the cast of characters in the work ranges from the militant syndicalist Aline Valette to the more moderate Duchesse Edmée de La Rochefoucauld. Nonetheless, all of these women strove to have maternity recognized as an issue of public interest and acted as stern critics of any laws that were passed. Cova keeps a broad perspective on her subject, bringing in comparisons with other countries where appropriate and setting maternity protection in its context. For example, the passing of the 1913 Strauss Law on maternity leave is usefully linked to the patriotic feeling stirred that year by the Balkan Wars, the Agadir Crisis, and the voting of a military law in Germany. No less importantly, the book conveys in great detail the theoretical debates, the wheeling and dealing, and the numerous setbacks that lay behind maternity legislation. As Cova acknowledges, however, we remain locked in the rarefied atmosphere of the congress hall and the hemicycles of the legislature. How the mass of women responded to the feminist line remains another story. There are also pros and cons to the chronological framework adopted. It has the advantage of bringing out the tortuous path that led to the protection of maternity by the state. The downside is the need to disperse discussion of debates that ran throughout the period, concerning, for example, the case for allowing paternity suits or the costs and benefits of legislation to protect women in the workplace.

The upshot is that this book makes an important contribution to the history of women in France and, more specifically, to a growing body of literature on the gender dimension of early welfare legislation. The latter supersedes an earlier historiography that focused heavily on adult male workers and social control. A number of historians in Europe and the United States have begun to develop a more balanced approach by highlighting the centrality of maternity policies to the rise of the welfare state. It is interesting to note that Cova does not share Frank Prochaska's concern to emphasize the benefits of private as opposed to public initiatives in welfare provision. Is this because French political culture has been less influenced than the "Anglo-Saxon" one by Thatcherism and Reaganism? Or is it perhaps difficult to envisage employers voluntarily supporting mothers around childbirth?

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KEVIN PASSMORE. *From Liberalism to Fascism: The Right in a French Province, 1928–1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 333. $59.95.

Kevin Passmore's study seeks to account for the volatility of right-wing voters in the Rhône in the 1930s, many of whom abandoned liberalism for fascism after the Popular Front began to threaten in 1935. Some of Passmore's analyses dispute previous interpretations of the French right advanced by Stanley Hoffman, René Rémond, Pierre Milza, Philippe Burrin, William Irvine, and myself (in some cases, Passmore greatly oversimplying the views he attacks).

Passmore notes that the failure of the right to unite

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in response to the Popular Front shows that more was involved than simple class conflict over material interests. While not denying these interests, he finds them no more "primary" than religious, gender, or status interests. Adopting a neo-Weberian concept of "social closure," he emphasizes that advantaged groups represented by the French right sought to exclude the non-privileged from access to not only material resources but also to the means of coercion and knowledge.

In contrast to Rémond, Passmore maintains that an authoritarian potential within all the main components of the French right was part of the reason for the spectacular rise of the Croix de Feu (CF) after 1935 and for the increasing "subfascism" of the French Radical Party after 1938, the latter undermining the appeal of the CF while both paved the way for Vichy. In his chapters on the Croix de Feu/Parti Social Français (CF/PSF), the largest right-wing movement in the Rhône by 1936, Passmore plunges into the scholarly controversy over the nature of French fascism. He maintains that the CF before 1936, but not the PSF after 1936, was indeed fascist and that both formations were socially radical, anti-capitalist, anti-elitist, anti-establishmentarian, and populist.

At times, Passmore's vague use of the terms "radicalism" and "anti-capitalism" obfuscates the differences between political radicalism (in this case, right-wing anti-parliamentarianism) and social radicalism, between opposition to the political establishment and opposition to the social establishment, and between small-business "anti-capitalism" and working-class anti-capitalism. For the CF to "claim" that it expressed the opposition of "the people" to the establishment (p. 16)—to the "social" as well as the political establishment (p. 245)—does not make it so, especially when the socioeconomic program of the CF/PSF was virtually indistinguishable from that of the socially conservative Fédération Républicaine, one of the CF/PSF's major rivals on the Catholic right. In 1935, communiqués of the "populist" CF appeared regularly in the conservative press, and in 1937, a squad of "populist" PSF helped to break a strike by farm workers.

Passmore insists that the CF/PSF was engaged in a "radical drive against the establishment" (p. 220) and that its "radicalism must be taken seriously" (p. 210). He acknowledges, however, that this radicalism was not "in any sense left wing" since it was "*more* hostile to the left than the parliamentary right" (p. 210). Not only was the CF's opposition to economic elites only "partial" (it attacked "only 'Jewish' and 'international' capitalism"), but it also condemned established political elites for *failing* to carry out conservative tasks (p. 210). A few big businessmen in the Rhône "discreetly" supported the PSF (p. 300), and in the North, most of the PCF's adherents "were doubtless right-wing voters" (p. 302).

Passmore finds that the CF/PSF in Lyons recruited most of its members from the bourgeois center of the city, that no less than fifty-nine percent of these lived in its wealthy neighborhoods, that many of its activists came from old bourgeois families, that senior managers and salaried engineers held many of its leadership positions, and that "there is no evidence of substantial working class support" (p. 240). Much of the rank-and-file of the PSF in the Rhône as a whole was composed of younger peasants linked to the far right (presumably not poorly paid farm workers), white-collar workers, engineers, and engineer employers who blamed big business for compromising with the Popular Front in 1936—which, in Passmore's view, helped make them "anti-capitalist."

Passmore's contention that the PSF was not fascist because it opted for electoral politics in 1936 (after the CF had been banned as a paramilitary organization) ignores the fact that Adolf Hitler's party had been similarly flexible between 1924 and 1933.

There is much to admire in Passmore's book. Based on extensive and groundbreaking archival research and finely attuned to the conflicting economic, status, religious, and cultural interests that divided right-wing politics in the Rhône, this study is a major contribution to our understanding of French conservatisms in the 1930s. It is local history with broad implications.

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EUGENIA C. KIESLING. *Arming Against Hitler: France and the Limits of Military Planning.* (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. xiv, 260. $35.00.

France's defeat in 1940 continues to attract researchers. Among the best ways to bring new insights to bear, as this study demonstrates, is to apply detailed work to very specialized aspects of France's preparation for war. Eugenia C. Kiesling's book examines French army doctrine and training. It is a worthwhile area of inquiry, one not considered in depth since Ladislas Mysyrowicz's *Autopsie d'une défaite* (1973). (This work remains, incidentally, less familiar than it should be, doubtless because it was issued by a Swiss publisher without an English translation.) Kiesling convincingly explains how the French army's active service formations, and the reserves it remobilized in time of war, conceptualized the nature of future combat after 1919 and why its units trained as they did. Her chapter on the reserves (over half the French infantry divisions of 1940 being of reservist type) is particularly insightful. She demonstrates persuasively that there was great bureaucratic pressure to conform to the perceived "lessons" of 1917–1918—the preeminence of the defensive, reliance on fire support and a slow-moving, tightly controlled battle—and that these lessons were imprinted on the thinking of the French army's inspectors-general branches, responsible for combat doctrine and training exercises.

The book acknowledges the presence of an unavoidable "victory syndrome": armed forces that win wars tend to feel little reason to question their doctrine and

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training assumptions. But Kiesling's argument to explain the configuration, strengths, and weaknesses of the French army of the later 1930s goes well beyond any simplistic notion that a gerontocratic high command, imprisoned in 1918 thinking, never modernized in the 1920s and was fatally outmoded by the 1930s. She shows that the French armed forces pondered deeply the impact of industrialized war. One chapter explains how this led to the Law for the Organization of the Nation in Time of War (July 1938). Another recounts the establishment, in 1936, of an interservice College of Higher National Defense Studies, a veritable "academy for generals" that brought top civil servants and officers together in courses on the higher political, economic, and strategic management of modern war. These were initiatives of the kind recognized after 1945 as an essential stage in the training of senior defense policy planners (*vide* the National Defense University in the United States, the Royal College of Defence Studies in the United Kingdom, and France's successor to the 1936 College, the present-day Institute for Higher National Defense Studies). Kiesling suggests, however, that many of these farsighted modernizations were implemented too late to have the transformatory effect required to make France ready to cope with the pace of Germany's offensive of May-June 1940.

At lower levels within the army—at the regimental, battalion, and company echelons—there were few beneficial "trickle down" effects resulting from the sensible high-level reforms. There was insufficient training time, especially for the reservists struck by Germany's best units in 1940 (exacerbated by cancellation of maneuvers in 1938 owing to the Munich crisis); insufficient attention to giving all units modern, reliable two-way radio sets to facilitate command and control in a fluid battle; and insufficient renewal of the officer cadres. This is a very valuable book, essential reading for anyone interested in the French collapse of 1940. It considerably assists our understanding of what the French military authorities were managing to change on the eve of war, and why they had not changed more. It helps us grasp why, at least in military terms, the "strange defeat" was not really so strange after all.

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DANIELLE MARX-SCOURAS. *The Cultural Politics of Tel Quel: Literature and the Left in the Wake of Engagement*. (Penn State Studies in Romance Literatures.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 254. Cloth $40.00, paper $19.95.

In writing a study of *Tel Quel*, Danielle Marx-Scouras has taken on a subject of astonishing complexity and one of considerable importance for our understanding of cultural and intellectual developments in postwar France. Built around the fascinating, if exasperating, figure of Philippe Sollers, here was a review that began life in 1960 by criticizing Sartrean engagement and defending literature *per se*, only to move close to the French Communist Party and to side with its hostility toward the student protests of May 1968, then to endorse Maoism and the Chinese Cultural Revolution, before it finally allied itself with the anti-Marxist "new philosophers" and enjoyed a fascination with American culture! Through exhaustion, if nothing else, it ceased publication in 1982 (although the indefatigable Sollers continues to pursue his intriguing combination of literary brilliance and showmanship). Never far from controversy and always provocative, its list of contributors during its twenty-year lifespan reads like a rollcall of the most brilliant French writers and intellectuals of the period. Yet, above all, *Tel Quel* was and remained a literary journal, its political ramblings always subordinate to this prevailing interest.

It is not surprising that *Tel Quel* has already been the subject of much recent detailed inquiry, with two excellent studies published by Philippe Forest and Patrick ffrench. Both presumably appeared too late for Marx-Scouras to take account of them and both, to an extent, cover the ground better. Where Marx-Scouras is at her best, however, is in her treatment of the key dimension of the review: literary theory. Here, with great dexterity and upon the basis of solid research, she provides an analysis of considerable finesse and clarity of argument. This is no small accomplishment, as *Tel Quel* self-consciously indulged in the obscure. Where, therefore, Marx-Scouras convinces is in her account of the way in which *Tel Quel* sought to reverse the devalorization of literature associated with the Sartrean logic of political commitment.

There are at least two other issues of interest in this book. The first derives from Marx-Scouras's awareness that "to follow the trail blazed by intellectuals bound to the activity of reviews in the postwar years is to procure a comprehensive view of both the cultural and the political history of that period" (pp. 13–14). This has been an important theme in recent French scholarship devoted to cultural-intellectual history and Marx-Scouras properly makes reference to the work of Régis Debray. There are also several references to the notion of the "intellectual field," but this concept (taken from Pierre Bourdieu) is little developed. This is unfortunate because it would serve to illustrate the element of strategy within the Parisian intellectual field that underpinned many of *Tel Quel*'s editorial initiatives.

Secondly, Marx-Scouras situates her study in the context of current debates about political commitment among French intellectuals. In her conclusion, she specifically addresses the arguments raised by Tony Judt in *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944–1956* (1992). "I aim to show," she writes, "that literature—even when it claims to be disengaged—can never sever its historical ties" (p. 22). Here the argument is less successful, even though Marx-Scouras expertly demonstrates *Tel Quel*'s rejection of the Sartrean model of the "universal" intellectual. One suspects that she is

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understandably less at home in the world of political ideology, especially that associated with the sterile terrain of the French Communist Party.

For all that, Marx-Scouras has chosen her subject well. If we wish to understand the cultural-intellectual history of France over the last forty years, *Tel Quel* and its remarkable cast of contributors occupy a central place in that history.

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DAVID E. VASSBERG. *The Village and the Outside World in Golden Age Castile: Mobility and Migration in Everyday Rural Life*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 253. $59.95.

In this volume, David E. Vassberg presents an important compendium of materials, from both primary and secondary sources, to show that experience of the outside world was an ordinary part of Castilian village life in the Golden Age and migration "a normal structural characteristic of society" (p. 175). He writes in reaction to stereotypes of the peasantry by various historians as unchanging and immobile, isolated and self-isolating, rooted in place and bound by tradition. Following a brief review of the nature of the rural community in Castile during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries—stressing local solidarity, forms of self-governance, attitudes toward outsiders, and economic protectionism—Vassberg catalogues the wealth of phenomena that simultaneously connected these communities to the larger society that surrounded them. The principal portions of the Crown of Castile that Vassberg considers are Old and New Castile, León, and Extremadura.

The book's chapters deal with villages' marketing activities and engagement with traders of various kinds; manufacturing and artisanal activities; different forms of migration from and between local communities; ties of kinship and marriage across village lines; relations and contacts with the state through the workings of the military and judicial systems, taxation, state land sales, and the seigniorial system; the institutions for attending to travellers; relations with and attitudes toward Moriscos, Gypsies, slaves and ex-slaves, and foreign nationals; institutions for attending to paupers and vagabonds; and the varied relationships emerging from religious practice and the workings of the religious establishment, including pilgrims and pilgrimages.

In examining these topics and more, Vassberg employs archival sources (mainly collections in national-level archives); published (including literary) sources of the period studied; and a wealth of secondary works ranging from studies of medieval to modern history and the works of anthropologists in contemporary rural Iberia. The anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers wrote of the use of history to ratify findings about the present (*The People of the Sierra* [1954]). Vassberg works in the reverse direction, using findings by anthropologists of contemporary Spain and historians of periods later than his own to shed light on the character of Castilian rural society in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries.

Anthropologists or local and family historians of later periods who have access to greater amounts of material illuminating the kinds of processes, contacts, institutions, and practices of which Vassberg writes might ask if he is not cutting furrows in a field already plowed. Probably not. He is attempting to understand an earlier time and on a scale that is supralocal. For example, even a local historian would have difficulty finding for the pre-Tridentine period records to systematize family histories and marriage patterns, which are the principal bases for our understanding of migration statistics and systemic extra-local relations. It is meaningful and important to project onto the Golden Age understood processes—such as the departure of extra offspring from families in towns without expandable land bases—that could not have differed in kind significantly from those of the later periods for which they are better documented and from which our processual understanding is derived. Vassberg's synthesis works across the disciplinary and subject boundaries of most of the extant literature and will be important reading for students of Iberia and Europe as a whole. As with most syntheses, its author is not always on the ground he knows best, but we may also say of such efforts, "nothing ventured, nothing gained." There are indeed appreciable gains in the holistic depiction of rural life in the Golden Age.

This book's title delineates a far wider subject matter than does its subtitle. Vassberg synthesizes materials to reflect the scope of the former, but the latter dominates his brief chapter of conclusion, which addresses only a few narrow questions of historical demography and does no justice to the question that originally informed the inquiry: the nature of Castile's peasantry vis-à-vis historians' assumptions about its closed quality. Do an inventory of villagers' experience of the outside world and Vassberg's justified claims for the dynamism of Castilian society as a whole lay the informing question to rest? No, because peasants' connectedness to the outside is only one part of their experience. A better understanding of the whole is achieved by researchers in disciplines like anthropology (this reviewer's), rural sociology, or agrarian economics, who work in face-to-face engagement with contemporary peasant communities. The early informing definition of peasants comes from Alfred L. Kroeber (*Anthropology* [1948]): "They constitute part-societies with part-cultures." Later, more extensive defining studies are by Robert Redfield (*Peasant Society and Culture* [1956]) and Eric R. Wolf (*Peasants* [1966]). Janus-like, peasants peer inward as well as outward. The behavior of closure protects the phenomena on which depends the internal cohesion that in turn makes possible peasant production and social reproduction. Vassberg's description of Castilian vil-

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lagers' reaction to epidemics is emblematic of the dual nature of peasant existence: "They tried to protect themselves from infection by keeping strangers out" (p. 167). Exchange with the outside world is no less crucial than is the closure of communities for protection of the social body: the provision of mutual aid and spiritual fellowship among a group small enough to know each other's names, family histories, failings, preferences, and grudges (hence the sizeable anthropological literature on the quality of interpersonal relations in peasant communities). Communities' sentimental closure, systems of internal self-regulation, and postures of folkishness are, in the premodern agrarian world, the necessary reverse of the interconnectedness with the wider society that Vassberg has so importantly documented for Golden Age Castile.

José Ortega y Gasset, in his preface to José Ortiz Echagüe's study of Spanish folk costumes, *España: Tipos y trajes* (1933), remarked that "no folk costume is either autochthonous or eternal, but they all look as if they were" [my translation]. Vassberg has shown us, for Castilian peasantry as a whole, how appearances can deceive; he exposes the dynamic interactions that coexist with the posture of peasant closure.

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Gillian T. W. Ahlgren. *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 188. $29.95.

It is easy to understand why, of all the women writers of Spain's early modern period, Teresa de Jesús has received by far the most critical attention. Scholars are drawn to the historical significance of her role as religious reformer of the Discalced Carmelites, no less than to the seductively vivacious personality that shines irrepressibly through her writings. Much of the reason for the saint's continuing fascination is clearly due to her condition as a woman and mystic at a time when these categories inevitably courted danger. Indeed, Teresa's life force is so compellingly strong as almost to make us forget that, above all, she managed to produce an exhaustive and influential body of religious writing rivaling that of her most prolific male contemporaries.

By focusing on the saint's risky engagement with theology, Gillian T. W. Ahlgren's lucid study expands and enriches our comprehension of Teresa as the author of such daring spiritual tracts as the *Moradas*, the *Fundaciones*, and the *Camino de Perfección*. Abetted by the Inquisition, the Counter Reformation effectively halted the unfettered outburst of spiritual diversity that had earlier given Spanish religious women a privileged role. As Ahlgren notes, Teresa was mindful that, during these "difficult times (*tiempos recios*), not only her theological position but her autonomy and agency were indeed shaky" (p. 33). Ahlgren appropriately contextualizes the period by addressing the Inquisition's pursuit of heterodoxy and its challenge to holy women.

The main thrust of the book means to trace Teresa's singular progress in her role of female theologian. Ahlgren investigates Teresa's initial quest for authority as both reformer and writer; she discusses the nun's ongoing activities as founder of several convents but also the writing of her most developed theological treatise, the *Moradas*. Expanding on Alison Weber's *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (1990), she demonstrates how Teresa exploited her humble subject position through rhetorical strategies that, paradoxically, depend on a colloquial style, obedience to her male superiors, and subordination to trained theologians. On this issue, the author's most salient point is her insistence that the nun's obedient and humble demeanor successfully deceived her confessors (and her male critics) into believing that she wrote solely at their behest. Ahlgren recognizes instead that the saint utilized the term obedience to justify her literary drive to record divine revelation.

Less convincing is Ahlgren's belief in the significance of Teresa's *converso* or Jewish background as a key to her personality (p. 32). Although there is no longer any doubt that the nun was well aware of her family lineage, there is simply no way to judge accurately to what extent she felt persecuted because of her origins rather than due to her mysticism. Ahlgren rightly asserts, however, that Teresa was vigilant of the requirement to rationalize and defend her position as mystic. The author thus delineates Teresa's religious doctrine and her attempt to recover the legitimacy of female visionary experience. For Ahlgren, the three most controversial aspects of Teresa's doctrine are "her defense of women's right to mental prayer and spiritual autonomy, her criticism of the climate produced by the Inquisition's censorship, and her teachings on visions and mystical union" (p. 85).

The book's thorough and eloquent elucidation of Teresa's theological discourse offers reason enough to recommend it to lay readers. The last two chapters, on posthumous debates that arose concerning Teresa's orthodoxy and the canonization of female saints, extend the investigation of Teresian writings to include their historical consequences for women religious. Ahlgren's measured conclusion enhances her illuminating reading of one of the most complex and intriguing of Spanish mystics and adds special value to this richly rewarding study.

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Reginald de Schryver. *Max II. Emanuel von Bayern und das spanische Erbe: Die europäischen Ambitionen des Hauses Wittelsbach 1665–1715*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, number 156.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1996. Pp. xiii, 286. DM 68.

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Specialists in early modern Central Europe and diplomatic historians in particular will welcome this insightful and engagingly written work on the powerful elector of Bavaria, Max II Emanuel, and his dynastic ambitions. An impressive range of archival sources from Brussels, The Hague, London, Madrid, Munich, Paris, Rome, Simancas, Vincennes, and Vienna buttresses the work. At the outset, Reginald de Schryver sets his work within the historiographical context and explains his intent to examine the elector's relations with the Spanish monarchy rather than to analyze extensively Max Emmanuel's roles as ruler of Bavaria, military hero in the Turkish wars, or patron of the baroque. Schryver skillfully traces the elector's relationship with the Austrian and Spanish branches of the house of Habsburg and his Spanish ambitions beginning with the reign of the tragic Carlos II, the last scion of the Spanish Habsburgs, and concluding with that motley collection of treaties—Utrecht, Rastatt, and Baden—that ended the War of the Spanish Succession. In this history of "power and powerlessness, of ambition and illusions, of marriage and death" (p. xi), he places Bavarian ambitions and policies in a wider European context and analyzes the elector's goals.

The book is divided into four main chronological sections. The first starts with the last will of Philip IV and traces the elector's relations with Spain; the elector's marriage with Maria Antonia of Austria, the daughter of Leopold I and of Philip IV's daughter Margareta; and his subsequent involvement in that tangled question of who should inherit the lands of the childless Carlos II of Spain. The author also discusses Maria Antonia's renunciation of most of her inheritance (excluding the Spanish Netherlands) and the conflicting views of the Austrians and Spanish toward that renunciation. The second part focuses on Max Emanuel's position as governor of the Spanish Netherlands and his stance on the Barrier, the Treaty of Ryswick, the Partition Treaties, and Carlos II's will. During that time, the death of the elector's only living child (from his first marriage), seven-year-old Joseph Ferdinand, devastated Max Emmanuel and his family. Parts three and four treat the elector's service to the "two crowns" of France and Spain. Schryver begins with the Franco-Bavarian alliance and analyzes the elector's policies in the Netherlands, his diplomacy after the defeat at Hochstadt (which forced the electorate out of the war), and the impact of Ramillies and The Hague Preliminaries of 1709. In the last chapter he concentrates on the peace negotiations during the War of the Spanish Succession, notably the treaty signed at Fontainebleu by the elector and Louis XIV and, ultimately, the peace treaties of 1713 and 1714, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession and which one wit summed up as "like the peace of God, beyond human understanding." The treaties of Rastatt and Baden restored the lands and titles of Max Emanuel and his brother, Joseph Clemens, the elector of Cologne, and all their officials.

Max Emanuel had sought through alliances, wars, and marriage politics to consolidate and enhance his power. In the process, he had ruined his lands and faced ten years of exile from his home and family. Bad luck, including the death of his first wife and his son, the designated heir to the Spanish throne, had doomed his ambitions. Max Emanuel had not secured a royal title, nor had he been able to enlarge his domains as he had hoped. He was, however, able to return to his electorate and his position in the empire. Three of his sons had died in the interim. Nor were Max Emanuel's hopes that his daughter, Maria Anne Carolina, would marry Philip V of Spain (after the death of the king's first wife, Marie Louise of Savoy) realized, but his son, electoral prince Karl Albert, did marry the youngest daughter of Joseph I and eventually became Holy Roman Emperor, achieving some of the fame, for however short a time, that his father had sought and never attained.

This work fills a significant lacuna in our knowledge of this important, resourceful, and ambitious elector. A bibliography of both archival and published sources, two genealogical charts, a name and place index, and five colored illustrations grace its contents.

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MARY VINCENT. *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic: Religion and Politics in Salamanca, 1930–1936*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 286. $70.00.

The history of twentieth-century Spain has revolved around the fate of the Second Republic and the descent into Civil War, much as German historians have been obsessed with the Nazi period. The debate over why the republic failed has often turned on the question of "responsibilities," usually framed in terms of the political errors or sins committed by one or another political faction. For conservatives, blame fell squarely on the shoulders of an anticlerical and intolerant leftist republic. For the left, whose view has tended to be dominant since the end of the Franco regime, the conservatives were bent on destroying democratic government in Spain from the outset. What both sides shared, however, was a general focus on the national political arena in Madrid.

In recent years, a generation of local studies and social histories has begun to illustrate the complexities of political mobilization and polarization for the mass of ordinary Spaniards. What is novel and exciting about Mary Vincent's book is that it is the first social history of mobilization by the forces of the right. Historians sympathetic to the republic have consistently underplayed or neglected the popular constituency for the anti-republican forces. Vincent argues that such a constituency existed and that religion provided both the motive for and the language of rebellion against the republic.

To flesh out this point, the first part of the book

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presents a social history of church policy and religious practice in one province in the decades before 1931 that demonstrates the centrality of Catholicism in communal life. However, Vincent also argues that this fact alone was not sufficient to explain popular anti-republicanism. While plenty of Catholic leaders opposed the republic from the outset, she asserts that they had no mass following in April 1931. Thus, the Spanish Civil War was not simply the inevitable culmination of an already polarized society. From this perspective. Vincent sets out to explain how anti-republicans were able to mobilize popular support in their efforts to overthrow the republic.

Vincent focuses on Salamanca, a province of "high but not exceptional" Catholic practice that symbolized the "heartland of traditional Spain." The fact that Salamancans voted for the republic in 1931 and for the rightist forces in 1936 makes it the perfect subject for a case study of the erosion of potential conservative support for the new regime. Vincent pays special attention to the conservative republicans who won the local and provincial elections in April and July of 1931, since they offered a moderate alternative to the anticlerical left and the "accidentalist" right. Their defeat in 1933 by the non-republican coalition, the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right-Wing Groups (CEDA), signaled an important shift in popular opinion that anticipated national trends.

For Vincent, the key to the eclipse of conservative republicanism was the religious issue. As she notes in the conclusion, the church and the republic engaged in a "dialogue of the deaf" across competing world views. The church's preference for a confessional state clashed with the republic's attempt to impose a secular society. In the early chapters of the book, Vincent demonstrates that the church in Salamanca had, for several decades, been pursuing an active policy of social, cultural, and political unity dedicated to mobilizing Catholics in the task of "remoralizing" society. Although this ambitious project failed, the totalizing vision of the church sat uneasily with the ideals of democratic pluralism and secularism.

For most ordinary Catholics, the issue was simpler. What turned many of them against the regime was its interference in their customary religious and community practices. In a region where the parish still provided the backbone of community life and Catholicism offered the "only idiom in which the rites of passage could be conducted," the republic's uncompromising attempt to secularize the public sphere threatened the very basis of community. Thus, it was not the abstract threat of an anticlerical constitution that brought Salamancans into the streets but the removal of crucifixes from public buildings and the prohibition on religious processions that incited popular protests. It was these kinds of threats, argues Vincent, that allowed the anti-republican right to build the mass following that it did not have in 1931.

Vincent's argument, which takes elements from both the left and right historical traditions, is convincing, especially as she is able to bring the abstract debate over "responsibilities" down to the grass-roots level. Thus, like republican historians, she labels the right as openly anti-republican, but she blames the crusading anticlericalism of the left for creating the opportunity for a mass movement of the right. There are times, especially in the last three chapters, where she lapses more formulaically into outrage over the anti-republican campaign and the church's role in fomenting a "holy war," but for the most part, Vincent manages to create a complex portrait of a dialogue in which neither side was listening to the other.

Less convincing is Vincent's secondary thesis about the lack of inevitability in the process of polarization. Although she demonstrates that an anti-republican constituency had to be created, she does not establish the viability of other options. The conservative republicans could not mobilize a constituency around their pro-Catholic, pro-agrarian reform platform, and they were soon overwhelmed by the clashes of right and left. Vincent's own analysis of the strength and intensity of religious community life makes it hard to imagine that Catholic Salamancans would ever have accepted the dismantling of their public sphere. The republic could, hypothetically, have pulled back on its anticlerical reforms, but anticlericalism was perhaps the strongest bond that united an otherwise disparate left. Thus, while Vincent is correct to point out that the political polarization of the country was a process and not a given, it is still difficult to imagine any other outcome of her own case study.

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CARL STRIKWERDA. *A House Divided: Catholics, Socialists, and Flemish Nationalists in Nineteenth-Century Belgium*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1997. Pp. xv, 454. Cloth $62.50, paper $23.95.

This book explores three pre-1914 working-class movements—socialist, Catholic, and Flemish nationalist—in three Belgian cities: Liège, Ghent, and Brussels. Carl Strikwerda locates these movements within broader questions of how "ordinary people" acquired and then utilized "new ideas or values such as socialism or reformulated old ones like nationalism or Christianity" (p. 2). By comparing compromises reached, he promises to illuminate "the ideals and strategies which shaped much of Europe until our own day" (p. 3).

Combining sociology with political and social history, Strikwerda employs a variety of explanatory models, including a "modernized" class analysis, a Weberian understanding of political bureaucracies, and recent liberal conceptions of gender relations. Strikwerda's three cities provide laboratories for the development of a tolerant social pluralism, here encompassing the linguistic and cultural accommodations reached between the Dutch-speaking (and Cath-

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olic) workers of Ghent and parts of Brussels and the French-speaking (secular) Walloons of Liège. Tolerance, he argues, driven by self-interest and led by the Catholics, came to characterize Belgian workers' struggles by the eve of the Great War.

At the heart of this work lies a sprawling, slightly blurred abundance of social historical details. Statistics about male and female employment, wages, strikes, living conditions, and population density, together with charts showing rising and falling union and party membership, fill many short chapters. These facts (although widely published elsewhere) will be useful to many historians of European industrialization, despite the unacknowledged unreliability of their sources. Throughout, Strikwerda tries to strike a balance among histories of Catholic, nationalist, and socialist leaders and narratives of workers' own efforts to organize. Still, the weight remains on the former and, indeed, on men, most of whom were bourgeois political tourists in working class neighborhoods. Telling details of workers' lives—the shape of their long hours in Liège's factories and mines; in Ghent's textile mills, docks, and brickyards; in the artisan's attics or brick and rope yards of Brussels—or of proletarian culture and its venues in songs, games, frequent *kermesses*, *estaminets*, street markets, churches, and union halls are almost entirely absent. Moreover, despite Strikwerda's claim that "urban geography" shaped working-class politics, the cities themselves remain nearly invisible. Neither the steep hills and dark slag heaps of Liège nor the ancient, cobbled twists and turns of Flemish Ghent shape the story narrated here. Even the rivers, canals, and railroads that linked workers (and their politics) together across regional and ethnic lines appear only briefly and with little consequence.

Strikwerda's efforts to shift the historiographical focus from socialism to Catholic unions and politics and then to set these mass politics within a solid context of social historical details of workers' lives are laudable. Nevertheless, the research upon which both his narratives and his methods rest are, to my mind, too dated for complete success. One of the most problematic aspects of the work is his marginalization of working women from the story. He rationalizes this treatment by calling on old stereotypes that once tied working women into "natural" realms of domesticity and religion. Of course, here I must declare an interest. My book, *Women, Work, and Politics: Belgium, 1830–1914* (1993), offered both an extensive social history of nineteenth-century Belgium and an argument that thousands of working women's politics (in these cities and elsewhere) helped to shape the struggles of their class in a manner distinct from that common in other European countries. Strikwerda here overlooks both argument and supporting data, claiming that I argued merely that women and men "shared the same jobs or the same expectations about the relations between work and family" (pp. 48 and 68, n.73). Although he repeats much of the material in my book, he never engages any of the book's conclusions. Rather Strikwerda offers only occasional bland and weakly supported generalizations about women's unimportance to his story.

Unfortunately, this lack of engagement with various historiographical debates—about Belgian ethnicity, about the proto-fascism of Flemish nationalism, as well as about working women's roles—characterizes the book. Although a brief conclusion insists that "the richness and complexity of [workers'] hopes, defeats, and victories can still inform our understanding of how Europe moved into the twentieth century and how people in any time are shaped by and reshape their world" (p. 416), neither Strikwerda's narrative nor his evidence supports such a grand claim. Indeed, the arguments often come down to something like his comment that even the socialists ultimately learned compromise, "tak[ingl a boat ride together" with rival Christian Democrats at the 1913 International Labor Conference in Zurich (p. 415).

Moreover, none of the recent developments in cultural or intellectual history has affected Strikwerda's perceptions of social interactions or proletarian cultures. Thus, despite valiant efforts to "modernize" dated research by using it to complicate understandings of contemporary nationalism or religious/ethnic quarrels, I cannot really say that this book succeeds.

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C. TROMPETTER. *Agriculture, Proto-Industry and Mennonite Entrepreneurship: A History of the Textile Industries in Twente, 1600–1815*. (NEHA-Series III, number 26.) Amsterdam: Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief. 1997. Pp. 264.

C. Trompetter's revised dissertation is situated at the intersection of three very important historiographical debates. Most immediately, as a study of the textile industry in Twente, it supplies another missing piece in the puzzle of the regional economic development of the Dutch Republic outside of the maritime zone. At the same time, it offers yet more evidence in the ongoing debate about the impact of proto-industrial development on the demographic behavior of Western Europeans. Finally, and most broadly, this study engages once again the Weberian proposition that ascetic Calvinism, or in this case the "concept of the congregation," cultivated a business ethic conducive of economic success (p. 139).

This book takes as its starting point the narrative history of linen manufacture in the Dutch landward provinces during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It begins with the spectacular rise to prominence of Twente cloth in both domestic and international markets in the seventeenth century, with many of the more important villages and towns in Twente characterized by upwards of forty percent of all households engaged in some part of the linen industry. This was followed by a period of reorganization and tran-

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sition to the manufacture of linen-cotton blends in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. This stroke of entrepreneurial genius, largely the work of Mennonite putting-out merchants, held off the forces of economic decline already afflicting industrial pursuits in the maritime zone of the republic. Nonetheless, the international forces working against Dutch industry—most notably high relative wages, and an increasing political weakness evidenced among other things by restrictive tariff barriers in many former markets, especially England—ultimately were too powerful to overcome. The narrative thus closes with the absolute decline of the linen industry and a substantially slowed growth of the population of Twente in the second half of the eighteenth century. The silver lining to this cloud, however, was that the Twente entrepreneurs were ultimately successful in making the transition to cotton manufacture in the early nineteenth century, and, indeed, many of the important textile industrialists of the early twentieth century were descendants of the old entrepreneurial families of the early modern period. The contours of this narrative, being so obviously different from the grand narrative of Dutch economic history built up over the years largely on the basis of Holland's experience alone, speak forcefully to the need to consider regional developments apart from the national trend. The evidence presented to this effect here is probably the most important contribution of this book to economic historians.

Yet Trompetter's evidence regarding the development of this particular industry also point to two larger problems in the historiography of what can be termed loosely "the transition to capitalism" debate. Here his conclusions are suggestive but not yet fully compelling. First, he argues that the hypothesized connection between proto-industry and demographic expansion (initially introduced by Franklin Mendels, then later by Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, Jürgen Schlumbohm, and David Levine, among others) did not play itself out in Twente; that is, the emergence of a dominant proto-industrial sector in this economy never entirely breaks the restraining influence of peasant agriculture on marriage and demographic expansion. Thus, when the proto-industrial sector suffered the ill effects of outside economic forces in the second half of the eighteenth century, the response was not to increase the number of children who could work for ever lower wages but rather to slow down the rate of reproduction, sparing the Twente from a classic Malthusian crisis. Although the overall census data are consistent with such a story, the absence of any data at all on fertility or mortality leaves this reader with lingering uncertainty. In particular, the puzzling lack of a clear relationship between population growth and the share of children under ten in the population of the cities and villages, even after trying to account for differential rates of out-migration of young adults, leaves open the possibility that differential mortality regimes were at work in the various communities of Twente: urban versus rural, and/or proto-industrial versus agricultural. Without direct evidence, it is premature to close off the possibility of demographic crisis.

Second, Trompetter makes a strong case for the revival of the Weberian connection between the entrepreneurial success of the Twente textile industry and what he calls "the ethical nature of Mennonitism" (p. 139), notably the commitment to honesty, simplicity, and hard work. His case is bolstered by the Mennonite dominance of the mercantile elite in Twente despite their very low numbers in the total population (at their peak, they were little more than ten percent of the urban population). However, Trompetter's case rests most importantly on the rejection of the alternative explanation from marginality theory. The main evidence presented to refute such an alternative is that Catholics were also excluded from the political arena, and they failed to respond with similar entrepreneurial prowess. But he neglects entirely the important distinction that despite political handicaps, Catholics continued to represent over half of the population in Twente and thus can hardly be characterized as equally marginal to the Mennonites. These doubts notwithstanding, Trompetter's bold claims move his work beyond the narrow confines of a particular industry and raise questions of interest to social and economic historians more broadly.

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HELENA ROSENBLATT. *Rousseau and Geneva: From the* First Discourse *to the* Social Contract, *1749–1762*. (Ideas in Context, number 46.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 298. $59.95.

The paradoxes and contradictions in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's political thought have occasioned endless debate among scholars. Helena Rosenblatt attempts to shed light on these contradictions by providing an interpretive framework that she contends will "illuminate the historical meaning of Rousseau's political works written between 1749 and 1762" (p. 2). Her book details a very important political and religious context that informs Rousseau's political thought.

Whereas Rousseau scholars have previously, for the most part, ignored or over-simplified the Genevan context of Rousseau's political philosophy, Rosenblatt uncovers a rich backdrop of discourses with which Rousseau would have been familiar. In the debates over the respective rights of the Small Council, the Council of 200, and the General Council during the first half of the eighteenth century, Rosenblatt identifies concepts central to Rousseau's social and political thought. These debates often bring together seemingly opposed strands of political thought such as classical republicanism, natural law, and *doux commerce* theories. Rosenblatt's analysis covers not only archival documents concerning important political conflict in Geneva during this period but also relevant discussions of natural law theorists such as Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf and the lesser-known Jean Barbey-

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rac and Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui and *doux commerce* theorists such as Bernard Mandeville, David Hume, Melon, and Montesquieu, whose works were central to Genevan political discourse.

In addition, she provides a nuanced understanding of Calvinism in Enlightenment Geneva, which she characterizes as "a 'reasonable' and anthropologically optimistic theology which stressed man's ability and duty to sanctify himself through ethical comportment in his daily life" (p. 17). Citing extensively from sermons and other archival sources, she sketches a religious ethos different from the austerity and asceticism usually associated with Calvinism. Most importantly, she uncovers the ways in which political discourses in the Republic of Geneva combined with this Enlightenment brand of Calvinism to create a set of themes echoed and usually identified with the work of Rousseau: self-love, patriotism, virtue, self-determination, and sovereignty, to name only a few.

Rosenblatt's readings of the *First* and *Second Discourses*, *Discourse on Political Economy*, *Letter to d'Alembert*, and *Social Contract* highlight Rousseau's direct responses to the Genevan political context in these works. As she lays out the history of conflict in Geneva over the interpretation of its constitution, she finds answers in Rousseau that recapitulate discourses already circulating in Geneva while at the same time providing a theoretical foundation for the position of the bourgeoisie. In addition, her readings of Rousseau's texts include the history of their reception in Geneva as a further context for our interpretation and understanding.

Although Rosenblatt's presentation of Rousseau's political writings within the Genevan framework establishes important links to historical discourses, I am not convinced that it stabilizes or "uncover[s] Rousseau's intended meaning in his political works" (p. 280). It clearly aids in a historical understanding of the availability of discourses, both political and religious; however, Rosenblatt's readings assume that Rousseau's political works were specifically addressed back to the Genevan context. Although this may have been true in part, it is also true that their wider dissemination and reception fueled very different political agendas. Whether or not Rousseau's formulations responded directly to the difficulties in Geneva, they were nonetheless articulated as general political philosophy. His most important contributions to theories of sovereignty and legitimacy may have aided the cause of the Genevan bourgeoisie against the efforts of the Small Council to limit democracy, but their interpretation and understanding cannot be limited to that context. Their general application, with all of its attendant paradoxes and contradictions, cannot be rendered consistent and coherent through this type of historical reinterpretation.

In spite of my methodological disagreement with Rosenblatt's book and the ultimate conclusions regarding the readings of Rousseau that may be derived from it, I find the book to be an important and extremely useful work for scholars interested in a nuanced understanding of the context of eighteenth-century political theory and specifically the Genevan context. Themes and concerns typically associated with Rousseau's political thought are echoed and refracted in fascinating ways in the historical context that Rosenblatt so ably brings back to life.

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MARY LINDEMANN. *Health and Healing in Eighteenth-century Germany*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 114th Series, number 4.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 506. $49.95.

The title of this remarkable study may be a misnomer, but if it entices readers who would not have picked up a book on "health and healing in the territorial state of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel," so much the better. The geographical framework ideally suits Mary Lindemann's primary purpose, which is to take the practices and beliefs that we isolate and reassemble under the rubric of medical history and resituate them in the world of daily life. The scale of the project made possible exhaustive research in the primary sources, from which Lindemann has been able to reconstruct the experiences of dozens of individuals. This undertaking demanded considerable ingenuity as well as persistence, since she did not find the physicians' case books, patient diaries, and correspondence recounting the mundane details of illness and medical treatment that historians of England have exploited to such good effect.

Lindemann casts a wide net, taking in the political and economic life of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, epidemics, proprietary remedies, popular medical publications, and a great deal more besides. Much of her account centers on the various medical practitioners and their complex interactions with one another, with local communities and authorities, and with the ducal privy council and the Collegium Medicum established by the medical ordinance of 1747. She ranges from the *physici*—district and town physicians who oversaw medical practice and cared for the sick poor—to local quacks. These healers of all stripes were a colorful and often cantankerous bunch, and Lindemann is particularly good at elucidating the prolix squabbles in which they found themselves enmeshed. Inevitably in a book of this scope, there are omissions; perhaps as the result of a decision to shift the focus away from the topics favored by traditional medical history, Lindemann has little to say about the duchy's medical faculty at Helmstedt, the training of physicians, or the activities of medical societies.

Lindemann's ambitious interpretive claims, often stated in tones of emphatic iconoclasm, are nearly as varied as the life stories she recounts. She insists above all on the need to understand medical practitioners in general and the *physici* in particular as part of society

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rather than simply as members of an occupation or agents of the state, and on the severe limits to bureaucratic rationalization and professionalization imposed from above. She also argues that the medical practices she describes are best understood in terms of a widely shared fund of beliefs about health, disease, and healing; the "people" were not notably superstitious or given to magical and religious healing. More generally, she emphasizes the wild complexity of the phenomena and takes Occam's Razor to the reified categories she attributes to earlier scholars, particularly dichotomies such as "elite" vs. "popular."

Some of this is quite thought-provoking, notably an extended deconstruction of "quackery," usually expressed in eighteenth-century Germany by the polysemous term *Pfuscherey*, which denoted both bungling incompetence and interloping, especially in a guild's protected domain. On the whole, though, the arguments work less well than the sparkling little narratives. At times, Lindemann seems to be knocking at an open door. Few historians, for example, would dispute that administrative decrees were often not obeyed at the local level, or that the early modern medical occupations were closer to guilds than to modern liberal professions. Elsewhere, she projects her findings onto all of European history, as when she writes that "Perhaps no myth in early modern medical history has held on as tenaciously as that of the paucity of practitioners" (p. 144). Such an assertion elides all regional differences, as if a uniform medical world extended from the Russian steppes to the Mediterranean littoral. Lindemann has missed an opportunity to fit the findings of her impressively researched monograph into a comparative framework that would have highlighted the distinctive features of her case, such as the role of the German *physicus*, an institution that had no counterpart in much of Europe and that goes a long way toward explaining the relatively high proportion of the population that was treated at some point by a medical doctor. On the thorny question of magic, witchcraft, and religious healing, one wishes for a fuller analysis than Lindemann provides. Such behaviors are amply documented for later periods by ethnographic studies; they may, as she briefly acknowledges, be underrepresented in her sources. It is not often that a parent's prayer for a sick child leaves a trace in the archives.

This book, then, is unlikely to reorient the historiography of early modern medicine; for the most part, it reaffirms the central tenets of what is sometimes called the "new medical history," which is no longer very new. But Lindemann's study is unmatched as an account of the particularities of the German experience, which has been relatively neglected in the social history of medicine. As a marvelously imaginative recreation of another time and place, written with wit and brio, it does not have many equals. It will surely find the many readers it deserves.

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DAVID MARTIN LUEBKE. *His Majesty's Rebels: Communities, Factions, and Rural Revolt in the Black Forest, 1725–1745*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 270. $45.00.

Before David Martin Luebke began archival work for this study of the peasant-centered Saltpeter Wars of the early eighteenth century in the Black Forest county of Hauenstein, he expected to uncover roots of solidarity in communal rebellion. Instead, he discovered intense if shifting factionalism and political maneuvering that split village after village. Hauenstein lay in Outer Austria, a region of Habsburg crown lands across the Rhine from Switzerland, to the east of Basel. As part of a conflict that began earlier and lasted longer, between 1728 and 1745 two factions within Hauenstein fought an intermittent civil war. To simplify radically an exquisitely complex and mobile set of alignments, the conflict involved four principal actors: the nearby abbey of St. Blasien, which claimed feudal control over the persons and property of many Hauensteiners; a peasant faction (known as *müllerisch* for the early prominence of miller Joseph Tröndle) led by elected cantonal office holders who in general served as brokers between the abbey and the regional peasantry; a second peasant faction (known as *salpeterisch* for the initial prominence of Hans Albiez, a substantial peasant who dealt in saltpeter); and the Austrian imperial administration.

Official intermediaries between Hauenstein's villagers and the imperial administration (and, in fact, the monastery as well) consisted of a forest steward, peasant bailiffs chosen by the steward from cantonal nominees, and the Octovirs, or Eight, one spokesman elected by manhood suffrage from each of the eight cantons. After the *müllerisch* leaders had negotiated a commutation of servile status for St. Blasien's subjects within Hauenstein at the price of a large fee and what *salpeterisch* adherents took to be acknowledgment of the whole county's collective subjection to St. Blasien, *salpeterisch* activists rejected the deal and called for complete emancipation without compensation to the overlord. Having failed to gain their cause by means of official village assemblies, *salpeterisch* stalwarts (drawn like their enemies from the peasant and artisanal elite rather than the landless laborers who comprised the majority of Hauenstein's households) began organizing parallels to those assemblies in the form of unauthorized mass rallies as well as formal delegations to Austrian authorities including the emperor in Vienna. Religious references confirmed the cause's upright solemnity, as did the factions' frequent incorporation into their claim-making of pilgrimages (complete with white-clad village virgins) to shrines of the Virgin Mary. On the whole, the cause's public rhetoric declared its strong commitment to the monarchy, often to the extent of claiming falsely that the emperor supported their demands. In this case, regional brokers organized contention around a series of performances ranging from solemn gatherings to mass marches to

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attacks on the enemy. As the death of Hans Albiez in prison and the later banishment or imprisonment of many other *salpeterisch* activists indicates, however, these dissident performances fell clearly into the zone of claim-making forbidden by the Austrian regime.

Drawing deftly on rich, complex sources and placing his analysis firmly with respect both to institutional history and German historiography, Luebke effectively challenges any analysis assuming unitary action by homogeneous peasant communities or derivation of motivations and action directly from individual membership in fixed social categories. True, he does not always know what he has wrought; immediately after rejecting class explanations of peasant action (p. 118), for example, he offers a class analysis that would do a Marxist proud. Luebke also misses the opportunity to cast his splendid evidence concerning political participation in a formal network frame. Nor does he tell us what to make of the widespread proletarianization that was transforming Hauenstein's villages, except to treat it as a source of unspecified tensions. In compensation, however, Luebke gives readers an acute discussion of the tactical give-and-take among all parties to the developing dispute, surprising insight into the political repercussions of imperial efforts to raise funds for war by leasing rights, and sufficiently sure-handed placement of the Saltpeter Wars in the context of other rural struggles of their time to raise doubts about every interpretation of those struggles that bases them on peasant unity, homogeneity, and cultural difference from their oppressors.

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ROBERT VON FRIEDEBURG. *Ländliche Gesellschaft und Obrigkeit: Gemeindeprotest und politische Mobilisierung im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 117.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1997. Pp. 463.

For the past twenty years, peasant rebellion and protest has been one of the most active research areas in early modern German social history. One might, therefore, wonder whether another book on the topic with such an unprepossessing title (roughly "Rural Society and Authority") has anything new to contribute. Fortunately, in this case, Robert von Friedeburg offers a great deal more than just a rehash of earlier debates about rural society and authority. To be sure, his book is primarily concerned with the "communal basis of protest," one of the most frequently explored avenues of research in the German context. Von Friedeburg enriches that theme by combining it with a discussion of social inequality in the village. He argues that the distinctive mentality often attributed to the peasantry in the nineteenth century was a product of the interplay between the internal divisions in the village and the projection of a united front by the village against outside impositions, especially from the state. But the book is even more notable for two distinctive twists that demonstrate that von Friedeburg is interested in a different set of overarching historiographical problems from most scholars working on peasant protest in Germany.

The first twist is that von Friedeburg pushes his analysis from the early modern period far into the modern era. Much of the earliest research on peasant protest in Germany originated in an interest in the so-called Peasants' War of 1525; even research on the eighteenth century is partly shaped by the perceived need to combat the image of a quiescent German peasantry after 1526. The period between 1800 and 1850 has often functioned as an impenetrable research barrier (or, alternatively, as a transitional era to be studied in its own right, with only scant attention to what came before or after) between those concerns and the concerns of historians interested in modern party politics. By explicitly charting the continuities and breaks in the forms of peasant protest into the era in which that protest could take explicit political form, von Friedeburg demonstrates the artificiality of some of the arguments used to uphold that separation. To underscore the chronological range of the work, von Friedeburg opens and closes with consideration of the experiences of the 1930s—although the focus of research and analysis actually stops before World War I.

The second twist, again underscored by his opening and closing examples, is that von Friedeburg makes relations between Christian and Jewish inhabitants in the village one of the central issues in his discussion of community. It might seem obvious that a book on peasant politics would be concerned with that theme, especially since the region von Friedeburg has chosen to study is notable for having launched the earliest avowedly anti-Semitic political party of the Kaiserreich. But too much German local history (especially that which is concerned with the period before 1806) is written as if Jews were not there. Jewish-Christian relations are not the central thread of analysis, but they are integral to many different parts of the work.

Von Friedeburg's central contention is that the growth of a large sector of landless and land-poor householders with access to communal privileges in traditional farming communities turned the community itself into a contested political space. The landless and the larger land holders shared hositility toward both the nobility and agents of state authority, even while they competed with each other for access to communal resources. In working out how the competing interests unfolded, von Friedeburg relies most directly on close analysis of the cadastres and related tax and voting information from thirteen communities in the Schwalm region of Hesse-Kassel. The thirteen communities are grouped first according to their formal status (town, market, village, and hamlet) and then according to the relative proportions of large land-owning farmers and landless villagers within each community.

Like many studies that operate at a level between microhistory and structural social history, this book

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sometimes leaves the reader wanting more information. At no point do we get to know any of the thirteen communities well enough to have a flash of recognition when von Friedeburg draws on incidents within the communities to elaborate on his larger arguments. On the other hand, the statistical information derived from the thirteen communities cannot always bear the interpretive weight von Friedeburg wants to place on it. For example, his analysis of the participation of day laborers and the landless in *Kriegervereine* (veterans' associations) as evidence for differing political cultures in the socially differentiated and comparatively undifferentiated villages is more intriguingly posed than conclusively demonstrated. Despite this limitation, von Friedeburg has written an important study that deserves close attention from both Germanists and specialists in the nineteenth century.

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RALF ROTH. *Stadt und Bürgertum in Frankfurt am Main: Ein besonderer Weg von der ständischen zur modernen Bürgergesellschaft 1760–1914.* (Stadt und Bürgertum, number 7.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1996. Pp. 804. DM 128.

The German bourgeoisie was once thought to be peculiarly lacking in the spirit that led to the liberalization and democratization of society, culture, and the state elsewhere in Europe. A tremendous groundswell of empirical research on the topic since the 1980s has brought about a greater appreciation of the importance of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois traditions in German history, notably the links between the *Bürgertum* (which in German tends to denote a bourgeois upper-middle class but can also refer to a broader middle class) and *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (which can mean both civil society and bourgeois-dominated capitalist society). Ralf Roth's excellent study on the bourgeoisie of Frankfurt am Main attests to the vibrancy of a bourgeois model that held out an "alternate path to modernization" from that taken by Germany as a whole.

Roth is able to reconstruct in minute detail the social, economic, cultural, and political history of the bourgeoisie in Frankfurt over a period of more than 150 years, combining analysis of a large body of quantitative data with a discussion of economic and political events and trends. His central thesis is that, in Frankfurt, the bourgeoisie was the driving force behind a process of economic, political, and social modernization. He rejects the widespread notion that change came from the outside (as a result of French and Prussian invasions). He places Frankfurt, a free city-republic until 1866, in the ranks of the better-known liberal regions of Germany, such as Bavaria and the Rhineland. More broadly, he demonstrates that the old urban elite of burghers and patricians could be dynamic, setting changes in motion that led to a quiet, long-term evolution from a society of orders (*Ständesgesellschaft*) to a modern civil society.

Roth sees associational life as central to the development of a "bourgeois society of equals," which was—at least in theory—open to all citizens but not to the disenfranchised masses. Of particular note is the role these organizations played in the gradual acceptance of Jews into bourgeois society, paving the way for their formal emancipation in the 1860s. Women were accepted as members by some clubs. Roth also argues that political life united rather than divided the bourgeoisie. Unlike in the Hanseatic cities, it was not possible in Frankfurt to use power and wealth to rule against the interests of the broad middle classes, according to Roth. He asserts that political decision-making was based on consensus-building and compromise, making Frankfurt a "unique place of experimentation for bourgeois/civil society" (p. 261). Liberalism was, according to Roth, a unifying force in the city, despite the deep divisions between democrats and moderate liberals. Surprisingly, Prussia allowed Frankfurt to preserve its egalitarian bourgeois traditions after taking over the city in 1866.

Roth sees associational and political life as overcoming one of the most divisive forces in German society: religion. He asserts that Catholics and Jews were fully integrated into bourgeois life in Frankfurt without having studied informal social interaction in the home. An analysis of memoir literature on this point would probably have revealed a more ambiguous picture. It is notable, though, that the *Kulturkampf* (Otto von Bismarck's anti-Catholic policies) hardly had an impact in Frankfurt. Particularly striking is a caricature from a Frankfurt publication that equates persecution of the Jews with persecution of Catholics, showing both evils as leading to mob violence (p. 533). Despite resentment over secularizing municipal educational policies (a concern shared by many Protestants), the Catholic middle class remained largely liberal, shunning the Center Party for decades. Social divides within the middle class also played a much lesser role in Frankfurt than elsewhere, with craftsmen remaining liberal at a time when craftsmen in other parts of Germany were turning to conservatism. Repeated attempts to integrate the working class into bourgeois-dominated civil society failed, however, though Roth sees this as a pioneering effort by the Frankfurt bourgeoisie.

Roth's argument that Frankfurt's bourgeoisie was economically on the forefront and open to technological innovations is somewhat less convincing but of secondary importance. He attributes the survival of the guilds' stranglehold over the industrial sector until 1864 to the necessity to achieve consensus before any major change could be instituted. Clearly, though, the innovative sector of the Frankfurt economy was commerce and particularly banking. This changed only very gradually after 1866.

Oddly, in his final section, which carries the story in rough outline up to 1930, Roth says nothing about the collapse of democracy and the rise of National Social-

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ism. He does not appear to want to place his conclusions in the framework of a larger interpretation of German history that would attempt to explain the rise of the Nazis to power. It is also somewhat frustrating that he does not go into how Frankfurt fits into the larger picture of imperial Germany. This is, however, a very fine study, a major contribution to the history of the bourgeoisie and to the history of late eighteenth through early twentieth-century Germany. Although many readers will find parts of the book rather long-winded, the excellent organization, good writing, and well-done index make it very accessible.

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MARITA BAUMGARTEN. *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert: Zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Geistes- und Naturwissenschaftler.* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 121.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1997. Pp. 376.

German historians writing on the history of their university system have increasingly applied the techniques of quantitative analysis and the methods of social history to their investigations. In doing so, they have ranged over many topics but have regularly returned to the attempt to understand and explain the emergence in the nineteenth century of the modern German university, with its strong research orientation and its irresistible influence abroad. Their work often reflects a theoretical debt to English and American history of science, especially in its emphasis on middle-level sociological theory, the autonomy of institutions, and the centrality of disciplinary structures.

Marita Baumgarten's book is characteristic of this historiographical tradition. It builds upon a prosopographical analysis of 412 professors who held *Ordinariat* positions in the philosophical faculties of six representative German universities (Gießen, Kiel, Heidelberg, Göttingen, Munich, and Berlin) between 1815 and 1914. Part one traces the creation of new chairs in emerging disciplines, compares this process in the natural and humanistic sciences, and analyzes which universities set the pace. Part three employs prosopographical data on professorial careers and mobility to derive a prestige hierarchy among German universities, identifying those institutions at which careers were typically begun, advanced, and concluded. Baumgarten's comparison of Prussian and non-Prussian institutions and her discussion of their interaction is especially rich and interesting.

Part two analyzes the social origins and kinship linkages of the professoriate. Baumgarten shows that the German professoriate remained one of the most close-knit segments of the academic and professional middle classes. For example, one in two natural scientists in her sample was related to another professor, the father of one in thirteen was himself a professor, and (in confirmation of every German academic stereotype) one in six married the daughter of a professor. Kinship ties were only slightly looser for scholars in the humanistic sciences.

In the book's most intriguing discussion, the author analyzes the changing significance of local ties and institutional patronage in professorial appointments across the century. She stresses the disappearance, early in the nineteenth century, of the direct forms of local patronage and nepotism that had been represented by the old *Gelehrtenfamilien* of the early modern period. This disappearance was followed by successive retreats from the tendency to favor scholars of regional origin or with regional training (*Landeskinder*) in appointments and to appoint from the ranks of local junior faculty rather than recruiting from the university system at large. Baumgarten traces the latter transition in appointment practices to the 1860s and 1870s. Implicitly following historian Peter Moraw and others, she views the transition as signaling the emergence of a single, integrated university system in Germany and an open, nationwide market for academic talent. As well, Baumgarten associates the transition with the passing of the *Gelehrter* (the broadly trained humanist of the past) and the ascendancy of the *Wissenschaftler* (the modern researcher specialized by disciplinary affiliation). Readers unfamiliar with the literature may require a fuller explanation of the assumptions behind these important conclusions, however, and all would benefit from a more systematic, perhaps tabular presentation of the underlying data.

Baumgarten's impressive study contains invaluable information. Only passing reference can be made here to her fascinating findings on the role of confessional affiliation in professorial appointments, recruitment from non-German universities, and the influence (or non-influence) of Friedrich Althoff on the structural characteristics of the professoriate. The book is descriptive in focus and inclined to presuppose the reader's familiarity with the interpretive problems in the field. Although theoretical questions receive little attention *per se*, the work thoroughly reviews historiography in the field and poses challenging questions to that historiography. How, for example, do Baumgarten's findings on the creation of chairs and disciplinary specialities in the philosophical faculties compare with those in the medical faculties, as analyzed by Hans-Heinz Eulner and others? Why is it, as the author notes, that the transition to "achievement-oriented" appointment criteria occurred earliest in the professional faculties, especially those of law and theology? Should Baumgarten's findings be taken as confirming or refuting the traditional belief that the reform period of the early nineteenth century (with the emergence of the Humboldtian ideology) marked a critical transition in the history of the universities? Baumgarten herself will certainly be among the historians who will grapple

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with the important issues raised by her impressive new study.

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William H. Rollins. *A Greener Vision of Home: Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German* Heimatschutz *Movement, 1904–1918.* (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1997. Pp. x, 332. $54.50.

The idea of home (*Heimat*) and the attempts to protect its physical counterpart (*Heimatschutz*) are very often associated with a host of features that seem the epitome of refusal and retreat. These include rejection of industry and modern technology or, more generally, capitalist economy; a conservative outlook or even reactionary opposition to those elements accepted by others as essential to modernity; and withdrawal into an aesthetically inflated dream world. Such criticisms have been laid at the door of the reform movement that sprang up in turn-of-the-century Germany and led to the formation of the Bund Heimatschutz in 1904. Critics of different political hue have hitherto viewed the movement as hopelessly nostalgic or unworldly and idealistic and therefore more or less as a failure. Some have even gone so far as to characterize it as further proof of a German irrationalism, of the alleged special development or *Sonderweg* of Germany or the German middle classes. William H. Rollins argues against this assessment. According to his well-researched and provocative new evaluation of the movement's ideological background, intentions, approaches, actions, and influence, *Heimatschutz* did not reject modernism or capitalism as such but rather attempted to lessen their destructive effect on landscape and environment. Its principal aim was to find a form of modernity that was socially as well as environmentally acceptable. *Heimatschutz* was not simply backward looking nostalgia; it represented a socially progressive vision of home, an active and influential endeavor to bring about a better future for a community encompassing all classes.

The most important tenet of the reformers was the concept of home, and their prevalent line of argument was an aesthetic one. As Rollins demonstrates in the first of four chapters, viewing environmental changes brought about by the expansion of technology and industry in terms of aesthetic categories helped to reach a far greater number of contemporaries than would have been possible with a class-oriented political or an ethical argument. In effect, the political and the aesthetic-cultural aspects of *Heimatschutz* were intertwined. Moreover, when seen in the context of Wilhelmine debates about the beautification or degradation of the landscape, the movement's emphasis on aesthetic qualities no longer appears singularly bizarre or irrational but is an expression of a "typical, historically necessary early form of environmentalism" (p. 63).

Based on an analysis of publications and letters of leading members, the second chapter provides an exposition of the key theoretical elements of the German *Heimatschutz*. A decided nationalist stance has hitherto been considered one of them, but Rollins characterizes this as mere functionalism. Nationalist rhetoric was used not by conviction but to increase the impact made on the majority that had internalized the cult of the nation. Although this argument is carefully and convincingly presented, Rollins's description of *Heimat* as "an extremely sober and pragmatic application of German national feeling" (p. 80) will meet with criticism.

Chapter three offers new findings in connection with the social and political position of the middle-class reformers. Rollins has analyzed data on more than 10,000 members of local, regional, and national *Heimatschutz* organizations. His finding that the educated elements of the middle classes (*Bildungsbürgertum*) dominated the movement is neither new nor surprising, but the conclusion that a third of the typical organization's membership worked in the commercial and manufacturing sectors (*Wirtschaftsbürgertum*) most certainly is. Among the *Heimatschutz* movement's programs and actions, Rollins focuses on the fight against river pollution, attempts to restore "vernacular landscape" (p. 193) or prevent its destruction, and efforts to sensitize contemporaries with regard to environmental issues. In the light of these endeavors and their impact, it no longer seems justified to dismiss the *Heimatschuz* reformers as ineffective idealists.

From time to time, generally accepted interpretations need to be reexamined. Rollins's study provides us with a strong incentive to reconsider past assumptions about the German *Heimatschutz* movement.

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Benjamin Lapp. *Revolution from the Right: Politics, Class, and the Rise of Nazism in Saxony, 1919–1933.* (Studies in Central European Histories.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1997. Pp. xv, 248. $55.00.

In the past forty years or so, a number of books have been written depicting the rise of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) on the local and regional levels. Because of the inaccessibility of source material in East German archives, most of these studies focused on areas in the west. Many gaps remained in the puzzle. One of the most important of these has now been filled by Benjamin Lapp in his detailed study of the rise of the NSDAP in the state of Saxony, one of the major industrial centers of Germany. In the early years of the Weimar Republic, Saxony boasted the most left-wing government in Germany; in the late 1920s, it was one of the first states to fall to the Nazis. Lapp provides a

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convincing account of how, within a decade, "Red" Saxony became "Brown" Saxony.

The Revolution of 1918 and the subsequent political emancipation of the working classes traumatized the German middle classes. This was especially true in Saxony, which had been a citadel of Social Democracy in the empire and where, in contrast to the rest of Germany, the tide of revolution did not recede after 1919 but remained high. Although more fragile than the monolith imagined by the beleaguered middle classes, a coalition of Social Democrats, Independent Socialists, and Communists remained in power and was able to enact a series of leftist measures. May 1 and November 9 were made state holidays; free from the restraints imposed in Prussia by political alliance with the Catholic Center Party, Saxon Social Democrats spearheaded a reform of the school system that greatly reduced clerical influence. Though more symbolic than substantive, such legislation heightened middle-class fears that revolution was just around the corner, a state of mind that promoted strong grassroots support for anti-leftist paramilitary organizations such as the Einwohnerwehren and Orgesch. Political polarization was exacerbated by unstable economic conditions. The small, outdated structure of Saxon industry made it extremely vulnerable to the rough economic seas of the postwar years. Shipwreck constantly threatened, and throughout the 1920s the Saxon economy was plagued by uncompetiveness and high rates of unemployment. Confrontation between the left and the right came to a head during the chaotic events of 1923. Working-class political demonstrations and economic protests, which often took a violent turn, terrified the middle classes. Rightist paramilitary maneuvers, especially in nearby Bavaria, were countered by the formation of leftist, government-sponsored paramilitary formations, the proletarian hundreds. Saxony seemed on the edge of revolution, civil war, or both, a circumstance that prompted armed federal intervention. Although the *Reichsexekution* restored order, it only intensified class conflict. While the middle classes welcomed Reichswehr troops as liberators, they were seen as a hostile occupation force by the working classes.

During the "Golden Twenties," the period of apparent stability from 1924 to 1929, the traditional German party structure disintegrated, and the groundwork was laid for the massive breakthrough of the NSDAP that accompanied the onset of the Great Depression. Saxony provided a classic example of this process. Determined to prevent the revival of a "Soviet" Saxony, the bourgeois parties formed a *Bürgerblock*, but economic differences kept it weak and ineffective. Memories of 1923, combined with continued economic woes and the conviction that the federal government was too compliant to the left, turned the Saxon commercial, agricultural, and industrial elites against democracy and the republic. Disaffected voters abandoned the traditional middle-class parties for special-interest parties and began to succumb to the siren calls for an anti-Marxist *Volksgemeinschaft* that were being issued by nationalist organizations such as the Stahlhelm and Jungdeutscher Orden, which were strong in Saxony and played an important role in the state elections of 1926. Infatuation with these groups was short-lived, but it proved to be a crucial way station on the path to eventual support of the NSDAP, which scored its decisive breakthrough in Saxony in the state elections of 1929. Thereafter, the state's symmetry of polarization was played out in the form of bourgeois-Nazi collaboration, the ideological flipside of the Socialist-Communist coalitions of the early 1920s. This time, of course, the outcome was different.

Lapp's well-crafted monograph is a valuable contribution to the literature on the collapse of democracy in Weimar Germany. It shows both what was unique to Saxony and the ways in which Saxony conformed to larger patterns of development that fueled the growth of the Nazi movement. Let us hope that this is the first in a series of similarly successful studies made possible by the opening of the former East German archives.

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HORST J. P. BERGMEIER and RAINER E. LOTZ. *Hitler's Airwaves: The Inside Story of Nazi Radio Broadcasting and Propaganda Swing*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 368. $40.00.

Jazz was banned from German broadcasting when the Nazis came to power in 1933. The Nazis believed that jazz—with its associations with Negro blues music and improvisation and spontaneity—was the quintessential manifestation of American *Unkultur*. Yet throughout World War II, American jazz and swing were core components of the Nazi English-language broadcasting service. Horst J. P. Bergmeier and Rainer E. Lotz analyze a German swing band fronted by the crooner Karl ("Charlie") Schwedler within the broader context of Joseph Goebbels's foreign radio propaganda.

Although the authors have trawled various archives and unearthed fascinating anecdotal material, overall, the book lacks a clear conceptual framework. In a sense, too much is attempted. Individual chapters cover short-wave propaganda to North America, medium-wave broadcasting to Great Britain, the "Concordia" story, and the work of Radio Arnhem. In the middle of the narrative, "Charlie and his Orchestra" sit rather uneasily with the subversive propaganda associated with more familiar radio stations. This is a pity, because the story of Goebbels's propaganda orchestra, fronted by Schwedler, provides us with the most original material. Unlike Michael Kater's *Distant Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (1992), which set the history of jazz in the wider context of the Nazi regime's attempts at mobilization and social control, Bergmeier and Lotz describe Nazi use of popular music as calculated bait to attract listeners to its foreign-language propaganda broadcasts.

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There is no discussion, however, of the principles (if any) that governed propaganda in the Third Reich and of whether or not foreign radio broadcasts applied such principles. Although the bitter rivalry between Goebbels and Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop is outlined briefly, little attempt is made to place radio propaganda within the broader context of the work of the Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda. The authors do not appear to to be aware of historiographical debates relating to the Third Reich in general and specifically to Nazi propaganda.

Nevertheless, this is a handsome, beautifully produced volume. It contains a useful annotated discography and an appendix of propaganda lyrics, as well as a CD featuring twenty-two tracks of "Charlie and his Orchestra."

DAVID WELCH
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DAVID S. CHAMBERS and TREVOR DEAN. *Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance Italy.* (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1997. Pp. vi, 321. $52.50.

The central figure in this history, Beltramino Cusadri (*ca.* 1425–1500), was born into one of Crema's political families, the son of an attorney. Indicted for homicide as a law student at Pavia, he managed mysteriously to clear himself of the charge, went on to earn doctorates in civil and canon law, succeeded his father in Crema's political councils, and, fostering contacts at Mantua and Ferrara, eventually became one of the most powerful and feared magistrates of the age.

Anchored in sustained archival research and drawing heavily on Beltramino's unpublished correspondence, this is a first-class study. In a few pages of introduction, David S. Chambers and Trevor Dean chart the structure of the police and law-court establishments at Mantua and the duchy of Ferrara, where their subject will star. The first chapter considers the nature of crime in and around Ferrara, including special problems of violence and corruption. The main sources of trouble were arms permits, rivalries between judges, the factious clout of eminent local families, the unsteady authority of short-term outside magistrates, and the use of fines to pay judges and their servitors. "Crime and Punishment in Gonzaga Mantua," the second chapter, finds that Mantua had "on average only three capital executions a year between 1460 and 1501" (p. 73), that indictees very often fled, and that non-Mantuans were more often and severely punished than natives. Corporal punishment and mutilation were common.

Chapters three and four concentrate on Beltramino's origins, early career, and years at Mantua. His rise there was in the hands of the Gonzaga marquises, who made him temporary chief justice in 1467, encouraged his stern campaigns against crime, and then rewarded him with higher office. In due course, however, his fearless investigative and judicial conduct ignited hatreds and jealousy in high places, with the result that in July 1484, with the death of Marquis Federigo Gonzaga, he was forced to flee to Crema, fearing for his life. The new marquis put an end to his Mantuan obligations in 1488, and Beltramino, back in Crema, was at last free to take up crime-fighting appointments, under the Duke of Ferrara, at Modena and Reggio. Evidence for a breakdown of public order in the duchy may be highlighted by the fate of a rough but corrupt judge from Lucca, Gregorio Zampante, who "was murdered in his bed: two foreign students at the University of Ferrara and a converted Jew forced their way into his house at night, knifed and disemboweled him, and then rode triumphantly around the city and away into the countryside" (p. 155). Poets applauded the deed.

Beltramino's rectitude aside—he seems never to have used office for immediate gain—his true strength lay in the *arbitrio* or *imperium* of his princely backers, who provided larger police forces and enabled him *de jure* both to act swiftly and to circumvent local statutory law in criminal cases. Yet at Modena and Reggio, too, he again ran into fierce violence, feuds, and the might of native barons; and we must conclude that the reasons for his failure to quell crime there pivoted on Duke Ercole d'Este's repeated refusal or inability to support him in his confrontations with the great nobility.

Chapter seven makes clear that the tenacious power of aristocratic interests was always alarmingly great, intricate, and fractious. It was not unusual for police and court officials to be brutally assaulted in the streets. Chambers and Dean, therefore, rightly put and assess the problem of crime in their cities in the politico-juridical context of the Renaissance "regional state"—a state neither medieval nor modern, but having something of the centripetal and centrifugal forces of each.

As studies of lawyers at Florence and elsewhere have shown, argument from Roman law provided Renaissance princes and oligarchies with the legal weapons to strike at rampant crime and resurgent feudalism; but the necessary social and political structures were not always there to lend support. Moreover, the War of Ferrara (1482–1484) and the start of the Italian Wars (1494–1495) filled cities with transient foreigners and troops of armed men who thumbed their noses at the police and local magistrates. In this sinister setting, rural and urban magnates, already over-mighty, were able to wax and flourish, and princes, worried or enfeebled by war, had to make their peace with them. No wonder that the Duke of Ferrara was unwilling to back Beltramino against the redoubtable Rangoni counts of Modena.

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NICHOLAS TERPSTRA. *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 251. $59.95.

This monograph is an important addition to Italian confraternal studies. Nicholas Terpstra analyzes the evolution of Bolognese confraternities from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, with emphasis on their history in the *Quattrocento* and *Cinquecento*. The subject is a rich one for the analysis of lay religiosity in the Renaissance. In Italy during this period some ten to twenty percent of the adult population were *confratelli* or *consorelle* (members of confraternities).

In Bologna as elsewhere in Italy, confraternities originated in part as a response to a protracted crisis in the institutional church. In particular, they offered a devotional life that was not confined to the parish. In them, as Terpstra writes, the member "obtained devotional community, sacraments, and mutual aid, with the added benefit of worshipping in the company of his own choosing" (p. 48). The author is careful, however, to stress the multiple purposes that confraternities served. Moreover, within these institutions, laymen and women fashioned their devotional lives in remarkably fluid ways. Some joined groups that stressed charitable works; others preferred penitential groups; still others, like the notary Eliseo Mamelini, belonged to several confraternities simultaneously and thereby combined expressions of piety that scholars perhaps too readily have tended to see as mutually exclusive.

It was in the fifteenth century, under the impetus of the reforms of Bishop Nicolò Albergati, that these lay brotherhoods took center stage in the civic and religious life of the city. Terpstra argues that these "spiritual companies" were at first largely made up of artisans and included women among their members, and their activities were important in shaping a civic cult. There were essentially two kinds of confraternities. The *laudesi* (or praising) confraternities were primarily devoted to charity and tended to draw their members from a particular neighborhood. By contrast, the penitential confraternities, in which flagellation was commonly practiced, recruited their members from throughout the city. But both Albergati's reforms and those propagated by the Observant Orders, which placed a greater emphasis on penitence, gradually rendered Bolognese confraternal life more exclusive. Artisans were pushed to the margins; women were excluded; and patricians gradually took control of these bodies, molding them to reflect the interests of the regime. Indeed, by the late fifteenth century, charity itself was conceived as concern for one's *confratello* rather than as assistance for the poor in society at large. It was in this context that the Counter-Reformation bishop Gabriele Paleotti undertook his reforms. He fostered the development of new confraternities, especially those devoted to the Holy Sacrament, which were closely tied to the parish. He encouraged the participation of women and artisans, although these groups were now less independent than they had been earlier, and their confraternities were envisioned as vehicles for the inculcation of Counter-Reformation ideals.

Alongside the narrative, Terpstra offers a careful reconstruction of both the administrative and the devotional histories of these institutions. He shows how lay spirituality could fluctuate between an emphasis on charitable works and a more inward-looking focus on penitential acts such as rituals of flagellation and self-accusation. Without question, the confraternities played an important role in the moral supervision of their members. Members undoubtedly gained benefits from their participation, but they were also subjected to a relatively rigorous regime. Only those who were serious about joining were elevated from novices to professing members, and members who were lax could be expelled.

Throughout the book, Terpstra makes several interesting connections between shifts in the institutional history of the confraternities and the political evolution of the city from the period of the commune through that of the signorial regime under the Bentivoglio, to the emergence of a senatorial oligarchy in the early sixteenth century. His analysis of the broader social context of confraternal life is, however, relatively thin. Nonetheless, there is much in this work to applaud, from its mastery of archival material to its subtle reconstruction of such an important dimension of lay religious life. Terpstra is especially effective in weaving fascinating vignettes into his narrative, allowing the reader valuable glimpses into the lives of particular confraternities and individuals. He writes, moreover, with an unusual sensitivity to the spiritual vocabulary of the Renaissance. Finally, the book is important in its focus on Bologna, which has too often been neglected in studies of urban life in Italy in this period.

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ALBERT SCHRAM. *Railways and the Formation of the Italian State in the Nineteenth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 180. $59.95.

Albert Schram's book is concerned with two important themes of modern Italian history: railways and Risorgimento, the processes that brought unity to the nation. Since the "traditional" and the "econometric" schools of railway history have increased their methodological gap, as Schram states, "this book tries to steer a middle way between these two schools of railway history by combining the merits of both" (p. 2).

Exhaustively researched, this volume is an excellent survey about the transport history of the nineteenth century. Using as sources the official publications of the period and Italian historiography, Schram gives an interpretation of the development of the Italian network and its relationship to the economy.

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The first phase of Italian railways began in 1839, when a brief line was built near Naples, and ended after unification, in 1865, when a national railway act was passed. Five private and mostly foreign companies were created, while the Piedmontese state railways were sold because of the government's need for cash. The system created in 1865 soon revealed its failure, and twenty years later the second railway act brought a mixed organization. The infrastructure was owned by the state, but it was operated by three private companies with national capital. During the 1860s and 1870s, Italian construction programs attempted to spread the railway over the whole territory, but they were not able to overcome regional inequalities, in particular between the northern and the southern part of the peninsula. Schram observes that the Italian railways did not allow the improvement of national industry, because expansion of the railway network was characterized by importation of track and rolling stock.

Moreover, the author rightly stresses that the degree of public intervention was greater in Italy than in the United Kingdom or the United States. Between 1861 and 1913, "the railways absorbed around 13 per cent of the total budget and around 75 per cent of the amount spent on public works" (p. 3). During the second half of the century, the government spent a large amount of money to redeem bankrupt companies and to finance the development of the network. In 1900, for example, the state paid for the renewal of rolling stock. Finally, because of bad private management and the claims of employees, railways were nationalized in 1905.

Because of the growing intervention by public power, passenger and freight rates had to be approved by the government, and railway companies could not compete aggressively with more traditional means of transport. Although railway traffic between northern and southern Italy reached considerable proportions and international overland traffic increased, the role of ports remained particularly important in Italy, and coastal shipping maintained a stronger position than it did in other European countries.

The most innovative part of Schram's book is his attempt to measure railway traffic and the persisting competition among the different means of transport; the first phase of Italian railways and the institutional aspects of management's rapport with public authorities are only superficially treated.

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H. James Burgwyn. *Italian Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period, 1918–1940.* (Praeger Studies of Foreign Policies of the Great Powers.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1997. Pp. xx, 246. $65.00.

H. James Burgwyn has written a competent narrative of the diplomatic history of Italy from the end of World War I to Italy's entry into World War II. After a brief survey of the impact of the peacemaking at Versailles, Burgwyn focuses on the Fascist regime, meaning, in his eyes, Benito Mussolini and what he calls, somewhat oddly, "Mussolinianismo." In successive chapters, arranged chronologically, Burgwyn describes the formation of Fascist policy in the 1920s and its dedication to a form of revisionism, the impact of Adolf Hitler (1933 is defined as the *Annus Diabolicus*), the conquest of empire ("A Hollow Triumph"), and the descent into war (the Pact of Steel, which Burgwyn deems "one of the most irresponsibly offensive alliances in the annals of modern European history" [p. 194]).

In his interpretation of these familiar events, Burgwyn steers what he avers is a middle course. Macgregor Knox's "determinism," that is, the view that Fascism drove Mussolini's foreign policy, goes too far, Burgwyn declares. Rather, the role of ideology was always conditioned by Mussolini's personality. Burgwyn largely agrees with Renzo De Felice that Mussolini was a pragmatist. His understanding of the *Duce* is more critical than that of the conservative Italian historian, however. Burgwyn concludes: "As the defiant leader of a pariah country, Mussolini was informed by futurist moods, nationalist resentments, Fascist slogans, and his own personal idiosyncracies. Vanity, ambition, military dilettantism, and a capacity for self-deception were all hallmarks of Mussolini's character" (p. 221). The *Duce* was "an archetypal mountebank," who was "often governed by instinct" (p. 222). And to what end? "The Italian people refused to live up to his heroic standards . . . Beyond Mussolini's fierce struggle between megalomania and reason was the irrefutable reality that Italy in 1939 had been reduced to a military, diplomatic, and economic paraplegic" (p. 226).

In this comprehension, Burgwyn is scarcely original. Indeed, a harsh critic might say that this book adds very little to what we know from Denis Mack Smith's *Mussolini's Roman Empire* (1976) and that Mack Smith can write with flair and wit, which Burgwyn cannot. Moreover, Mack Smith himself reiterated a view that goes back to the interwar period, for example to George Seldes's *Sawdust Caesar* (1936). All in all, a student of the structures of "understanding Italy" might conclude that Burgwyn's reading of Mussolini is a recurrent example of what the great Canadian historian of emigration, Bob Harney, called "Italophobia: an Anglo-Saxon malady."

The mention of structures raises a further, methodological problem. Burgwyn's book is a piece of old-fashioned diplomatic history. There is the occasional admission that Mussolini took many of his programs from the Nationalists, or that he was a "quintessentially populist leader" (p. 17), or that, in the 1920s, he was "aware that the assistance of the Anglo-American financial world was indispensable for the consolidation of the economic and financial foundations of his regime" (p. 36), or that Count Dino Grandi, to a degree (here Burgwyn is more circumspect than the De Feliceans), had ideas of his own. But such perhaps contradictory asides apart, Burgwyn makes no attempt

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to explore the decision-making process in Fascist Italy and simply assumes that Mussolini was "master of his Roman empire." In sum, Burgwyn writes as though the Bielefeld school and many another had never been, as though "Great Man" history is all that is imaginable, and "maps and chaps" are the way to understand the world. Are they?

I have three final quibbles. Can Italy ever have been "the Lesser of the Great Powers" (p. 18)? Can King Zog have presided over the "Muslim landowner's party" (p. 26)? And is it not anachronistic to describe Hitler and Mussolini as "terrorists" (p. 226)?

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Samuel Fiszman, editor. *Constitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Poland: The Constitution of 3 May 1791*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, in association with the Polish Studies Center, Indiana University. 1997. Pp. xxix, $49.95.

The year 1791 saw Poland make one of its fitful, spectacular impacts on the consciousness of the wider world with the proclamation of a new constitution. In his rewarding assessment of European and American reactions to that unexpected event, the editor of this volume, Samuel Fiszman, traces how the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth briefly gave support to the hopes of those who believed that all would yet be right with the world and that the Enlightenment's endeavour had not burned itself out. To Americans, it provided a retrospective justification that they had indeed successfully begun to create a new world order; to opponents of the French Revolution, it furnished proof that moderate, conservative politics offered a route to safe reform; to supporters of the French Revolution, it suggested that Poland was on the right path; to those who criticized the "Polish Revolution" for its half-heartedness, it demonstrated the superiority of the French experience. The divergences of opinion remain alive and well, not least because the "Statute of Government" acclaimed on May 3, 1791, was little more than a preamble to a wider series of constitutional changes. Since Russian invasion put paid to it barely a year later, it never had the chance to succeed or fail. Instead, it became a symbol of both national renewal and national tragedy.

The twenty-two contributions that make up this handsomely produced and well-illustrated celebration of the Polish Constitution's bicentennial show how differently that symbol is still being interpreted. The Polish eighteenth century cajoles its students toward a determinist, Whiggish view: the anarchy and "darkness" of the Wettin era wilt before the first feeble rays of light of Piarist school reform; the Jesuits clamber on the bandwagon; then, in 1764, the accession of Stanisław August Poniatowski delivers a major boost to the processes of Enlightenment; the shock of the First Partition induces an all hands to the pumps reform; the way is paved for the Four Years Diet and the 3rd May Constitution, only to be succeeded by the catastrophe of partition and political extinction. Some contributions to Fiszman's volume still encourage such a neat progression. Józef Gierowski in his study of reform ideas after 1717 paints a picture of linear intellectual progress, echoed, among others, in Adam Zamoyski's hyperbolic vision of the evolution of *homo polonicus*, marring an otherwise instructive contribution on Polish arts. Yet other studies bring out serious reservations. Zofia Zielińska, examining Poland's relationship with Russia and Prussia, is at pains to stress the adamant conservatism of the Polish nobility. Jerzy Michalski, whose essay is essential reading for those who wish to know how the 3rd May was actually made possible, stresses the constant quest for compromise between the old habits of the many and the new aspirations of a small minority of innovators. The constant need for compromise and accommodation is reflected at the wider, national level by Juliusz Bardach, in his study of Polish-Lithuanian relations, and at the humbler level of local administration by Łukasz Kądziela.

In some degree, most of the contributions dwell on the subject of the nation. As proponents of reform appreciated, unless the nation could be extended beyond the *szlachta*, the nobility, political change would lead nowhere. There is general agreement among the contributors that the years 1788–1792 did indeed witness a shift in the concept of the nation, extending it to embrace the rest of the population. The change finds clear, if embryonic expression, in the 3rd May Constitution itself. It is however questionable to what extent this transition was made, in any meaningful sense, within the minds of the run-of-the-mill gentry. Their supposed willingness to open up political rights to the bourgeoisie aroused much admiring comment, not least outside Poland. More perceptive observers appreciated that the rights on offer were extremely limited. But then, the Polish bourgeoisie was a pathetically frail creature. Not all the contributors have remembered this. Jörg Hoensch has produced a valuable essay on "Citizen, Nation, Constitution" in which he rightly stresses the all-too-often overlooked classical-humanist legacy which pervaded every aspect of the *szlachta*'s way of thinking; yet he is not the only contributor to lead the unwary reader into thinking that the bourgeoisie was the nobility's equal as a socio-political force. Krystyna Zienkowska offers a valuable corrective. She warns of the need to treat carefully familiar Western European labels—such as "Third Estate," "bourgeoisie"—which occupy a very different Polish context. The wealthiest "bourgeois" outside Warsaw were Jews, who scarcely registered in the spectrum of political rights before the Diet's closing months. Poland scarcely had a bourgeoisie worth the name—and, as some Polish critics complained, too many of its leading lights were happy to be bought off with ennoblement. True, there were those visionaries who could envisage the ennoblement of the entire nation in a not too distant future. But these

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were fringe hopes, not mainstream realities. Even amid the forced social radicalism of the Kościuszko Insurrection of 1794, explored by Jerzy Kowecki, there is no doubt of the continued dominance of noble conservatism and the tight grip that the old landed class maintained on new institutions.

The specific circumstances of Poland make comparisons with other constitutions, which a number of the contributors undertake, unwise—a point made by Piotr Wandycz, who acknowledges that in anything beyond the level of detail, such efforts are fraught with danger. Rett Ludwikowski's comparison of the Polish, French, and American constitutions is all very well at the level of constitutional principle, but the particular socio-political conditions of the three countries, unless built into these comparative exercises, have little point. Given the mess that the Polish-Lithuanian state became, it comes as a surprise to see Wenceslas Wagner lauding the virtues of law and alleged forces of modernization across the centuries in the *Rzeczpospolita*. The supposed equality of rights of the *szlachta*, stressed by a number of contributors, was very different in the quotidian reality, not only in fact, but in law itself. Polish laws were all too often inward-looking privileges, consciously designed to reinforce the political domination of a minority. They were usually sloppily drafted (as the leaders of the Four Years Diet readily acknowledged); judicial proceedings were a byword for corruption and inefficiency, not least among the nobility themselves. Anna Sucheni-Grabowska, in her account of Polish parliamentarianism, points out that the failure of Diets to enact legislation reaches back to their early beginnings, well before the consolidation of the liberum veto. The result, over time, was to produce a state incapable of fulfilling what is surely the primary duty of any polity—ensuring its own survival.

In view of the shambles of the Polish state and the massive accumulation of cultural and intellectual inertia that weighed upon it, the Constitution of 3rd May was probably a far greater achievement than is commonly acknowledged. Several contributions argue for the importance of educational reform in preparing the ground for a political sea-change. Yet this is dangerous territory. It certainly does not follow that even the best education available produces individuals of sterling character and disinterested patriotic virtue—those who persist in making the connection ought simply to look at contemporary politicians. Kamilla Mrozowska, in her account of Polish educational reform, is very coy about its impact on the reformers of the Four Years Diet and prefers to stress its importance for keeping Polish culture and learning alive during the nineteenth century. If an educational process was at work, then surely, as in France, prolonged parliamentary debate itself was at least as important as anything in the school world proper.

A number of the Polish contributors, perhaps conscious of being on parade before an Anglo-Saxon readership, have toned down some of the reservations they have readily expressed in their native environment. Supplementary legislation filled out the principles laid down by the "Statute of Government." If one needs clearer proof about how far the *szlachta* had to go in shedding their fears of strong, central rule, it will be found in the law on the Diet, enacted as early as May 16, 1791: supply bills would be decided not by simple majority, but by a qualified vote of 66 or 75 per cent, depending on the nature of the tax. It should not take a reviewer to point out such glosses to the Constitution's abolition of the liberum veto.

The Third of May deserves to be more widely known outside Poland. The publication of this volume marks a step in the right direction. Almost all the contributions have something positive to offer. It is a pity, however, that the volume does not give a translation of the relatively short document which it commemorates—even the wonderfully tendentious, but still unequalled, rendering by the Polish minister in London, Franciszek Bukaty, would spare readers the need to track it down on the pages of the *Annual Register* for 1791.

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ALFONSAS EIDINTAS and VYTAUTAS ŻALYS. *Lithuania in European Politics: The Years of the First Republic, 1918–1940*. Foreword by ALFRED ERICH SENN. Edited by EDVARDAS TUSKENIS. New York: St. Martin's. 1998. Pp. 250. $45.00.

The introduction to this collection of essays written and edited by three members of the Lithuanian mission to the United States and a prominent American Baltic specialist claims that there is "no comparable work available" (p. 7). Although technically true, the uneven approach taken by the authors in discussing the place of Lithuania in European politics makes this book something less than one might hope for. Alfonsas Eidintas and Vytautas Žalys had access to newly opened Lithuanian archives, although they did not always make the best use of them, and also relied on published British, German, and Soviet diplomatic records to tell some of their story. Unfortunately, they failed adequately to use the respectable body of published Western material on Lithuania and its Baltic neighbors, Latvia and Estonia, to round out their research. This lapse, combined with the fact that they chose to try to blend Lithuanian diplomatic history with domestic social, economic, political, and ethnic issues makes for a very uneven history that begs for more thematic continuity.

Yet despite such flaws, this book offers a great deal to those interested in the history of Lithuania during the interwar years. The authors have moved beyond many of the romantic notions that have plagued Lithuanian scholarship in the West since 1940, and though they occasionally slip into this old mindset, what they have written is, for the most part, a refresh-

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ingly honest look at Lithuanian domestic and international affairs.

Lithuania was the first of the Baltic states to succumb to a somewhat benign fascist-style dictatorship in 1926. Yet even here, Eidintas and Žalys seem unsure about what to call the dictatorial regime of Antanas Smetona. Was it a fascist government? The dictatorship that evolved under Smetona had all the markings of a Mussolini-type system except for a strong charismatic leader. Censorship, a ban on political parties, and fascist-style chambers were integral parts of the Smetona dictatorship, at least until 1936, when public pressure forced the president to revive a national assembly with limited consultative powers. Eidintas's attempt to show that Smetona was not a fascist ruler by pointing out that his government "did not share the fascist cult of violence" (p. 121) is a rather weak argument.

Further efforts to temper Smetona's image by depicting him as an intellectual who read Plato daily shows a lack of understanding of this famed classical Greek philosopher. Plato was humbly critical of democracy in *The Republic* and felt it was a political system driven by emotion rather than thought. Plato also thought that democracy was inefficient and unstable. Given that Smetona dominated the face of Lithuanian politics from 1926 to 1940, which was most of the independent era, it is understandable that any Lithuanian scholar would struggle with the image of the man who came to symbolize the idealized Lithuanian republic of the pre-Soviet era.

This look at Lithuania's troubled foreign relations during the interwar period offers little new insight other than Žalys's open appraisal of Lithuania's isolated diplomatic situation during most of the period under discussion. It is unfortunate that not more is said in this essay about the Baltic Entente, since the Lithuanian decision finally to begin to work more closely with its Baltic neighbors must have influenced efforts by Lithuania's foreign minister, Stasys Lozoraitis, to find a way to end his country's diplomatic isolation.

Even more disappointing is Eidintas's failure to look at the state of Lithuanian foreign affairs from the fall of 1939 to the summer of 1940. The Winter War and a serious Polish refugee crisis tested the diplomatic mettle of Lithuania and its Baltic neighbors. What do newly opened Lithuanian archives tell us about Lithuanian politics and diplomacy during this important period? The authors have failed adequately to look at these issues.

Alfred Erich Senn's effort to end this study with a very crisp overview of Lithuanian history from 1940 until 1990 certainly helps round out the story, but it also adds to some of the confusion over titling and purpose. No bibliography and a weak index make this book less of a contribution than it could have been if some of its scholarly and thematic unevenness had been more adequately addressed before publication. Regardless, there is enough unique information here to make the book an important part of any scholarly collection on the Baltic states.

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MICHAEL PALAIRET. *The Balkan Economies c. 1800–1914: Evolution without Development*. (Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History, number 6.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 415. $69.95.

Michael Palairet's study is divided into two parts, 1800–1878 and 1878–1914, with chapters on population; pre- and post-1878 Bulgaria, Bosnia and Montenegro; pre-1878 Serbia; a comparison of the economies of pre-1878 Ottoman Bulgaria, Bosnia, and free Serbia; textile manufactures in post-1878 Bulgaria and Serbia; the decline of productivity in post-1878 Serbia and Bulgaria; and the contrast, after 1878, between the economies of these two countries and those of Ottoman Macedonia and Thrace. A basic error is Palairet's use of a political date (the Congress of Berlin), instead of the quarter-century world economic slowdown that started in the early 1870s, as the date of separation.

Summarized by the book's subtitle—economic evolution, especially in Serbia and Montenegro and post-1878 Bulgaria, without development—the book's main thesis, argued against Paul Bairoch, Iván T. Berend and György Ránki, and Roumyana Preshlenova, is probably correct. The book excels in particular as a study of the post-1830 and pre-1878 "enterprise culture" (p. 52) of the upland proto-industrial Bulgarian communities of Koprivshtitsa, Panagjurishte, Gabrovo, and Kalofer, whose very prosperity engendered a frustrated intelligentsia (pp. 159–62, 198); of the "enterprise culture" of the newly annexed town of Leskovac in post-1878 Serbia and the "want of business aptitude and energy" in Niš and Pirot (pp. 261–63); of the Paraćin woolen cloth mill of the Moravian family Münch (258–61, 267–69); and of the development of large-scale industry in Bosnia-Hercegovina (pp. 222–37) under the administration of Benjamin Kállay (1882–1903).

More questionable are contentions that per capita Ottoman economic growth was continuous from 1830 to 1914, that per capita economic growth would have continued in Bulgaria had it remained Ottoman, and that the cause of decline in post-1878 Bulgaria was the "serbianization" (pp. 168–69, 171, 361–62) of farming: namely, the institutionalization of "universal peasant ownership" and low rural taxes, which culminated in the diffusion of subsistence farming (p. 2). The facts that Bulgarian woolen manufactures expanded "at least until 1870" (p. 72) but not necessarily until 1877 and that Bulgarian proto-industries were "less expansionary" during the last decade of Ottomn rule, 1869–1877, than during the preceding decade (pp. 80–81, 84) suggest, however, that decline did not occur just because of Bulgaria's separation from Ottoman institutions.

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Palairet exaggerates the failures of Serbia and post-1878 Bulgaria. Underestimating the surface under forest cover in Serbia (pp. 99–100), neglecting inroads against the "culture of laziness" of "the western Balkan regions" (pp. 111–12), and decrying the low-tax policy of Serbian governments, he fails to link the most important nineteenth-century tax revolt in geographic Europe—the 1875 uprising in Hercegovina—to the Ottoman attempt to bring Bosnia into the framework of the tax rise per capita, between 1850 and 1875, of 300 percent in the rest of the Ottoman Empire. While recognizing the negligible short-term effect of railways on the growth of post-1878 Serbian grain exports (pp. 299–300), Palairet inflates their contribution to the formation of national markets but castigates Serbian and Bulgarian governments for inhibiting their development (pp. 90, 327–30). His own data show that the contributions to gross domestic product of cart, rail, packhorse, and river transportation were 4.5, 1.4, 0.7, and 0.2 percent in Serbia and 5.2, 1.3, 0.6, and 0.1 percent in Bulgaria (p. 322). One thus wonders whether these countries might not have knit more coherent national markets by concentrating on the improvement of roads and carts. Absent from view is the geopolitical question of a landlocked ministate, Serbia, whose attempts to develop a merchant fleet on the Danube and Sava rivers were nullified by the Austrian Navigation Company and the Hungarian Society for River and Maritime Navigation, but which discovered other markets amidst Austria-Hungary's "commercial war" of 1906 to 1910.

Dismissive of "the institutional package" of "the Asiatic mode of production" (pp. 44, 163), Palairet fails to ask whether the inability of the Ottoman Empire, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro to follow the European way of laying viable foundations for mechanization and capitalism—"mercantile agrarianism" (John C. H. Fei and Gustav Ranis, "Economic Development in Historical Perspective," *American Economic Review* 59: 2 [May 1969]: 386–400)—may not have been the consequence of their inability to find suitable export substitutes. New technologies (the steamship, transoceanic refrigeration, aniline dyes, and the Suez Canal) and new labor, capital, and land-intensive sources of supply (India, Australia, South Africa, Argentina, the United States, Japan) reduced the ability of Ottoman or Balkan silk, cotton, madder root (used to make a red dye), cattle, pigs, leather, and, ultimately, cereals to compete effectively in the world market.

Balkan economic underdevelopment reflected other kinds of underdevelopment: namely, being less well informed (pp. 313–15) and having less developed social infrastructures. Palairet also blames the capitalist underdevelopment of Serbia and Bulgaria, perhaps mistakenly, on the "dubious commercial ethics" of their governments and "the entrenched xenophobia and jealousy" of home industries (pp. 331–33).

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ERVIN DOLENC. *Kulturni Boj: Slovenska kulturna politika v Kraljevini SHS 1918–1929*. [Cultural Struggle: Slovene Cultural Policy in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, 1918–1929]. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva Založba. 1996. Pp. 405.

In 1918, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, its South Slavs joined with the Kingdom of Serbia and the Principality of Montenegro to form the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS), renamed Yugoslavia in 1929, when royal dictatorship was imposed on the country. After World War II, Communists came to power in Yugoslavia, which became a federal republic and disintegrated in 1991 after Slovenia and Croatia, two constituent republics, proclaimed their independence.

The Kingdom of SHS, the first national state for the Slovenes, was very important to the formation of Slovene statehood. Lately, Slovenian historians have devoted much research to that period and interesting new reports and books have been published. One of them is this book by Ervin Dolenc.

Although joining the Kingdom of SHS was a cultural shock for the Slovenes (the literacy rate, for instance, in Slovenia was ninety percent, while in the rest of the state it was around forty percent), their first decade was marked by highly important cultural achievements, which are outlined in the book. Initially, there was much initial enthusiasm for the new state, but disillusionment quickly set in, especially after the adoption of a centralist constitution in 1921. Political consensus was hard to achieve in Belgrade, where continual political crises resulted in over twenty governments in a decade. Dolenc deals with the cultural scene of this period and devotes special attention to educational reform.

The book has three parts, in which the material is dealt with in chronological order. In the first part, "Slovenization and Realization of Cultural Activities," the author describes the revival of the Slovene cultural institutions (theater, various artistic and scientific societies) that had ceased to function during the war and the establishment of new ones (among them a national university). Pointing at the historical beginnings of each institution, Dolenc addresses the struggle to organize anew in conditions that were more favorable to national cultural development than ever before. The Slovene language became the language of instruction of all schools, including the newly established (1919) university. In contrast, before World War I, elementary education was conducted predominantly in Slovenian, but there were only a few Slovene secondary schools. Therefore, Slovenization of secondary schools was among the first tasks of the new educational administration. The number of Slovene secondary schools and students soared. The strong German minority, which had played an important role in social and cultural life in the Slovene territory before the war, was disempowered.

The second, central part of the book, "Cultural

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Politics and Cultural Struggle," analyzes the conflicts in Slovenian political life—nationalism vs. centralism and conservatism vs. liberalism. These began in Austro-Hungary and continued, although with different emphasis and alignments, in the new state until World War II, manifesting themselves in cultural politics and in the development of cultural institutions well described by Dolenc. The Slovene concept of "cultural struggle" could be compared to the German concept of *Kulturkampf*, although the former had a broader meaning: Whereas the conflicts before World War I had been mainly ideological and were initially productive (through the establishment of new cultural institutions and their competition with each other), they became extremely politicized, divisive, and harmful to the development of political and cultural pluralism in the first Yugoslavia.

Joining the new state in 1918 posed a cultural dilemma for the Slovene intellectuals: whether to retain cultural autonomy (Slovenehood) or to assimilate into a new nation (Yugoslavhood). Dolenc describes the ensuing debate, in which the latter alternative was rejected, first in 1918 and then in 1921. Yet this dilemma was never completely resolved and kept surfacing in one form or another as long as Yugoslavia existed.

After adoption of the centralist constitution (1921), there was a stalemate in political life; constant fights for political power in this poverty-stricken country paralyzed decision making. Dolenc illustrates these processes in cultural politics on the state and local levels. The bulk of the second part of his book is devoted to reform proposals for all levels of education, which were discussed by successive governments but never made it to the parliament. Due to the continual political crises, no new educational law was passed during parliamentary rule, and old, mostly Austrian laws remained in effect in Slovenia until 1929.

Cultural, educational, and recreational organizations, which were organized within three political blocks (the national liberal, the Catholic, and the Marxist) to promote their political agendas, are dealt with in the third part of the book. Although the Marxist block was weak and less consequential, the other blocks, competing with each other, profoundly influenced the Slovene nation at that time and the Slovene mentality in general.

The book contains relevant and well-researched new information. At times, however, it is difficult for the reader to follow the multitude of data. Also, chronological treatment of the topic produces some unnecessary repetitions, which could have been eliminated through a better organization. Nevertheless, Dolenc has written a solid and extremely useful historical text.

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PETER WALDRON. *Between Two Revolutions: Stolypin and the Politics of Renewal in Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 220. $36.00.

The years that Pyotr Arkadyevich Stolypin served as prime minister of Russia (1906–1911) and the reform efforts associated with that time have been the focus of enormous scholarly activity in both Russia and the West. But for all the energy expended on examining the policies of the Russian Empire's last great statesman, the man and his measures remain the subject of considerable controversy. Could the changes Stolypin proposed have saved the imperial system? Or was he simply a "Bonapartist" maneuverer whose reforms would have altered nothing? In this brief and balanced account, Peter Waldron seeks something resembling a middle ground.

Waldron begins his study by delineating the circumstances in which Stolypin assumed power. Not only did he face an ebbing but still dangerous revolutionary wave, but, like many reformers before him, Stolypin also had to confront the unwillingness of the autocrat to accept meaningful change except under duress. Against this background, Waldron then lays out in detail the Stolypin program, which was, he argues, a bold and comprehensive attack on the major social, economic, and administrative problems facing the empire. According to Waldron, Stolypin's aim was a thorough reconstruction that would have modernized and rationalized Russia's local institutions, reduced the traditional power of the nobility, broken up communal land holding, and raised the peasant to the same level as the empire's other subjects. Stolypin envisioned a law-based regime that would operate according to clearly defined norms and would give citizens greater security in their relations with the state. The reformer understood that this profound transformation required decades to complete, and he wanted to start the process quickly. But in his struggle to advance change rapidly, Stolypin confronted obstacles that ultimately proved insurmountable.

Waldron sees the Duma as being a major impediment to Stolypin's policies. The problem went far beyond the opposition of political parties and their leaders. The Duma was a new institution with no traditions or established procedures; its members had no experience in lawmaking. The legislature quickly became consumed by trivial matters and created large, cumbersome commissions to consider proposed measures. In the absence of a true governing party, the Duma could and did act irresponsibly, because no group within its ranks had a vested interest in seeing projects pushed through to adoption. Waldron finds it ironic "that an institution that was created to bring about reform actually acted to slow down the reform process, and ultimately to delay Stolypin's bills so much that organized opposition was able to defeat them" (p. 114).

The empire's conservative elites proved an equally significant barrier to reform. As it became clear that

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the government was regaining the initiative against the revolutionary forces, the nobility and other traditional elements dug in their heels in an effort to stop the realization of Stolypin's economic and political agenda. The land reform in combination with proposed administrative changes would finalize and enshrine the decline of the gentry's authority in the countryside. Now convinced that it had little to fear from lower-class disturbances, the nobility used its influence to undercut Stolypin's credibility with Nicholas II who was already increasingly antagonistic to both reform and his prime minister. The nobles were joined by leading figures of the Orthodox Church, who saw Stolypin's efforts to guarantee the rights of religious minorities as a threat to the faith.

The opposition of the two pillars of the existing order proved sufficient to block reform, especially given Stolypin's inability to garner meaningful support in the Duma or to influence the country at large. Failure to overcome this growing resistance weakened Stolypin's enthusiasm for his initial agenda and pushed him increasingly into the arms of the Nationalist Party in an effort to maintain power. But playing the nationalist card never really worked, and the defeat of the western zemstvo bill in early 1911 was symbolic of Stolypin's political demise well before Dimitrii Bogrov's bullet ended his life in September of that year.

Waldron's retelling of Stolypin's rise and decline takes us over ground already well covered by other historians. His main contributions are the crispness of his presentation and the clarity of his unabashedly political account. The story Waldron presents is not just a tale of reform defeated by conservative social forces and a Russian political culture resistant to change. The author feels that a great part of the problem was Stolypin himself. A brilliant outsider, he was largely free of the prevailing government mentality and could conceive of ways to reshape the country in order to avoid another revolution. But his youth and inexperience ill prepared Stolypin for the traditional politics he would have to confront and the established forces he would have to overcome. The prime minister believed that he could use the Duma to effect reform, but when he restructured it in 1907 he entrenched the very elements that had the most to lose from the changes he proposed. At the same time Stolypin ignored those segments of Russian society—the industrialists and the middle classes—that were his natural constituency. This political myopia, Waldron believes, was a primary cause of both Stolypin's and the empire's tragedy.

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VERA TOLZ. *Russian Academicians and the Revolution: Combining Professionalism and Politics*. (Studies in Russian and East European History and Society.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, Birmingham, England. 1997. Pp. xiv, 236. $69.95.

Large-scale categories of social analysis are useful and sometimes indispensible for the historian's work. They are predicated on the notion that common backgrounds and work situations contribute to the formation of common values and worldviews and, ultimately, common political responses. Sometimes, though, social histories, by placing too much emphasis on the centrality of one or another shared element of life experience, assume too great a coherence of groups and mentalities. One such group that has cried out for more energetic disaggregation is the Russian educated stratum. In an elegant analytical exercise, Vera Tolz demonstrates that even such a seemingly cohesive, tight-knit group as the full members of Academy of Sciences responded to the Bolsheviks in dramatically diverse ways.

In her efforts to explain why responses to the Bolshevik seizure of power and bid to take over the Academy covered the spectrum, from neurophysiologist Ivan Petrovich Pavlov's adamant oppositionism to linguist Nikolay Yakovlevich Marr's active collaborationism (even in political campaigns against his colleagues), Tolz finds that the ideals and experiences of their youth were far more powerful and enduring organizers of meaning for these scientists than the fact of membership in the Academy. Marr presents a fascinating case in point.

Because being acclaimed as a major theoretician was Marr's life goal early on, Tolz argues, the linguist was not satisfied with "simply" having discovered one of the earliest extant Georgian documents, which gained him a chair at St. Petersburg University in 1900 and, with other discoveries, full membership in the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in 1912. To fulfill his ambition, Marr gradually developed a "New Theory of Language," but most Western (and Russian) linguists rejected his efforts. What linked Marr, a tsarist censor for religious literature, with the Bolsheviks after 1917 was their shared resentment of the West. Completely reversing his apparent monarchist politics, Marr actively collaborated with the Bolsheviks, even joining the Bolshevik Party in 1930. Clever and highly opportunistic, he wedded his linguistic theory to Marxism, correctly betting that the Soviet leadership (Joseph Stalin) would favor a "class-based" home-grown theory to oppose to existing Western ones. Marr's grandiosity and personal intellectual insecurity proved to be much more powerful motivators of his deplorable political and collegial behavior than any of his pre- or postrevolutionary stated beliefs. Although Marr's theories, ironically, were deposed by the arbitrary Stalin himself in 1951, well after Marr's death, during his life Marr received abundant rewards from the authorities, including the posts of vice president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1930 and director of his own Institute of Japhetic Studies and of the State Academy for the History of Material Culture.

Two close Academy colleagues with roots in the same prerevolutionary liberal student circle and the Kadet (Constitutional Democratic) Party, Vladimir

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Ivanovich Vernadsky and Sergei Fedorovich Ol'denburg, behaved similarly owing to their shared belief that the Academy as an institution, and science as a calling, were too important to jeopardize by all-out opposition to the Bolsheviks. Further, they believed in the transformative power of science, which, if kept alive, would eventually exercise a civilizing, moderating, and Westernizing effect on the new rulers and the society as a whole. Consequently, both Academicians engaged the authorities and actively cooperated with the Soviet regime on scientific, technical, and (for Vernadsky) even strategic projects (uranium prospecting).

Perhaps the most poignant case is that of Nobel Prize winner Ivan Pavlov, who was doubly victimized by the Bolshevik regime he loathed by being turned into a hero without his consent and then viewed posthumously as a regime collaborator responsible for the repressions and sins committed in his name. Tolz's archival explorations have yielded documents demonstrating that Pavlov continued to protest cultural repression and political terror right up to his death in 1936. According to Tolz, Pavlov's intense rejection of the Bolshevik regime stemmed from his gradualist constitutional monarchist politics and especially from his conviction that the Soviet Marxian perspective was in fact *not* grounded in scientifically demonstrable principles.

Written clearly, Tolz's study reminds us that our taxonomies of social groups are always social constructions that require vigilant testing against observed behaviors. Categories that have predictive or explanatory value in one context may need to be radically disaggregated and rethought in other contexts. While statisticians might object that the source base was too small to make *any* generalizations (forty-six full members of the Academy in 1917, minus the eight who emigrated, ten who perished during the Civil War, and six who died between 1920 and 1925), Tolz's findings are suggestive and should lead to a renewed focus on the relationship between adult professional behavior and the experiences and ideals of youth.

Douglas R. Weiner
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Glennys Young. *Power and the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia: Religious Activists in the Village*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 307. $47.50.

Despite the fundamental differences that existed between them, Western and Soviet historiography on the Russian Revolution mirrored each other at the height of the Cold War in one ironic yet grotesque way. Each was dismissive and contemptuous of the interpretations of its counterpart, yet scholars in both camps concentrated on virtually the same topics of study. This tacit agreement on what was important produced a rich political and intellectual history of the early Soviet period, but it also pushed the study of religion in the USSR to the margins. This book by Glennys Young addresses the imbalance.

Young argues that the legal and physical persecution of religion in the Russian countryside pushed clergy and laity to enter politics during the 1920s in both traditional and Soviet ways. Their activities subverted the intended use of rural institutions, particularly the soviets, but the weakness of the Bolshevik presence in the village, coupled with the ineptitude of general antireligious work, prevented a well-focused response by the state. If anything, the very attempt to repress religion galvanized resistance and set into motion sophisticated strategies of resistance. In actuality, such contentiousness in the parish predated the 1917 revolution. In the nineteenth century, the tsarist state had attempted to mobilize clerical support for its own ends, and later hostility toward clergy by fellow villagers became a pronounced reality. The legal separation of church and state in 1918 and the formation of the League of the Militant Godless in 1925 did not, however, enable the Bolsheviks fully to exploit this situation.

In the face of persecution, Young shows, the variegated religious community marshalled diverse weapons. Legal prohibitions by no means prevented all clergy from participation in cooperatives and soviets. Many found inventive ways to circumvent Soviet law, and a significant proportion of priests juggled a variety of roles in order to sustain their influence in the community. At the same time, activist lay parishioners recognized the potential inherent in electoral politics both to utilize secular institutions so as to protect religion and to exercise greater control over their own clergy. Beyond this, peasants waged battles among believers and between village and state through religious outlets. The observance of holidays, the decoration of a home or official space, the removal of religious symbols from public buildings, the choice between a religious or civil marriage, the labels used to identify fellow citizens, and even the songs one sang were invested with a political significance that far exceeded surface impressions.

This book is a study in contrasts. Young is at her best when examining the internal workings of the Russian village. Following anthropologist Clifford Geertz, she approaches religion not as a complex of concrete behaviors but as part of a set of control mechanisms in society. This leads her to the most original insights of the book: examples of a lack of strident animosity between clergy and atheists in certain situations, despite their ideological differences, and the success of religious believers in penetrating and reorienting rural political institutions. Too often, unfortunately, the author allows her analysis to be shaped by the bifurcated categories—church/state, male/female, urban/rural, worker/peasant—employed by the Bolsheviks themselves in the 1920s, which prevent her from carrying her methodology further.

Moreover, the choice of her source base raises serious questions. Young displays a keen sensitivity to

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the quality of her materials, and she questions their strengths and limitations in virtually every section of the book. This probing often results in a competent analysis of the published materials that provide her chief evidence. Yet Young leaves the reader wondering why, in a work published six years after the opening of Russian archives in 1991, she did not turn to this rich trove for additional answers. Although she lists archives in the bibliography, archival citations are absent from the footnotes in all but incidental ways, and no major point in the argument rests on archival substantiation. Moreover, the archival work Young did carry out suffers from important gaps. To cite but two, in the former archive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Young consulted only the papers of Emilian Iaroslavskii, even though others (Daniel Peris, for example, whose work Young cites) have demonstrated the usefulness of additional collections in the same repository. Second, despite her repeated references to the League of Militant the Godless (twelve lines in the index), the author failed to consult its highly accessible collection in the State Archive of the Russian Federation.

Ultimately, this book goes well beyond the studies of institutions and chronicles of persecution that have dominated the previous scholarship on religion in the USSR. In this imaginatively illustrated volume, Young has produced an ambitious attempt to connect the study of Soviet antireligious policy with larger issues of social and cultural history.

WILLIAM B. HUSBAND
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ALEKSANDR M. NEKRICH. *Pariahs, Partners, Predators: German-Soviet Relations, 1922–1941*. Edited and translated by GREGORY L. FREEZE. Foreword by ADAM B. ULAM. New York: Columbia University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 308. $35.00.

This book, which was edited, translated, and published after the author's death in 1993, is a useful reexamination of an already much-studied subject. Aleksandr M. Nekrich traces the tortuous evolution of a quasi alliance between the USSR and Weimar Germany in the 1920s. He demonstrates that, as early as 1920, well-informed Soviet diplomats in Berlin understood that Germany would not follow Russia's revolutionary path. Such insights, however, did not prevent the Kremlin from supporting German insurrections in 1921 and 1923. The author also highlights the effect on Russo-German relations of institutional rivalries among various Soviet organs, especially the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (Narkomindel), the Commissariat of Foreign Trade, the Red Army, and the United State Political Administration (OGPU). In this connection, Nekrich gives his readers some fascinating glimpses into the mindset of the secret police. For example, he quotes an OGPU report that claimed that the German firm Junkers "can be regarded as an espionage and counter-revolutionary organization that is working for the English" (p. 47). The author also provides a detailed portrait of the evolution of cooperation in military training and weapons development between the USSR and the Weimar Republic.

The focus of this book, however, is the interaction of Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. As other students of this relationship have noted, Joseph Stalin badly misinterpreted the real nature and potential threat of German fascism, and he attempted to utilize ties between the Reichswehr and the Red Army to maintain the old Rapallo relationship with the new Germany. The Soviet dictator was led astray, in this regard, by his beliefs that German capitalists were the real rulers of the Third Reich and that the German army still exercised a powerful influence over policymaking in Berlin. The collapse of the Rapallo relationship led the Soviet government to pursue a dual diplomatic policy: openly and vigorously pursuing the Western powers while secretly and intermittently seeking a rapprochement with Germany. Nekrich implies that Stalin actually may have preferred the latter policy. The author chooses not to speculate on why, in supposedly courting Adolf Hitler, Moscow would send a Jewish ambassador (Iakov Suritz) to Berlin. He does speculate that Stalin may have tried to promote conflict between Germany and the Western democracies. Nekrich also focuses so tightly on the Moscow-Berlin nexus that such major events in Soviet foreign policy as Collective Security and the Popular Front are mentioned only in passing, even though they had a major impact on his principal subject.

Although Nekrich suspects that Stalin may have favored an agreement with Hitler over an alliance with the Anglo-French camp, he argues that both options were still viable as late as the beginning of August 1939. He contends, however, that "Soviet foreign policy underwent significant change in the spring and summer of 1939 . . . its primary objective was to expand borders along the western frontier" (p. 110). This change, the author believes, did not preclude the possibility of an agreement with the Western powers, but it made a deal with Hitler more likely. Hitler's willingness to accept Stalin's territorial demands, combined with Soviet suspicions that Britain and France wanted a one-sided alliance in which the USSR would bear most of the risk, ultimately produced the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

What Stalin sought during the period of Russo-German collaboration, according to Nekrich, was a new balance of power, especially Soviet domination of the Black Sea and the Straits. This led the Soviet Union into an inconsistent policy of both challenging and appeasing Hitler. Nekrich sometimes mistakes Hitler's short-term tactical flexibility for willingness to cooperate with the USSR on a more lasting basis. Actually, at least in Hitler's mind, the ultimate fate of the Soviet Union had long been settled. Nekrich also considers the possibility that the USSR may have been preparing to attack Germany in 1941 (the Suvorov hypothesis) but dismisses it. Operation Barbarossa was

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not a preemptive strike, both because Hitler did not fear a Soviet attack and because the Red Army certainly was not prepared for such an enterprise.

The author has benefitted from the availability of many glasnost-era publications and from selective access to several Soviet archives. Much of the narrative of Russo-German relations in the critical late 1930s is told on the basis of previously published German documents, however, even though Ingeborg Fleischhauer and Geoffrey Roberts have cast considerable doubt on this method. Moreover, when Nekrich has documents from both sides to compare—as with the much-discussed Weizsäcker-Merekalov conversation of April 17, 1939—he assumes that where there are significant differences, the Soviet version must be in error! Although the impact of factional struggles on foreign policy is highlighted for the 1920s, Nekrich also assumes a virtually totalitarian unity of command in Stalin's hands during the 1930s. He ignores the arguments of Jonathan Haslam, Paul Raymond, and others that foreign policy continued to be the subject of intense debate within the Kremlin.

Overall, Nekrich has made a useful contribution to our understanding of Russo-German relations, but this book does not eliminate the need to consult the valuable works of Haslam, Roberts, Fleischhauer, and Gabriel Gorodetsky.

TEDDY J. ULDRICKS
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BRUCE A. ELLEMAN. *Diplomacy and Deception: The Secret History of Sino-Soviet Diplomatic Relations, 1917–1927*. Armonk: N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1997. Pp. xviii, 322. $72.95.

The diplomacy of revolutionary states is usually an unstable blend of traditional realpolitik and messianic idealism, the former eventually prevailing over time. So it was with the Soviet Union's policy toward China in the decade after the Bolshevik Revolution. Bruce A. Elleman's carefully detailed monograph, which incorporates recently availabie archival material from Chinese and Russian archives, insists that Soviet diplomacy toward China was essentially that of tsarism *redivivus*. He dismisses the revolutionary component of Soviet diplomacy as merely an elaborate con game that succeeded in suckering not only the Chinese, at whom it was directed, but several generations of scholars as well. Elleman's self-appointed mission is to correct the misconceptions, errors, and fallacies of those who have preceded him in studying this subject. This impulse imparts an unfortunate polemical tone to a book that makes a real if modest contribution to our knowledge of Sino-Soviet relations.

Elleman traces the tortuous process by which the Bolsheviks established diplomatic relations with the internationally recognized government of China in Peking while conducting simultaneous negotiations with the Canton-based revolutionary leader Sun Yat-sen. He demonstrates that Moscow quickly reneged on its early promise to return the Chinese Eastern Railroad, the centerpiece of tsarist imperialism in China, to the Chinese at no cost; that Moscow established Russian hegemony over Outer Mongolia, a territory that had been part of the Chinese Empire; and that it reclaimed the extraterritorial privileges on Chinese soil that were hallmarks of imperialism.

This much is certainly true, and it is useful to be reminded of this on the basis of new evidence. But Elleman is not content to leave things at that. In his prosecutorial zeal, he attacks the "Soviet-sponsored myth" that Sun Yat-sen was a great Chinese nationalist leader, citing "compelling evidence that Sun sacrificed China's interests to further his own" (p. 66). Elleman has in mind Sun's dealings with the Soviets, to whom the Chinese leader turned in his never-ending quest for foreign assistance. In a similar reductionist vein, he argues that the popularity of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the 1920s was largely based on the mistaken Chinese belief that the Soviet Union was a genuine friend of China. This perspective completely ignores the CCP's social appeal to peasants and workers. Along the way, Elleman also tries, with limited success, to restore the sorry reputation of the 1920s Peking government, which has long been seen as weak and ineffectual.

There are several problems with Elleman's approach to his subject. First, he seems unaware that politics often involves bargaining among unequal partners pursuing interests that can rarely be neatly defined as either personal or national. Nearly everyone but Elleman accepts the proposition that Sun Yat-sen was an authentic Chinese nationalist. Sun's maneuverings and entreaties for foreign assistance are understandable as a manifestation of his political weakness and desperation. He was, in C. Martin Wilbur's apt phrase, a "frustrated patriot." Second, Elleman commits what may be called the literalist fallacy concerning state sovereignty. What he views as the devious and duplicitous character of Soviet diplomacy in China was grounded in the reality that the Chinese state was divided against itself. The China diplomacy of the other major powers in the 1920s similarly reflected this reality. The Peking government was far from being in control of the national territory. Third, Elleman exaggerates the novelty of his interpretation. He would have us believe that no scholars before him understood the imperialist dimensions of Soviet diplomacy in China. In order to convince the reader, he hammers home his main points with the relentless cadence of an army of carpenters. In fact, many earlier scholars have noted the strong continuities between tsarist and Soviet China policy. On a broader canvas, a generation ago Hugh Seton-Watson characterized Soviet foreign policy as the diplomacy of "imperialist revolutionaries."

Not every dissertation turned monograph need strike us with the force of revelation. It is possible to build your own house without demolishing the homes

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of your neighbors. Elleman's study deserves a place on the shelf with earlier studies of the subject, but it does not replace them, say what he will.

STEVEN I. LEVINE
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TALINE TER MINASSIAN. *Colporteurs du Komintern: L'Union soviétique et les minorités au Moyen-Orient.* Paris: Presses de Sciences PO. 1997. Pp. 353. 178 fr.

This book discusses the way the Soviet Union used minorities to advance its interests in Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt from the 1920s to the start of the Cold War. Taline Ter Minassian's use of archives of the former Soviet Union raises the hope of new insights into the much-studied subject of Soviet relations with the Middle East. Unfortunately, there are none.

A fundamental issue that Ter Minassian does not address is the profound difference in what it meant to be a minority in the cases she considers. The Azerbaijani and Kurdish populations in northwestern Iran and the Jews of Palestine, all of them numerous and living in concentrated areas, were not only unlike each other but also unlike the Armenian diaspora, which figures prominently in the book, or the Greek Orthodox Arabs, who receive some attention. Much of the book summarizes what Soviet policy was toward the countries under consideration. That has already been covered in several scholarly works, many of them in English and cited by the author.

The book tosses out intriguing pieces of information without discussing their implications. For example, both A. Sultanzadeh, who was a leading Communist in Iran in the early 1920s, and L. Karakhanov, the Soviet representative in Turkey from 1934 to 1937, were Armenians (although they adopted non-Armenian surnames). Yet there is no discussion of how this affected the way they were perceived in Turkey or Iran or whether this caused any problems in the promotion of Soviet interests, especially given the recent history of violence between Armenians and both Ottoman Turks and Azerbaijanis (in Russia).

For all the book's repeated assertions that minorities in the Middle East constituted a pool from which the Soviets drew agents of influence, it also shows that this reliance on minorities was often a liability from Moscow's perspective. The fact that Jews predominated in the Communist Party of Palestine in the interwar years and that Armenians and other minorities played similar roles in Syria and Lebanon was one of the reasons few Arabs joined the party, much to Moscow's dissatisfaction. Arabization became both a policy objective and an excuse to purge the existing party leaders.

The discussion of what happened in Iranian Azerbaijan while it was controlled by the Azerbaijan Democratic Party (ADP) and Soviet occupation forces in 1945–1946 focuses on the way the ADP used Soviet-style nationality policies promoting the use of the local language in education and publishing. Yet, for all Ter Minassian's emphasis on minority tactics, there is no discussion of the way these policies won at least the initial support of some non-Communists Azerbaijanis who perceived the Iranian central government as discriminating against them. Nor is there any discussion of the fact that policies which favored Azerbaijani culture were not enough to reconcile many other Azerbaijanis to ADP rule. ADP policies in non-cultural spheres, such as land redistribution, bank nationalization, or labor legislation, receive no attention.

At times, the author's historical understanding is shaky. She makes the reasonable argument that Soviet policy toward the Middle East was shaped not only by revolutionary ideology but also by attitudes inherited from the Russian Empire. However, she depicts those attitudes as more obsessive than they really were. Thus, Ter Minassian mistakenly treats the aggressive rhetoric of some nineteenth-century Russians toward the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans as identical with the views of Russian foreign policy makers, even quoting an inflammatory passage by Fyodor Dostoyevsky in that regard, although that great writer's views did not in fact reflect the government's. She also points to the determination of Paul Miliukov, briefly foreign minister in the Provisional Government of 1917, to obtain the Straits as proof of the same obsession; there is no mention of the fact that Miliukov's views were extremely unpopular and led to his fall from office. The talks in 1939 and 1940 between then-allied Germany and the Soviet Union are interpreted as proof of the survival of the Russian drive to expand southward despite the fall of the tsarist regime. Yet the published records of those talks show that it was Germany that pushed the idea of Soviet expansion "in the direction of the Persian Gulf" in an unsuccessful attempt to distract the Soviets from the German build-up in eastern Europe.

The Soviet Union pursued several different kinds of minority tactics in the Middle East. There are already some valuable studies on certain aspects of this, though much more work remains to be done. The book under review is not a major contribution to the field.

MURIEL ATKIN
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ZVI GITELMAN, editor. *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 332. $35.00.

The bitter legacy of the Holocaust consists only in part of the facts about the killing of Jews; another part is its rhetoric. The fourteen essays in this book, with few exceptions, are arguments about innocence and guilt.

In the twentieth century, in the wake of the Russian, German, and Austro-Hungarian imperial collapses, there arose two pernicious clichés about Eastern Europeans: Jews are Communists, and the rest of the populations are fascists and anti-Semites. The irony is that, although these bromides arose in the imperial

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capitals of Europe, they have become fighting words among the peoples of the region.

The collection, with the exception of two essays by editor Zvi Gitelman, is about the lands between Russia and Germany. The reference to the Soviet Union is somewhat misleading. The volume contains four essays about Ukraine, three essays about Lithuania, two about Belarus, and one each for Latvia and Poland. Gitelman's contributions discuss Russia's guilt in the Shoah but do so mainly by placing it in historical and historiographical context.

None of the countries discussed in the volume existed as independent or even autonomous entities at the time of the Holocaust: very little of that what we call societal or state infrastructure existed in these territories. Yet most of the contributors treat them as if they were whole and comparable to Holland or Denmark at the time of Nazi occupation. I am not saying this to make excuses for Eastern European participation in the killing of the Jews but to indicate that, after Communist officials had fled, there were practically no central or local institutions or leaders that could negotiate agreements or terms of collaboration. The organizational void was an opportunity and a challenge for the Nazis; it necessitated a different kind of occupation than that established in the "stable" Western countries. Considering the chaos of Eastern Europe, the so-called "spontaneous pogroms" that the Einsatzgruppen leadership sought to organize and induce might have been even more devastating to Jewish populations than we know they were.

In many of the essays, I miss the presence of the Russian and German "big brothers." The contributors should make up their minds about whether these countries were or were not occupied by the Nazis. I am sure that, during the killing years, there was something that might be called Jewish-Ukrainian or Jewish-Lithuanian relations—frequently used concepts in the essays—but totally to exclude the Germans from these relations is to misinform or partly inform readers. Did the Germans, upon entering eastern territories, allow gangs of armed Latvians, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians to roam the countryside and kill Jews at will? Even if one thinks that Eastern Europeans killed Jews without having been ordered to do so by the Germans, it is incumbent upon the historian to explain why an occupying force as brutal as the Nazis would tolerate the use of weapons without their knowledge or control.

Michael MacQueen, in "Nazi Policy towards the Jews in the *Reichkommissariat Ostland*, June-December 1941: From White Terror to Holocaust in Lithuania," is the most extreme proponent of this unusual concept of occupation. He asserts that "in the first three months of the Nazi occupation . . . situation had more elements of a 'White Terror' . . . [than] of the immediate and seamless introduction of a planned and systematic campaign of extermination . . . the shift to systematic extermination was possible only when the Germans based their policy on harnessing the local forces, that is, when the Germans recognized fully the destructiveness of their Baltic collaborators" (p. 92).

Heinrich Himmler would be tickled pink, because that is exactly what he hoped the world would think about the biggest murder action in history. MacQueen's essay is proof that the Nazi campaign of deception has worked. The head of Einsatzgruppe A, Gruppenführer Walter Stahlecker, who was in charge of killing the Jews in Lithuania and the Baltics, addressed the same questions as MacQueen in his secret reports, but gave different answers. For example, Stahlecker wrote that "It was desirable . . . that the Jewish question not be raised immediately, as the unusually tough measures would also have created shock in German circles. It had to appear to the outside world that the indigenous population itself reacted naturally against the decades of oppression by the Jews and against the terror created by the Communists in its recent history, and that the indigenous population carried out these first measures of its own accord." Whom shall we believe, MacQueen or Stahlecker? A historian who argues that the Germans controlled nothing or little in Lithuania, or the organizer of the killings, who says that the Germans controlled everything and used the Lithuanians as shills?

This volume also contains some valuable essays that advance not only knowledge but also the discourse of the Holocaust. Among them are Gitelman's essay on Soviet historiography, Shimon Redlich's contribution on Metropolitan Andrii Sheptyts'kyi, and that by Daniel Romanovsky on Jews in Belorussia.

The editor of this volume promises to confront the bitter legacy of the Holocaust, not to moderate it. Sharp rhetorical edges are not in themselves negative; my major objection to most of the essays in this volume stems from their authors' misconception of what the basic patterns and structure of German occupation in Eastern Europe were.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DOUGLAS R. EDWARDS. *Religion and Power: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 234. $39.95.

In this ambitious study, Douglas R. Edwards uses strategies from the social sciences concerning symbolic and religious discourse to explore how pagans, Jews, and Christians threaded their way among the power networks at play in the eastern half of the Roman Empire, with particular reference to the Flavian through the Trajanic periods (70–117 C.E.). Edwards makes clear to the reader the inherent difficulties in historical reconstruction (chapter one) before sketching the complex relationship between imperial power and the rise to prominence of local elites, the uncertain position of Jews in the Roman Empire after the

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Jewish revolts, and the increasingly precarious status of Christians as they separated themselves from Jews (chapter two).

The following five chapters contain a series of thematic studies in which Edwards follows the same format. He first presents an overview of the pagan perspective on the theme, followed by an analysis of how this theme played out in Chariton's novel *Chaerea and Callirrhoe*. He then examines the theme in Judaism and in the work of the Jewish historian, Josephus, and finally in Christianity and in the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles. This format produces a certain amount of repetition but also reinforces the thrust of the comparison. Three chapters deal with the function and activity of the deity in question: the range of the deity over time (chapter three) and space (chapter five) and his/her control of human affairs (chapter four). Chapter six is devoted to representatives of the deity and chapter seven to how perceptions of the future influenced actions in the present. As one would expect from Edwards's archeological work, the book abounds with well-chosen references to inscriptional material that bring the past alive. In general, this study is a fine example of the fruitful interchange that can result when the barriers that used to separate Classics, Jewish Studies, and Early Christian Studies are broken down.

In such a brief book, one can always wish that something else had been treated. I was surprised that three issues did not receive more attention. First, Edwards notes the role of marriage as a stabilizing force in the Roman Empire for the local elite class and the way this is supported in Chariton's novel (pp. 94–100). However, no mention is made of how this played out in Christianity. The slur of sexual promiscuity hurled at Christians as well as the observation by Galen of their sexual continence suggests its importance, as does the attack on marriage in the apocryphal acts of the apostles. Edwards does not comment on Luke 20: 35–36 ("those accounted worthy to attain to that age and to the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage, for they cannot die anymore, because they are equal to angels and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection"), a key saying for Eastern Christian ascetics. Second, in discussing attitudes to the future, Edwards makes no mention of the doctrine, common among educated elites since Plato, that the cosmos was eternal, whereas for Christians it was definitely to end. Third, Edwards rightly points to the roles played by women in both pagan and Jewish arenas (pp. 92–95, 103) but not to women's roles in early Christianity (for example, Junias the apostle [Romans 16: 7]), nor does he discuss the possibility that Luke purposely relegated women to household duties rather than have them preach.

All in all, this well-researched and thought-provoking book should stimulate further study of the social contexts of the first and second centuries C.E.

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JOYCE E. SALISBURY. *Perpetua's Passion: The Death and Memory of a Young Roman Woman*. New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. 228. $19.95.

In March 203, at Carthage in the Roman province of Africa Proconsularis, a group of Christian converts was condemned to die by being thrown to wild animals in the arena, thereby suffering (in Roman eyes) dishonor and degradation while providing public entertainment and a sort of religious sacrifice. Among the martyrs were two women: Perpetua, a twenty-one-year-old still nursing her baby, and Felicitas, a slave who actually gave birth in the prison where the Christians were held before execution. Their story is told in a document known as the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, redacted soon after the martyrs' deaths by a member of the Christian community of Carthage. The *Passio* is unique among ancient martyrdom accounts, however, for it includes the prison diary of Perpetua, recounting her stay in prison and her trial, her repeated conflicts with her anguished pagan father, and the visions she had while awaiting death. Only a handful of texts by women survive from Roman antiquity, and none can approach Perpetua's for its simple and personal narrative of the harrowing experience of a young mother facing death voluntarily for her faith.

Not surprisingly, Perpetua's account has been the subject of many scholarly studies, particularly her four visions, analyzed from a variety of perspectives, including Freudian, Jungian, and, most recently, feminist. Yet until now there has been no full-length study in English of the *Passio*, nor have earlier scholars tried to place Perpetua fully in her social and religious context. That is the aim of Joyce E. Salisbury's book, written in a simple and direct style that recalls Perpetua's own *sermo humilis*.

Salisbury first describes the social and religious environment within which Perpetua lived. According to the anonymous editor of the *Passio*, Perpetua was "honorably born, brought up in a manner befitting a freeborn person, and respectably married." A Christian of such status was rare in the early third century, and Perpetua, still a catechumen at the time of her arrest (she was baptized while in prison), had abandoned the traditions of family and state in which she had been reared. Salisbury explains well the expectations to which a Roman woman of Perpetua's status was held: filial obedience to the all-encompassing power of the *paterfamilias* (which often, as in Perpetua's case, was tempered by paternal affection) and devotion to the public cults of the Roman state, especially the cult of the emperors, the precarious glue holding together the vast empire's conglomeration of peoples and cultures. She provides an excellent account of the Christian church in Carthage in Perpetua's day, highlighting its strong traditions of self-sacrifice and respect for visions that were so influential on Perpetua and other African Christians.

At the book's heart is a close reading of the *Passio* itself (in English translation). Through the words of

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Perpetua, her fellow martyr Saturus, and the *Passio*'s editor, Salisbury explores the prison where the Christians were held, the visions recorded by Perpetua and Saturus, and the amphitheater where they met their deaths. She demonstrates convincingly how Roman, Carthaginian, and Christian traditions of piety and spirituality (the analysis of Perpetua's visions is particularly illuminating) converged to produce a brave and resourceful young woman of good birth and education who renounced her family ties to face a degrading public death. The book closes with a look at the afterlife of Perpetua's narrative in the centuries following her martyrdom, and the changes it underwent at the hands of later church leaders.

Salisbury, the author of several earlier books on aspects of late antique and early medieval Christianity, writes not as a specialist for specialists (all references to Latin and Greek sources are to translated editions, not the original texts) but as one who has read widely in the sources and in recent scholarship of Christianity in the Roman world. Her book is an example of synthesis at its best, and by placing Perpetua thoroughly in her Roman and Christian contexts, she offers something both to Roman historians and to scholars of early Christianity, who all too often have little contact with or knowledge of each other's fields. Although each may demur at some of her assertions (for example, that Perpetua knew Punic as well as Latin and Greek, or that the conversion to Isis of the protagonist of Apuleius's novel *The Golden Ass* is an autobiographical account of the author's own religious devotion), both will find their understanding of Perpetua and her world greatly enhanced by Salisbury's readable and engaging study.

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PAUL WEXLER. *The Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews*. (SUNY Series in Anthropology and Judaic Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 321. $24.95.

In our postmodern age, with its reevaluation of the foundations of all transmitted wisdom, it is not surprising to find challenges to the traditions that have nurtured the aspirations of many groups. As often as not, such traditions represent reinventions of the past, repeatedly and often not subtly reconfigured, to support the ideologies of institutions in the present. Gradually but steadily, the study of Jewish history has begun to undergo a similar reappraisal. The idea, nurtured in the last century in the language of modern nationalism, of the Jewish people as a coherent, self-identifing ethnos of unbroken continuity has been the object of scholarly challenge on many fronts, with extraordinary revelations that yield a more complex and far more colorful picture of the development of Jewish identity.

Paul Wexler's book represents a major contribution to this effort. His thesis is "that Sephardic Jewry was created when significant numbers of Romance-, Berber-, and Arabic-speaking proselytes intermarried with a handful of descendants of Palestinian Jews in North Africa and on the Iberian Peninsula" (p. 12). He sees this process beginning in the seventh century in North Africa, continuing in the Iberian Peninsula until 1492, and receiving a fresh impetus from the refugees of the persecutions in Castile and Aragon that began in 1391. Wexler challenges the traditional view of an Iberian-centered Sephardic continuity since Roman times and posits an essentially non-Iberian origin and, to a large extent, a non-Iberian development for Sephardic Jewry.

Toward this end, Wexler relies largely on linguistic evidence, which he adduces with dazzling erudition, not only in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and the Romance and Slavic languages but also in their regional variations and the various Jewish derivatives that have come to be called Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Latin, and Judeo-Spanish for want of more precise descriptions. He displays as well a command of the vast and varied primary documentation in these fields and the equivalently luxuriant scholarship, which he analyzes with incisiveness and precision. Wexler's insights into the nature of language formation—for example, that the Yiddish language affixes a Germanic lexicon upon a Slavic base and that modern Hebrew, far from being a reincarnation of its Biblical and Mishnaic predecessors, actually represents the imposition of a Hebrew, or, perhaps a modern Hebraized vocabulary, upon a Yiddish base—may possibly startle some readers but in my opinion, they are soundly and irrefutably presented.

Beyond language, Wexler reveals a command of the many elements, deriving from surrounding culture and including inscriptions, folklore, customs, and ceremonies, that contributed to the formation not only of the Sephardic Jews but of other Jewries as well. All of this reinforces his conclusion that, as in the case of Sephardic Jews, Jewish history must not be studied, as it all too often is, as an insulated discipline but can be understood only in the context of the broader world from which the Jewish communities derived.

The book is not a consecutive history but rather a series of interrelated scholarly essays around major themes, such as the conversion to Judaism in the formation of Sephardic Jews, the role of North Africa with its Berber and Arab contributions, and the introduction of extraneous elements into the developing culture of the Sephardic Jews. The rich and scholarly detail of this work and its consequent indispensability for scholarly discussion will not detract from its interest to the general reader.

Wexler acknowledges that, for all its depth and breadth, the data he has amassed is far from complete and, in the case of the linguistic data in particular, expectedly conventionalized. He must therefore build his reconstruction from inventive conjectures, which in his case never fail to reveal responsible innovation as well as solid scholarship.

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Some of Wexler's reconstructions invite challenge, among them his periodization, his confinement of the term Sephardic to post-Visigothic Jewry, and his contention that the core of Sephardic Jewry was Palestinian (why not Mediterranean diasporans of recent Jewish origin?). But these and many more insights compel us to rethink the bases of the conventional reconstructions that have guided, and often misguided, scholarship in the field.

I applaud Wexler's call (p. 19) for the collaboration of historians, archaeologists, and linguists in serious historical reconstruction and recognize that, as a blend of all three dimensions, his work represents an example to follow.

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RONNIE ELLENBLUM. *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 321. $59.95.

This book by Ronnie Ellenblum, which deals with the way the crusaders (referred to, as in the medieval chronicles, as Franks) settled in the open country of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem, is a major and innovative study such as does not come our way very often. It plows new ground, is solidly rooted in the source material, has a broad perspective, and challenges received opinions in an exciting way. Ellenblum's most comprehensive study includes not only the magnificent crusader castles as nuclei of rural settlements but also rural *burgi*, fortified and unfortified villages, and isolated manor houses. The author has conducted extensive archaeological surveys of no less than 235 Frankish rural settlements in the crusader kingdom. This was not an easy task because it is often difficult to distinguish crusader work from, let us say, Mamluk work. The White Tower of Ramla is a good example of this. But Ellenblum's previous work on construction methods and masonry marks of the crusaders has admirably equipped him for the task. His book is rich in small but in themselves important analyses of the development of individual crusader settlements (e. g. Castellum Regis, Caselimbert, Magna and Parva Mahumeria, Castellum sancti Egidii, and Castrum sancti Elie).

Deeply entrenched orthodoxies are irresistible targets, and in attacking them Ellenblum scores a real hit. Here we touch the heart of the book's impact: Ellenblum not only revises the received opinion that crusader society was by and large urban and that rural settlement counted for very little, but also asks us to abandon the idea that the Frankish peasants in the country lived in isolation not only from the Muslim population but also from the Syro-Christians, villages being exclusively either Frankish, Syro-Christian, or Muslim. Ellenblum successfully defends the view that the rural settlement of the Franks developed along the lines of a cultural frontier and along religious divisions. The evidence for this is indeed striking, particularly in Galilee and in Samaria. There was neither the total and unrestricted mixing of religions in which the older French school believed nor was there the total segregation between religions that R. C. Smail and Joshua Prawer posited. Ellenblum shows beyond reasonable doubt that the Franks settled in areas where Syro-Christians had already lived in the pre-Crusade days and continued to live. Even more radical are Ellenblum's findings with regard to the Christian areas of settlement, because he can demonstrate that Syro-Christians and Franks settled in the same villages and not, as had previously been supposed, in separate places.

Ellenblum uncovers these patterns of settlement by detailed examination of individual cases. Muslims were, of course, segregated in the sense that, by and large, they lived in parts of the country different from those where the Christian settlements were to be found. This is a complete change from the previous assumption, according to which Muslim settlements were segregated but existed side by side with Syro-Christian and Frankish setlements in the same regions. New frontiers will have to be mapped within the crusader kingdom and new questions can now be investigated, such as to what extent Frankish lords penetrated the Muslim and even the Jewish sectors in Eastern Galilee.

The consequences of Ellenblum's findings are far-reaching. The pattern of settlement means that the Franks were politically dominant but constituted a secondary factor in the long-term cultural and social process that shaped the character of the country. They could conquer the kingdom, but, in a vast sea of Muslim neighbors that gradually eroded the status of the Oriental Christians, they could in the long run not survive. Ellenblum has produced a truly important book that is bound to open a revisionist debate of great importance to the history of the crusader states.

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JONATHAN PHILLIPS. *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations Between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 314. $70.00.

The origins of this book can be seen to lie in R. C. Smail's brief essay, "Relations between Latin Syria and the West, 1149–1187" (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* [1969]). But Jonathan Phillips covers a considerably wider period and discusses the subject in much greater depth than Smail attempted. The book examines in a chronological manner attempts to secure husbands for heiresses, manpower (usually in the form of short-term military support on land, but also at times in the shape of naval help), and financial assistance from 1119, when aid was sought following the defeat at the *Ager sanguinis*, until the disaster of Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem in 1187. Phillips thoroughly

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investigates the circumstances in the West affecting the response to requests as well as the situations in the East occasioning the appeals.

Some general characteristics emerge. Appeals were commonly discussed in assemblies in the East before the dispatch of envoys. Those chosen to head missions were usually leading clerics or members of the military orders; only rarely were embassies led by secular nobles. In the period from the 1160s to the 1180s, the status of those selected tended to rise as the need for help became more urgent. The mission of 1184–1185 thus comprised the patriarch of Jerusalem and the masters of the Temple and Hospital. Appeals also became more sophisticated in form, as illustrated by the offer of the keys of Jerusalem to Louis VII in 1169, which is seen to parallel an offer made to Charlemagne in 800 and to have been a means of persuading the French king to assume the role of protector.

Phillips shows that requests for help occurred at more irregular intervals than Smail suggested. His general conclusions are, however, not especially remarkable. The merit of this book lies chiefly in detailed and closely argued discussions that add to our knowledge and understanding of particular events and incidents. A cogent argument, for example, is advanced for seeing Edessa as the original objective of the armies of the Second Crusade, and Phillips makes a convincing case for questioning whether Byzantium was the target of the expedition proposed in 1150. Because of the lack of evidence, however, Phillips's explanations are in some instances merely hypothetical. This is true of some of the factors that, he suggests, occasioned the mission to find a husband for Amalric's daughter Sibylla in 1169, and also of the reasons he advances to explain why the proposed marriage to Stephen of Sancerre did not take place. Some of Phillips's interpretations of evidence are questionable. He argues that the penance imposed in May 1172 on the English King Henry II—whose crusading intentions are taken more seriously by Phillips than by some other historians—obliged him to take the cross by Christmas for a period of three years and to set out for the Holy Land the following Easter. The text to which Phillips refers, however, appears to state that Henry was to take the cross within three years of the following Christmas and to set out by the summer (not Easter) following his assumption of the cross. But the author does provide a very useful and thoughtful investigation of appeals and responses to them.

This book offers both more and less than its title suggests. Relations with the Byzantine Empire are discussed, especially from the 1150s onwards, when the crusader states, lacking adequate help from the West, turned to the Greeks for aid, seeking both marriages and military assistance. But relations with the West were not limited to the intermittent missions dispatched from the Holy Land and Western responses to these. Through their representatives in the West, the military orders, for example, were constantly seeking financial support for themselves, utilizing papal privileges such as that offering a remission of penance to all who made an annual benefaction to the Hospital or Temple; and their convents in the West served as recruiting centers. Much of the Western response to the needs of the Holy Land took the form of providing donations of property and supplying postulants to the orders. A portion of the orders' revenues in the West was to be sent out to the East each year, and most recruits made their profession in the West. Phillips gives this significant aspect of relations no more than a passing mention.

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Jane Hathaway. *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdağlis*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 198. $49.95.

This book figures centrally in a new trend in the historiography of Egypt during the Ottoman period, namely, its reintegration into an Ottoman and Mediterranean context. In her account of elite politics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jane Hathaway takes issue with the standard narrative that views the powerful Qazdagli household, the object of her study, less as an "Ottoman" phenomenon than as a revival of Mamluk-style politics of the pre-Ottoman period. The political life of the Mamluk regime, which ruled Egypt and greater Syria from 1250 to the Ottoman conquest (1517), centered on an institutionalized competition among powerful households whose rank and file were military slaves ("mamluks") recruited principally from the Caucasus. Arguing against the "neo-mamlukist" view, Hathaway situates the evolution of the Qazdagli household in "an empire-wide military and administrative culture based on households" (p. 1).

As the introduction points out, the Qazdagli household is typically known either through the powerful figure of its best-known head, Ali Bey, who challenged Ottoman overlordship in the 1760s, or as a party of Mamluks of Georgian origin encountered a generation later by Napoleon Bonaparte. These Qazdaglis monopolized the beylicate, the group of grandee offices that governed the sub-provinces of Egypt, controlling the rural revenues of this "grainbasket" of the empire. Historians have portrayed the Qazdaglis' late eighteenth-century predominance as the resurfacing or reinvention in a time of Ottoman weakness of pre-Ottoman models in tension with Ottoman practices. Hathaway challenges this view by focusing on the household's evolution from 1650 to 1750 and arguing that its fortunes depended on multiple and shifting strategies and alliances that defy such pigeon holing. This textured reading of a neglected century of Ottoman Egyptian history is largely the result of the author's extensive use of Ottoman central archives

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along with the standard Arabic chronicles, as well as her use of less commonly read chronicles.

Hathaway undermines the notion of a persistent Mamluk household culture by focusing on the formative processes characteristic of households in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Cairo, in particular their location and personnel. The Qazdagli household (at the forefront of developments) originated among the middle ranks of barracks officers rather than around a leading grandee. The regiment-based household was thus a locus of political clout without necessarily taking shape as "a residence-based conglomerate." In addition, Hathaway argues, the Qazdagli household did not conform to the Mamluk paradigm of a household of slave recruits; rather, it consisted of free-born recruits and adherents as well as military slaves. In fact, the prevailing usage in this period—in goverment documents and chronicles alike—was to lump all household members together under the general rubric of "client" (*tâbi'*).

The story of the Qazdagli rise is in large part the story of the household's strategies for maximizing its control of the revenues of this rich province. Its rising fortunes were tied in large part to the brisk trade in coffee as well as to the control of Cairo's markets. The appearance of Caribbean coffee in the mid-eighteenth century and the subsequent collapse of the local coffee market accelerated Qazdagli efforts to gain control of the beylicate, with its claim on agricultural revenues. But what is significant, claims Hathaway, is that these efforts began much earlier in the century than is generally assumed, and that the Qazdaglis did not abandon earlier strategies in their move to dominate the beylicate but rather aimed to consolidate control of a variety of income bases.

The study of the household—now recognized as a quintessential feature of Middle Eastern culture and history—is not new. This book is an important contribution, however, particularly as it advances our appreciation of the household as a flexible set of relationships and practices. Chapters on women as household actors and on the office of the chief black eunuch as key to the nexus between Egypt and the capital explore some of these practices. The book demonstrates that, just as Istanbul was frequently able to divert the fluid politics of households to its own advantage, so local households, through the long reach of their connections, exploited such basic components of empire as the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and the sizeable revenue it generated.

But the fact remains that the politics of households was more salient in Egypt than in other provinces of the empire. Although Hathaway persuasively argues against a parochial historiography of Ottoman Egypt, the absence of a comparative dimension leaves unanswered the question of whether the tenacious culture of household politics in Egypt might not be tied to the unique administrative demands of the province, dominated as it was by a Nile-based economy and the strategic importance of Cairo as the second city of the empire.

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MICHAEL J. REIMER. *Colonial Bridgehead: Government and Society in Alexandria, 1807–1882.* (State, Culture, and Society in Arab North Africa.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1997. Pp. xv, 251. $69.00.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Alexandria harbored a small (estimated at 15,000), heterogeneous population no larger than that of the Nile ports of Rosetta or Damietta, but by the end of that century, it had become Egypt's second city: the nation's link to the international economy, home to a tumultuous array of Easterners and Europeans, and seat of the "summer capital" of a new dynasty. Michael J. Reimer analyzes this transformation in the period between 1807, when the new Egyptian governor, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha first entered the city, and the British occupation of 1882.

Part one describes Alexandria's disadvantageous physical setting and its decline in the last years of Mamluk-Ottoman rule. In part two, Reimer outlines the city's rapid expansion under Muhammad 'Ali, who broke the power of the surrounding Arab tribes and the tyrannical Mamluk-Ottoman elite, bringing security to its inhabitants. His construction of the Mahmudiyya Canal linking Alexandria to the Nile, new dikes, the arsenal and dockyard, and coastal fortifications attracted thousands of laborers, secured the city's water supply, and helped further to commercialize Egyptian agriculture, for which Alexandria was the port of exchange. This section also explores the emergence of new administrative agencies that dealt with such matters as public health, construction, traffic, and crime in the expanding port.

In part three, Reimer examines the continued rapid population growth (both from internal and international migration), the spatial patterns of residence and employment, and the social relations among the various native and foreign communities after the death of Muhammad 'Ali in 1849. The significantly larger numbers of Europeans, protected from Egyptian law and Ottoman regulations by the capitulatory treaties of their respective nations of origin, were particularly troublesome as they became more deeply involved in the affairs of the city.

Reimer uses the concept of a "colonial city" to analyze Alexandria's expansion, assuming that the sizable European population and its multifaceted involvement in the city's affairs did much to influence the course of its development. It was through this expanding port that Egypt's economy was linked to Europe's; Alexandria's quarrelsome foreign communities helped to spark Egyptian nationalism and provoke the British occupation of 1882. But Reimer also high-

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lights Egyptian contributions to the city's development and emphasizes the integration of this city into the economic, political, and social fabric of Egyptian society. He argues that the city's history during this seventy-five-year period demonstrates a fundamental paradox of colonial urbanism. The city became more cosmopolitan, more Mediterranean, more closely linked to the European economic system, but also more closely integrated into the mainstream of Egypt's evolving economy and society. "Alexandria was, in sum, both a bridgehead of European colonialism and a crucible of Egyptian national integration and identity" (p. 3).

A few problems can be mentioned, but they do not lessen the value of this study. Reimer's focus throughout his all-too-brief analysis, parts of which have been published previously in four separate articles, is on the city as a social, geographical, and economic entity; the emphasis is on the contributions of the Egyptian government, not of Egyptians. This is a problem that the author acknowledges in his preface.

One anachronism ought to be mentioned. It is technically incorrect to refer to Muhammad 'Ali, Sa'id, and 'Abbas as *khedive* (viceroy); they remained *wazirs*, or *pashas* (governors). It was Isma'il (1863–1879) who acquired the more exalted title of *khedive* from the Ottoman government.

The nine maps, reduced from nineteenth-century works, are not always clear, making place names difficult to read. The brief comparison of "colonial" Alexandria with Beirut and Saigon in the conclusion appears out of place, an afterthought, included perhaps to give the work a theoretical foundation and a broader readership.

Based on both local government records and European (mainly British) consular reports, this study is a useful review of Alexandria's phenomenal growth in the nineteenth century, prior to the British occupation. Reimer successfully integrates the findings of numerous English, French (though there are some surprising omissions of French scholarship), and Egyptian scholars, and adds his own analysis of this city's dynamic modern history, making this book a useful addition to the short list of works in English on this revitalized port.

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Samir Saul. *La France et l'Égypte de 1882 à 1914: Intérêts économiques et implications politiques.* Foreword by Jacques Thobie. Paris: Ministère de l'Économie des Finances et de l'Industrie. 1997. Pp. xix, 787. 249 fr.

This is the latest in a long line of French doctoral theses that have explored the role of economic interest in the foreign relations and overseas expansion of France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Following the lead of his mentor, Jacques Thobie (*Intérêts et impérialisme français dans l'Empire ottoman, 1895–1914* [1977]), Samir Saul takes a Marxian approach to imperialism, portraying it as the inevitable by product of capitalist expansion. But Saul's use of the Marxian model is nuanced and sophisticated. In his account, government officials are motivated as much by *raison d'état* as by economic concerns, and they rarely act simply as capitalist stooges. Moreover, Saul is sensitive to the contradictions and crosscurrents in the activity of European capitalists abroad. For example, he makes much of the inherent conflict between financiers, who promoted the cultivation and export of cotton in Egypt to provide revenues to service the foreign debt, and entrepreneurs like Ernest Cronier, who promoted sugar cultivation as the basis of a more diversified and industrialized national economy.

Instead of telling the story of French activity in Egypt in a single narrative, Saul presents a group of parallel narratives, arranged in three parts. Part one provides a comprehensive overview of French (and Belgian) enterprise in Egypt in the period from 1882 to 1914. Saul shows that, whereas earlier French enterprise in Egypt was mainly the work of expatriate merchant capitalists and what he calls *sociétés articulées* (joint stock companies organized and directed from France), the new French enterprise that appeared after 1882 was mainly the work of wholly-owned subsidiaries of European companies and *sociétés extra-muros* (companies organized in France and dependent on French capital but managed in Egypt by Egyptian nationals or resident aliens). These ventures ran the gamut from department stores operated by Orosdi-Back to the tramways built in Alexandria by Thomson-Houston and the resort of Heliopolis ("Sun City") developed by the Empain group, but the greatest number were found in commercial and mortgage banking.

Part two is a triptych that traces the histories of the three largest French enterprises in Egypt: the Suez Company, the Crédit Foncier Égyptien, and the Sucreries de l'Égypte. Going far beyond what Hubert Bonin presented on this period in his authorized history of the Suez Company (*Suez, du canal à la finance, 1858–1987* [1987]), Saul shows how the company managed to preserve its independence from both the French and British governments (no mean feat since the British government was the largest single shareholder) and how it sustained its extraordinary profitability in the face of strong pressure from shipping companies to lower its tolls. Nearly as successful was the Crédit Foncier Égyptien (CFE), founded in 1880 by two local bankers with the support of the leading Paris banks to make mortgage loans to Egyptian landlords. After suffering through hard times in the 1880s and 1890s, the CFE expanded rapidly in the boom of the early 1900s, emerging by 1913 as the largest bank in Egypt and the principal conduit for French investment in the Egyptian economy.

In contrast to the distinctly local character of the

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CFE, the third largest French firm in Egypt, the Sucreries d'Égypte, was a subsidiary of the Say Sugar Company of Paris, the largest sugar refiner in Europe, and it played a key role in the scheme of Say's president, Ernest Cronier, to make Say the dominant supplier of refined sugar in the Mediterranean and Middle East. However, this scheme collapsed in 1905 when a speculative bubble in sugar burst, Cronier committed suicide, and the Sucreries d'Égypte were forced into bankruptcy. In the subsequent reorganization, effective control passed to local capitalists who downsized the company and reoriented it toward serving the Egyptian market.

In part three, Saul tells the story of the triangular relations among the British, French, and Egyptian governments in the era of the British occupation. These relations centered on the management of the Egyptian state debt, which Saul calls "the principal historical personage of the period" (p. 539). For twenty years following the British takeover, France sought to use its position on the Debt Commission to bring the British occupation to an end, while Britain worked just as hard to eliminate French influence in Egyptian affairs. Eventually, Saul shows, the Entente Cordiale of 1904 brought a compromise: in return for British support of France in Morocco, France dropped its opposition to British control of the Egyptian government and acknowledged that the Debt Commission (and thus France) would play a declining role in Egyptian finance as the original state debts were retired. Even so, in both the public and private spheres, the French continued to be the principal foreign investors in Egypt right down to 1956.

This book is based on exhaustive research in British, Belgian, Egyptian, and French archives, including some not previously exploited (e.g., the Suez Company archives), and it presents much new information on the topics it covers. Unfortunately, the sheer mass of detail sometimes obscures the narrative line. Indeed, seemingly no aspect of each and every bond issue, stock flotation, and bank syndication goes unreported, so the book often reads more like a financial statement than history. But specialists in Egyptian economic history and historians of international business will find the book to be a treasure trove of useful data, and it should long serve as the standard reference on Franco-Egyptian economic and financial relations in the pre-World War I era.

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DAVID B. EDWARDS. *Heroes of the Age: Moral Fault Lines on the Afghan Frontier*. (Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies, number 21.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 307.

This book, sophisticated, lucid, and compassionate, should be read by more than specialists in Afghanistan. For them, undoubtedly, it is a must. Although the focus is the late nineteenth century, and the book was written before the rise of Taliban, its evidence comes from the chaotic shanty towns of the Peshawar refugee camps, the matrix of that puzzling movement. It is, however, history rather than current affairs that the book most serves in its specific analyses of tribalism, kingship, and religious enthusiasm. For these are themes, not only of the northwest frontier, but of the Islamic world. David B. Edwards is an anthropologist, and anthropology privileges the particular, but he cannot escape theory and comparison, so that his conclusions reach a high level of generality. The book's subtitle is minimalist. Morality is perhaps not the right word, although it is difficult to suggest a better. Values is too vague, legitimacy too political, and axiology too technical. What Edwards is concerned with is the morality behind morality, the systemic values that precede particular value judgements, the implicit social metaphysics that condition both behavior and its subsequent narration. It is a measure of Edwards's quality that he conveys these ideas without pretension or jargon.

The book is built around three short texts illustrating the value of tribal honor, kingship, and dervish Islam. Edwards does not believe that texts have no point of contact with any reality, so that history becomes literary criticism. Nor does he believe in the primacy of the text, so that history becomes *Quellenforschungen* and exegesis. What Edwards does believe is that texts, however bizarre, are evidence not only for the events they purport to relate but also for the structures of apprehension of their narrators. Those structures, he insists, are not necessarily coherent, either in themselves or with other structures applied by the same people in different contexts. Hence the metaphor of fault lines and tectonic plate interaction.

The first text relates a tribal revenge. It displays the imperatives and constraints of honor: the ethos of the petty nobility of the lineages, the *qaums*, which dominated Pakistan society at the grassroots. Edwards writes that "Few British officers and even fewer journalists were familiar with the cultural dynamics of honor among the frontier tribes" (p. 208), but *Blackwood's Magazine*, widely read by raj personnel, published many articles built around such stories, albeit less adequately conceptualized. The second text is a proclamation of Amir Abdur Rahman, the founder of the semi-modern, half-traditional Afghan monarchy: royal, military, meritocratic even, territorially delimited, a state among states, a nation state, but without a nation. Here the dominant virtues demanded were gratitude, obedience, and loyalty. Edwards underscores the appeal by the Amir to God as the source of authority, but I was more struck by the secularity of the document. In Islamdom, unlike Christendom, sultans were profane rather than consecrated, hence their lack of legitimacy. In both civilizations, the divine right of kings was a vehicle of secularization, in that it asserted a unique charisma and denied that of others, whether

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of the church collectively, religious communities, or holy men individually. The third text, appropriately, is the biography of a holy man—a *pir*, or dervish—with a wide circle of *murids* or disciples. Edwards is a little vague on the kind of *zikr* he practiced and his precise affiliation among the *tarigats*, though the notes have additional information. Hagiography is a fashionable field for historians, and it is a pity that Edwards does not situate his contribution more explicitly among those of Peter Brown, Aline Rousselle, Luce Pietri, and Jean-Michael Sallmann.

Edwards concludes by using his three moral universes to illumine an episode at once well known yet still mysterious: the Swat rebellion of 1897, which figures in Winston Churchill's early autobiographical writings. Here tribal honor, royal calculation, and religious enthusiasm were compounded to challenge imperial power in a campaign where victory did not necessarily go the victor and shadow and substance are hard to discriminate. Edwards's account is fascinating, and I will not spoil his story by further comment. The compound remains as baffling to world statesmen at the end of the twentieth century as it did to those of the late nineteenth century. Edwards's admirable book transcends Afghanistan.

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Zeev Sternhell. *The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State.* Translated by David Maisel. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. PP. xiii, 419. $29.95.

In this book, originally published in Hebrew in 1995, Zeev Sternhell advances what he claims is a radically new interpretation of Zionist history. He seeks to demonstrate that the leaders of the labor-Zionist movement, which dominated the Jewish community in Palestine and then the State of Israel from the 1930s into the 1970s and in crucial ways shaped Israeli society, were never authentic socialists who strove to create an egalitarian Jewish society in Palestine. Rather, Sternhell argues, they were from the outset "nationalist socialists" who, like their counterparts in Europe, subscribed to a "radical, tribal, volkisch" (p. 332) organic nationalism that rejected both Marxist and liberal forms of universalism, along with individual rights and class struggle, and instead gave precedence to the realization of their nationalist project: the establishment in Palestine of a sovereign Jewish state. In this project socialism was deployed merely as a useful "mobilizing myth."

Sternhell offers an often insightful critical reading of the work of such long mythologized labor-Zionist ideologues as A. D. Gordon and Berl Katznelson, and he enhances our understanding of aspects of the development of labor-Zionist thought and practice. But his claim to have produced a radical reinterpretation of Zionist history is greatly overblown. It is rather late in the day to claim to have discovered that David Ben-Gurion and his colleagues gave priority to nation-building rather than to creating a Jewish socialist society in Palestine, nor is it news that they were ready to do whatever it took to achieve Jewish statehood, including the abandonment of whatever commitment to socialism they started out with and the use of force against Palestine's indigenous Arab majority. Liberal and leftist critics of labor Zionism, both Zionist and anti-Zionist, began making that very argument some nine decades ago, and a host of scholars and activists have addressed the issue since that time. Nor does Sternhell's assertion that left and right-wing Zionists differed mainly about the most efficacious methods to be used to "conquer" Palestine for the Jews come as any great revelation—least of all, of course, to Palestinians.

Sternhell is unclear, even contradictory, about whether what he calls the "insurmountable" contradiction between socialism and nationalism (p. 32) compelled labor-Zionist leaders to abandon the socialist principles they professed early on, or whether they simply chose nationalism over socialism. As a result, he never really comes to grips with the ways in which the evolving discourse and practices of labor Zionism were profoundly shaped by the concrete circumstances in which would-be Jewish workers found themselves in early twentieth-century Palestine and, above all, by the "Arab question"—the inescapable reality that Arabs constituted the great majority of the country's population, dominated its labor market, and owned most of its arable land. Moreover, Sternhell repeatedly (and moralistically) contrasts the "bad" labor Zionism that opted for particularistic nationalism with the "good" European social democracy that, he claims, "remained faithful to the basic premises of Marxism" and to universalism (p. 7) until the second half of the twentieth century. Such a contrast can only be sustained by ignoring the bitter conflicts that rent the European socialist and labor movements in the first half of the century, and much else besides. Sternhell also indicates no awareness of recent scholarship that explores the ways in which much of purportedly universalist European liberal and even socialist thought (not to mention Zionism) in fact incorporated the hierarchical taxonomies of race and culture that were bound up with contemporary European colonialism. And he indulges in some myth-making of his own when he idealizes the Gdud Ha'avoda's utterly utopian vision of creating a single countrywide commune (for Jews only, of course) in the 1920s as "the only chance of building a true socialist society" in Palestine (p. 199).

Sternhell notes that, in Israel, scholarly debates about Zionist and Israeli history often become public debates over the future of Israeli society, since conflicting interpretations of the past are seen as having a direct bearing on the political, social, and cultural issues that bitterly divide Jewish Israelis today. This book certainly engendered controversy when it was first published. Sternhell's own vision is clear: he wants

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Israel to become a truly open, liberal, and secular society "based on the search for the happiness of the individual rather than the defense of tribal values" (p. 340), although he is vague about how Israel can transcend its Zionist origins. Whatever its shortcomings as a work of historical scholarship, his book is important as a polemical intervention in ongoing debates over Israel's future course.

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JOHN P. ENTELIS, editor. *Islam, Democracy, and the State in North Africa*. (Indiana Series in Arab and Islamic Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1997. Pp. xxv, 228. Cloth $35.00, paper $15.95.

Following their independence from France, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia showed such impressive signs of political and economic development that they were sometimes touted as models for other recently decolonized states. Although the governments that orchestrated this "progress" were benignly authoritarian, they enjoyed considerable legitimacy and broad popular support. By the 1970s, however, state power throughout North Africa had grown more oppressive, stifling all political expression that was not consonant with regime perspectives. This atmosphere sparked riots and other upheavals in the 1980s that challenged the control of governments and sometimes even threatened their survival.

Regional rulers seemed to have defused the crisis, however, when they permitted the twin processes of economic liberalization and political democratization to make what were apparently significant inroads between 1989 and 1991. But because these local manifestations of the global trend toward democracy coincided with the increasing popularity among those dissatisfied with the status quo of movements proffering Islam as a complete and coherent blueprint for a just society, the very nature of political discourse in North Africa changed. As the core question shifted from who would control existing institutions and structures to whose worldview would define the institutions and structures of the social and political order, governments reacted vigorously to reimpose their authority. Economic liberalization continued on a limited scale, but a return to political repression derailed the quest for democratization.

Edited by John P. Entelis, the nine essays in this collection, all by distinguished analysts of the region, examine interactions among Islam, democracy, and the state during the past twenty-year cycle of repression, reform, and renewed repression in order to elucidate the drive for democratization and liberalization and to explain why and how North Africa's rulers have resisted reform and clung to office. The first four essays view these questions through the prism of political culture, the remainder through that of political economy.

John Voll describes developments in North Africa as a subset of a global challenge to the nature and identification of authority, which can be understood only by moving beyond the conceptual limitations of Western European political thought. He also notes that the forging of Western-style liberal states—a central attraction of democratization in much of the world—has limited appeal to North Africans because such systems have already failed there. This situation inevitably enhances the appeal of indigenous—in this case, Islamist—approaches.

In providing an overview of North African Islamist movements—the proverbial scorecard without which the players cannot be identified—Entelis cites three kinds of organizations: those promoting nonpolitical activity in the social, education, and cultural spheres; those seeking to bring about change through political action within the system; and those pursuing radical and revolutionary agendas aimed at overthrowing the existing system. After outlining various official responses that have been directed against, but have not eliminated, these organizations—government coercion in Tunisia, monarchical intimidation in Morocco, and state terrorism in Algeria—Entelis points out two serious shortcomings of these policies. First, they may persuade Islamist leaders that their movements can endure only by resorting to armed struggle and, second, assigning responsibility for the state's problems to these movements (a tactic often encouraged by the West) obfuscates and ignores real problems of poverty, oppression, and cultural contempt which, if left unresolved, only give fuel to the government's opponents.

Contributions by Dale Eickelman and Susan Waltz shed light on some of the catalysts of political change. Eickelman stresses the roles of higher education levels and better mass communication in broadening participation in debates and stimulating a reassessment of attitudes about authority and responsibility in politics, religion, and society. He also laments the fact that changes stemming from this process have often been sabotaged by the West's desire to sustain existing political elites rather than cope with the risks attendant on broadening the political arena. Echoing Voll, he emphasizes the importance of acknowledging culturally specific notions of legitimacy and justice and recognizing multiple political voices, not merely those of the Western-oriented elites.

It was their elite status as recipients of advanced education that enabled the founders of North Africa's first human rights organizations in the 1970s to pose, with relative impunity, embarrassing questions about government policies. But, as Waltz correctly observes, groups advocating democracy and an end to abuses perpetrated by the ruling parties arose not only as a result of domestic circumstances but also because of the worldwide attention focused on human rights by such things as President Jimmy Carter's commitment to the issue and Amnesty International's 1977 Nobel Peace Prize. Inasmuch as abuses still persist, the

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effectiveness of the human rights movement might be questioned, but Waltz argues that its success in injecting this previously alien concept into the political culture of North Africa is, in itself, an important step forward.

Mark Tessler's essay shifts the analytical frame from political culture to political economy. Bolstering his North African sources with survey data from Kuwait and Egypt, he convincingly demonstrates that support for Islamist movements derives primarily from discontent over political, economic, and social conditions rather than from religious conviction or cultural tradition. Disgruntled citizens generally regard high rates of unemployment, restricted educational opportunities, and inadequate government services not as inevitable consequences of rapid growth but as results of a pattern of political economy and the poor choices of those in control. The conviction that governments have failed to alleviate crucial problems and will continue to fail draws the angry and frustrated into the orbits of Islamist organizations advocating a new political and economic order. But Tessler's data shows the absence of any strong correlation between those who support such groups and those who describe themselves as personally pious.

Lisa Anderson, John Waterbury, and Clement Henry all further the case for the centrality of the political economy in understanding not only the appeal of Islamist groups but the overall trends characterizing recent North African politics. Anderson points out that, after independence, North African state budgets relied heavily on exogenous rents rather than domestic taxes. Consequently, governments perceived no reciprocal obligation to their citizens, whose acquiescence they purchased with the provision of social welfare services. As external revenues dried up in the 1980s, locally generated taxes were raised, necessitating democratizing concessions to appease those squeezed in this process. An unanticipated side effect of the political opening was the success of Islamist groups in exploiting it. Their mounting popularity horrified, because it so directly threatened, North African governments. Ultimately, the rulers opted to turn their backs on democratization—whose function they had seen as broadening their base of elite support rather than creating a genuine democracy—in order to rein in the Islamists. Because the regimes' external backers (who supplied its exogenous rents) shared their fear of the Islamist organizations, North African governments managed to secure additional revenues from abroad at the very time they were backing away from the democratization process that their foreign patrons were promoting elsewhere in the world.

In the single essay that does not focus specifically on North Africa but draws examples from throughout the Middle East, Waterbury expands on Anderson's argument. Along with exogenous rents, import substitution industrialization programs buttressed the system of "social contracts," providing benefits to citizens in return for political quiescence. As these operations foundered in the 1970s, the resulting economic crises precipitated reform and restructuring. The accompanying challenge to the legitimacy of regimes no longer able to deliver promised welfare benefits paved the way for political change, and particularly for the entry into the political arena of new—in this instance, Islamist—contenders.

Among other objectives, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank reforms that ensued encouraged private banks and autonomous banking systems. To the extent that these succeeded, they endangered the tradition of patrimonial politics by undermining patronage networks that operated through banks. In other words, financial reforms had a behind-the-scenes capacity to promote the transition to democracy. But, as Henry's essay indicates, this has not been the case in North Africa, where authoritarian governments have blocked the growth of a genuinely independent business community.

I. William Zartman's essay looks at the international influences and ramifications of the wave of democratization, noting the encouragement drawn from events in eastern Europe and South Africa. The Islamist organizations, surfacing at roughly the same time, also had an international aura, but despite seeing themselves as part of a transnational Muslim community, they offered national programs predicated on specific domestic circumstances and were not merely local branches of a broader entity. On the opposite side of the coin, Zartman also shows how North African governments frequently have set aside traditional misgivings about each other to cooperate, within the framework of the Arab Maghrib Union, on security problems posed by these twin movements.

Rarely is a collection of essays as coherent and of such uniformly high quality as is this one. This book makes a major contribution to our efforts to understand, and so competently interact with, the forces of political, economic, and social change in states where Islamic ideals form a vibrant component of the culture.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

BOUBACAR BARRY. *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*. Translated by AYI KWEI ARMAH. (African Studies, number 92.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 358. Cloth $59.95, paper $18.95.

This is a translation of a book published originally in French under a different, and indeed slightly more informative, title: *La Sénégambie du XVe au XIXe siècle: Traite négrière, Islam et conquête coloniale* (1988). It was then identified as the first of two volumes covering the history of the "Senegambia" region, although the second volume, on the twentieth century, has not yet appeared. Boubacar Barry has done distinguished research in the precolonial history

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of this region (see *Le royaume de Walo, 1659–1859* [1972]), but this book is a work of synthesis based on published secondary literature in both French and English.

This appears to be a straightforward translation, rather than a revision, of the original French version; certainly, the bibliography cites no works published since the original publication. This is unfortunate, as there have been some substantial and significant publications in this field during the last ten years—notably James F. Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700–1860* (1993), and James L. A. Webb, Jr., *Desert Frontier: Ecological and Economic Change along the Western Sahel, 1600–1850* (1995)—which offer rather different interpretations from that of Barry. It would have been both useful and interesting to have some indication of his response to these more recent works. The translation nevertheless performs an invaluable function in making more widely available, particularly to those who do not read French, what is undoubtedly one of the most important recent books on the precolonial history of West Africa. In addition to its individual merits, the book has an emblematic significance as a representative of the "Dakar school" of historical writing—that is, of the corpus of work by local scholars based in Senegal—even though Barry himself now lives outside his country of origin.

The book deals with the region the author dubs "Greater Senegambia," defined as comprising the basins of the Senegal and Gambia rivers and thus including not only the modern states of Senegal and Gambia but also Guinea-Bissau to the south and parts of Mauritania, Mali, and Guinea-Conakry to the east. This area was politically fragmented in precolonial times, when it comprised several independent African states, as well as in more recent times. In adopting a regional perspective, Barry seeks to contest and transcend not only the confinement of historical scholarship within modern political boundaries—which for precolonial history might seem uncontroversial—but also, more challengingly, the conventional concentration on the histories of individual precolonial states. In the case of Senegambia, where major historical processes—including the expansion of Islam, as well as the impact of the transatlantic trade with Europe and America—indisputably operated across state boundaries, the case for such a regional approach is persuasive; although, given that the impact both of Islam and of overseas trade extended beyond Senegambia and linked it with the interior, a more explicit argument is needed for the appropriateness of the particular boundaries by which this region is defined. For Barry, the regional approach is also explicitly linked to a contemporary political agenda, the solution to postcolonial problems of economic development being held to lie in regional integration.

The main focus of the book is on the transformative impact of the Senegambia region's involvement in overseas commerce. Down to the eighteenth century, the transatlantic slave trade—depending on violent enslavement through warfare—promoted militarization, political fragmentation, and social inequality. This is an argument whose logical coherence remains in some tension with the fact that, in quantitative terms, the region was a relatively minor supplier of slaves (although Barry argues for upward revision of the conventionally accepted figures). From the later eighteenth century, the shift into exports of agricultural produce (initially gum, later groundnuts) locked the region into economic dependence on industrialized Europe and led on to colonial conquest. The contemporary message here, if left largely implicit, is no less eloquent.

ROBIN LAW
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ADRIAN ADAMS and JAABE SO. *A Claim to Land by the River: A Household in Senegal 1720–1994.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 300. $90.00.

This is an extraordinary work. Adrian Adams and Jaabe So have put together an extended commentary on "development," built around twenty-one years (1972–1994) of struggle in the Upper Senegal Valley. Adams, a social scientist, joined forces with So, a farmer and leader of Kungani, a predominantly Soninke village near the town of Bakel in eastern Senegal. Through a variety of informants, witnesses, documents, and their own statements, they tell of the effort to sustain the agricultural strength of the village and region and improve its productivity through plows, pumps, and tractors. They show how Kungani and other nearby villages attempted to join their knowledge of the land, the assistance of the Senegalese government, and help from abroad in the form of technicians, contributions from donor organizations, and remittances from Soninke migrants living in France and other countries.

The story is not a happy one. Foreign technicians typically have their own recipes for development. Foreign researchers are like "empty envelopes" who believe what their most recent informants tell them. Foreign institutions, such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), favor big solutions, outside expertise, and government structures. These national structures are the worst obstacles of all. From 1972 to 1994, the villages of the upper river valley struggled to maintain food crops as well as cash crops, to farm collectively as well as individually, and to stay out of debt to state corporations. Repeatedly they were thwarted and threatened by the Société d'Amenagement et d'Exploitation des Terres du Delta du Fleuve Sénégal (SAED) and by the administrative structure of the state, which has consistently sought to impose one form of development on its very different regions and ecologies.

The sad story is told across a number of watersheds: the collapse of the old French colonial subsidies for

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Senegalese agriculture, the years of drought in the late 1960s and early 1970s, structural adjustment beginning at the end of the 1970s, and the world of privatization and non-government organizations (NGOs) of the 1980s. The book is divided into "Rock," "Paper," and "Scissors," in imitation of the children's game in which paper wraps rock, scissors cut paper, and rock breaks scissors. The people are "trapped between the rock of memory, the paper of lies, and the scissors of oblivion." As the head of the Federation of farmers of the villages and main informant, So is both the principal actor through much of the story. Adams initially provides context for the earlier periods, but increasingly she becomes a participant and informant in her own right as she takes up residence in Kungani, marries So, and embraces the cause.

Part one, "Rock," covers the period from the beginning of effective memory of the current generation of Soninke inhabitants in the early eighteenth century. Its essential message is coping. The farmers, traders, teachers, and rulers of this area, called Gajaaga, deal with a variety of disruptions and find ways to survive and sometimes to thrive. Environmental disasters, holy wars, French conquest, and colonial rule: to all of these situations, the inhabitants find answers and space to continue their agricultural and other productive activities and accommodate a certain degree of change. The tradition of working on ships and migrating to France, so often ascribed to the Soninke as an "ethnic" characteristic, emerges in the nineteenth century, but it is perfectly compatible with a return to farming and the homeland.

Part two, "Paper," begins not with the acquisition of independence in 1960 but with the years of drought and distress after 1968. Jaabe returns to France (he was there during much of World War II) to secure assistance for farming in the Upper Senegal Valley and becomes the leader of the peasants upon his return, when he forms the Féderation des Paysans Organisés du Département de Bakel. By this time, Adams and So are counting the years, beginning with the total crop failure of 1972, and also recounting the innumerable refusals, obfuscations, and deceptions that the Federation farmers experienced at the hands of the state and the SAED.

Part three, "Scissors," begins in 1984 and covers the last ten years of the story. It is marked by the pressures of structural adjustment and the changes occasioned by "privatization" and the "big solution" dams built on the Senegal River. The themes are very similar to those of part two: refusal, obfuscation, and deception at the hands of government officials and agencies and a changing cast of international assistance, including USAID and various international NGOs. SAED, as a state corporation, is phased down and out, but the same problems remain with its successors. The politicization of the situation, and specifically of the Federation and the persons of Adam and So, becomes sharper during this period.

The book is not an easy read: Adams, So, and the other informants recount their versions of events in the same time periods, and excerpts from documents are interspersed with these accounts. But it is a wonderful resource for teaching and learning about agriculture, history, and development, set in one small area but with wide application to other situations.

DAVID ROBINSON
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CHERYL JOHNSON-ODIM and NINA EMMA MBA. *For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 198. Cloth $36.95, paper $19.95.

This biography of Nigerian political activist and feminist Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti (1900–1978) is an important addition to the small collection of biographies and autobiographies of African women. Born in the once autonomous kingdom of Abeokuta, Ransome-Kuti's life spanned the entire period of British colonial rule and nearly two decades of Nigeria's tumultuous postcolonial history. She is best known—indeed, revered by Nigerian women of all classes and regions—for her leadership of the massive and protracted market women's anti-tax campaign, which led to the unprecedented abdication of the Alake (local ruler) of Abeokuta in 1949. But Ransome-Kuti also fought passionately for equal rights—including hard-won voting rights—for all Nigerian women, founded the first regional and national Nigerian women's organizations, and, during the 1950s and 1960s, travelled widely to participate in an international women's movement.

A constant and often acerbic critic of colonialism and of corruption and self-aggrandizement on the part of Nigeria's male politicians, she spoke out fearlessly throughout her adult life. Like most highly intelligent women who refuse to suffer fools or sacrifice their principles, Ransome-Kuti was considered "aggressive" as well as "stubborn" by many. Aspects of this behavior and of her unwillingness to compromise are not glossed in this biography; nor do the authors shy away from the term "feminist" in presenting her stance on gendered inequalities and the need to fight for women in all spheres of life.

Having interviewed Ransome-Kuti separately and frequently during the mid-1970s, the authors agreed in 1978, the year of her death, to collaborate on a full biography. Their lengthy interviews and the extensive Ransome-Kuti Papers constitute the core of the biography. During the 1980s, the authors also interviewed three of their subject's four children, other relatives, and many of her associates and contemporaries. In addition, they draw on an impressive range of written documentation from archives in Abeakuta and Ibadan, the personal papers of other individuals and women's organizations, and relevant official publications. A list of the eighteen newspapers and magazines carrying articles by or about Ransome-Kuti, primarily published in Nigeria and London, attests to widespread interest in her views and activities. These sources and

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an extensive body of published and unpublished works contribute to the richness of this study.

Although the book's structure leads to a certain amount of repetition and backtracking, it is accessible and thoughtfully organized. Chapter one provides a concise introduction to the Egba (Ransome-Kuti's group), the Yoruba (the larger group that includes the Egba), and colonial Nigerian history. Chapters two and three present the family histories (crucial for an understanding of Nigerian society), childhood, courtship, and early married life of Funmilayo and her husband, the Reverend I.O. Ransome-Kuti. Born into prominent Christian families, both were educated in Nigeria and England and became teachers. Like much of the early twentieth-century modern elite, they believed in civic responsibility; unlike their peers, however, they also believed in an egalitarian and mutually supportive marriage unfettered by "traditional" or colonial/modern norms of male dominance or superiority.

Chapter three also introduces Ransome-Kuti's political opinions, activist history, and her children's views of and relationship with her. After establishing a "young ladies club" in the late 1920s, she moved in a direction far more radical than that of her educated and civic minded sisters in the 1930s. By the 1940s, she espoused a "radicalized perspective on gender relations in the indigenous as well as colonial context, appreciation for class analysis as a tool for demystifying the impact of colonialism, and deep concern with exposing the racism inherent in imperialist ideology" (p. 38).

Chapters four through six explore in turn Ransome-Kuti's leadership of the Abeokuta Women's Union, the women's anti-tax struggle, and the formation of the Nigerian Women's Union; her controversial role in the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons; and, finally, her extensive—and because of the Cold War, equally controversial—involvement with the Women's International Democratic Federation.

During the last quarter of her life, Ransome-Kuti suffered personal loss and political disappointment. But, as the authors make clear in their final chapter, she also enjoyed a close relationship with her successful adult children. Moreover, Nigerian women continued to seek her counsel and her now legendary place in Nigerian history only grew more secure.

This biography will be of obvious importance to scholars of African and women's history. But it also deserves critical attention from historians of colonialism and nationalism.

SUSAN GEIGER
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CATHERINE HIGGS. *The Ghost of Equality: The Public Lives of D. D. T. Jabavu of South Africa, 1885–1959.* Athens: Ohio University Press. 1997. PP. xiii 276. Cloth $39.95, paper $16.95.

Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu (1885–1959) belonged to a generation of elite colonized Africans who took the promises of Europe's "civilizing mission" seriously. Following in a famous father's footsteps, Jabavu distinguished himself in the Cape Colony and South Africa as a scholar, teacher, churchman, and politician. In the 1930s, he was probably the single most prominent black South African both inside the country and abroad. Eclipsed by age and a shifting political landscape, he died with his dreams for his native land all but extinguished. His career provides a fine lens through which to view the tragedies of twentieth-century South African history. Catherine Higgs's meticulously researched and well-written biographical study fills an important gap in the historiography of the region.

Higgs argues that Jabavu was both a product of and a fervent believer in the "Cape liberal tradition." That tradition rested on the principles of Western civilization, missionary Christianity and education, and British justice, and also on the idea that these, the highest embodiments of humanity's progress, should be available to all who would pursue them, regardless of background or color. A devout Methodist like his father, Jabavu went abroad for his higher education, studying in Wales, London, Birmingham, and, for a time, at the Tuskegee Institute of Booker T. Washington—a figure with whom he bears some comparison. He returned to South Africa to become in 1916 the first African teacher (and for twenty years, the only one) at the new Native College of Fort Hare, which would emerge as the educational mecca for all southern African blacks. Higgs is careful to emphasize that despite Jabevu's embrace of the Western civilization model, he always thought of himself as African: he went through Xhosa/Mfengu initiation, paid bridewealth, taught Bantu languages at Fort Hare, and published some of his most important works in Xhosa. He was the "New African," comfortable in moving from one world to the next.

Jabavu gradually established himself as a political leader, principally by attempting to counter the rise of J. B. M. Herzog's segregation system. Because of his ironclad commitment to universal (if Eurocentric) values, he had little inclination toward even theoretical notions of separate development, which did in fact have some appeal to a number of other African politicians of the time. His main cause was retention of the Cape franchise, which was color-blind, although limited to males, like himself, with certain property and education qualifications. A firm believer in progress through education, Jabavu's political leanings were toward reason, persuasion, moderation, and necessary compromise. Indeed, when Herzog gutted the Cape African franchise in 1936, it was questions and rumors concerning whether Jabavu had agreed to some sort of compromise—questions not entirely resolved by Higgs—that spelled the beginning of the end of his political career.

By the 1940s, Jabavu was increasingly marginalized.

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As Higgs writes, "it was Jabavu's tragedy . . . to be thought too radical by some of his white liberal allies and too conservative by many of his African colleagues" (p. 129). He was left behind by a nationalism rejuvenated by, among other things, the Youth League of the African National Congress (ANC)—an organization that he had never joined, leading instead his own All African Convention. Meanwhile, the visegrip of full-fledged apartheid, inaugurated in 1948, represented the utter negation of Cape liberalism. Higgs poignantly captures the disappointment of Jabavu's later years: "Full of hope in 1916, he was resigned in 1951" (p. 150).

This is a fine, concise book that illumines a significant and revealing South African life.

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Film Reviews

ELIZABETH. Produced by Tim Bevan, Eric Fellner, and Alison Owen; directed by Shekhar Kapur; screenplay by Michael Hirst. UK. 1998; color; 122 minutes. Distributor: Polygram.

Shekhar Kapur's film *Elizabeth* is a visually stunning and compelling production that charts Elizabeth's life from 1558 and the closing months of Mary's reign to the end of 1563, five years into her reign. By the film's end, the young monarch is much wiser to the ways of the world. At one level, the film operates as what the cinema blurb calls a "historical thriller": it is a tale of violence, passion, and intrigue, with a fine cast of actors. Set in period costume with dramatic sets, the film panders to every stereotype, from the seductive allure of the older French woman (Mary of Guise) to the dark, brooding love interest (Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester). Catholics in this film are the baddies, plotting against the Protestant succession, and they are therefore helpfully always dressed in black and inhabit the undercroft as opposed to the nave of Durham Cathedral (a rather startling choice of location for the residence of the English court). Elizabeth and her ministers (in more colorful clothing) triumph over the Catholic plots, and, by the end of Elizabeth's reign, the closing credits tell us, England was the most prosperous and powerful country in Europe. This is news for most early modern historians, but it is just the last of many instances of misinformation or misinterpretation with which the film is encumbered. If we are to take the film as a genuine attempt at historical narrative, this is somewhat worrying.

Kapur's ambition is an interesting one, carefully defined to suit modern concerns: to chart the growing political maturity of a young and inexperienced woman, isolated and surrounded by enemies, fighting to maintain her position in a world in which women were notoriously weak. At the start of the film, Elizabeth appears as a politically naïve girl, personally free even though she lives under house arrest, besotted with the handsome Dudley. By the film's end, she has become the Virgin Queen of the portraits, a triumphant ruler but isolated and alone, imprisoned by the constraints of her monarchical role. The transformation is cleverly, even subtly achieved, due not least to Cate Blanchett's convincing performance. The teleology of an English Protestant triumphant to which it is attached, however, is rather more problematic.

Take, for example, the way in which Elizabeth's personal odyssey is symbolized in the fate of her hair. At the start of the film, it is long and hangs free and unbound. Once she becomes queen, her hair is tied up in increasingly ornate and restrictive fashions, until the final scenes. Then, in a dramatic but totally implausible tableau, she declares to her adviser Sir Francis Walsingham (later secretary of state), before a statue of the Virgin Mary, that she will fill the role of the Virgin in the lives of her subjects, a role left empty since the Reformation. With that, she orders her hair to be shorn, dons a wig, and appears before her court dressed in white as the Virgin. One is left to assume that, by this simple tonsorial act, England's safety and prosperity were assured and Protestantism was secured. Evidently a good thing and certainly memorable cinematically, but it hardly does justice to the historical events of her reign.

Indeed, Kapur has recklessly plundered most of the forty-five years during which Elizabeth was queen and crammed them all into the first few years of the reign. Certain events, such as the defeat of the Armada (1588), were just too unwieldy to incorporate, but he nevertheless manages to slip "the body of a weak and feeble woman" gag into another context. The *femme fatale* character of Mary, Queen of Scots (executed in 1587) is simply transposed to her mother, Mary of Guise, regent of Scotland until her death in 1560. The duke of Anjou's courtship (conducted on and off from 1570) was too good to miss, especially as Kapur uses it to introduce some Elizabethan transvestitism; it is therefore conveniently brought forward by ten years, which, given that Anjou was born in 1556, is making considerable demands on cinematic license. This ploy also allows for the bull *Regnans in Excelsis* to be issued ten years before its time, but, with Sir John Gielgud playing Pius V in yet another splendid cameo role, one might be prepared to stretch a point here.

Anjou's courtship is not the only event Kapur brings forward. The events portrayed in the film between 1560 and 1563 are largely those of the 1570s: Thomas Howard, the duke of Norfolk, is executed in 1563 instead of 1572, and Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, is retired after only three years of loyal service instead

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of forty. (One is tempted to wonder whether it was out of considerations of personal hygiene, as he appears in the same shirt throughout the film.) Nor is it only chronology Kapur has taken liberties with. He reconstructs, for example, the French royal family, so that Mary of Guise becomes Anjou's aunt (as opposed to the mother-in-law of his elder brother), and, it is suggested, his lover. Although this helps the storyline of the film, it plays havoc with French, Scottish, and English history and has mind-boggling implications for the French Wars of Religion.

This is a film that many will enjoy for its drama and period detail, but many will find it extremely confusing without a good grounding of early modern history. Those who do have some basic knowledge will be more than a little annoyed by the liberties taken with the historical events. I dread to think what the legacy of this film will be in terms of student essays on the reign of Elizabeth. Eighteenth-century history is only just recovering from the madness that was *King George*.

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LIFE IS BEAUTIFUL [*La vita è bella*]. Produced by Elda Ferri and Gian Luigi Braschi; directed by Roberto Benigni; written by Vincenzo Cerami and Roberto Benigni. Italy. Italian and German with English subtitles. 1997; color; 122 minutes. Distributor: Miramax Films.

"This is a simple story. But it's not easy to tell. Like a fable, there is sorrow, there is wonder and happiness." So begins Roberto Benigni's *Life Is Beautiful*, a comic's meditation on the tragedy of the Holocaust. Set in Fascist Italy, the movie recounts the story of the Italian Jew Guido Orefice, who is deported to a Nazi concentration camp together with his son, Giosuè, and his wife, Dora. Guido is an endearingly hapless buffoon whose world is shaped by a combination of happenstance, both felicitous and unfortunate, and his belief in the ability of love to sustain and transform. Both these things mark his life in the camp, where he dedicates himself to shielding his son from all knowledge of the ghastly surrounding reality by telling him that they and the other prisoners are really competitors in an elaborate game. Although Guido is ultimately killed in the camp, he saves the spirit as well as the life of his son, who, following the fiction his father has created, exalts that he has won the game when he is reunited with his mother at the end of the film.

Approached as a historical document, the movie is fairly improbable, and its plot has as many holes as its dialogue has jokes. Benigni has repeatedly reminded critics and audiences, however, that he made the film not as a historian but "as a director . . . whose duty is to invent stories, so I invented this completely. It is fable but invented from the truth" (interview, *Indie*, September–October 1998).

Within the film, the slippage between fiction and reality operates at the level of both structure and content. From the voiceovers, we learn that the film's narrator is Guido's son, now an adult, who supplements his childhood memories of being in the camp with imaginative recreations of his father's motives and actions. Roberto Benigni, son of an imprisoned Italian soldier, plays the father himself. And the blurred divide between truth and make-believe occupies the movie's characters as well. "I am what I want to be" is Guido's motto, from his early playful boastings that he is a prince to the role he gamely adopts in the camp.

With its mix of careful period detail and over-the-top artifice, the film's scenography only furthers the ambiguity. Although the camp scenes are understated, even sanitized, the director's depiction of mass death has a surreal feeling. Through dense fog, we are shown a perfectly circular arrangement of skeletons whose theatrical mise-en-scène calls to mind the rounds of Hell imagined by Benigni's literary hero Dante rather than the squalid results of genocidal rage.

On one level, then, the subject of the film is not Fascism or the Holocaust but the potential of fantasy to work both good and evil. Benigni delivers an effective critique of the destructive consequences of totalitarian utopian thinking. Imperial conquest and racial superiority form the fantasy objects of the Italian Fascists, who throw colonial-themed parties and reassure one another that they are Aryans and "the best of all races." But the filmmaker also finds a positive function for fantasy, as Guido repeatedly transforms ugly situations into opportunities for joyful conspiracy. In his hands, a school lesson on racial doctrine becomes an occasion to show the absurdity of all racism, and a horse that Fascist thugs have covered with anti-Semitic slogans becomes a means for him to whisk Dora away from her Fascist fiancé to begin their new life together. Once in the camp, he interprets rules, rituals, and symbols for his son under the rubric of the game, countering the Nazi will to power with a demonstration of the power of the will to make sense of the senseless and so interrupt the process of dehumanization. When Guido dies as he tries to reunite his family, it is left to his son to give a significance to his actions: his response becomes a film that blends history, memory, and imagination.

On another level, too, *Life Is Beautiful* is a film about fantasy, understood also as a denial of or defense against reality. As Benigni has stated, his reference points for the film's tone and style were not merely Charlie Chaplin or the great Italian comic Totò (who mocked German camp officials in the 1955 film *Siamo Uomini o Caporali?* [*Are We Men or Corporals?*]) but his father, Luigi, who spent two years of the war in a German labor camp. Benigni recalls how his father sought to protect his children from knowledge of the horror by using a humorous tone when speaking of the camps, and depicts his father as an unfortunate innocent who comprehended little of the reality around him. "He didn't know why he was there. He didn't know why the German people were so mean to him; he

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couldn't understand." Both the character of Guido and the film's overall narrative approach respect and reflect these paternal images and memories. Giosuè's film homage to Guido is thus also Benigni's film homage to his own father, whose "story and face came to me each day during the making of the movie" (interviews, *Indie*, *New York Times Magazine*, October 11, 1998).

One crucial fact complicates this scenario. Luigi Benigni was not an Italian Jew but a young member of the Italian Fascist army who had served as part of the occupation forces in Albania. In September 1943, six weeks after Benito Mussolini's ouster, Marshal Pietro Badoglio made an armistice with the Allies, which led the Nazis to deport 600,000 Italian soldiers to Germany as forced laborers. The brutal treatment Luigi Benigni and other Italians received in the camps caused many to see themselves as victims in the postwar period. The result was a path of national memory that largely elided the Italians' prior roles as German allies and perpetrators in their own right in the colonies, on the battlefields of World War II, and in state campaigns of anti-Semitism. (See the essays in R. Bosworth and P. Dogliani, editors, *Italian Fascism: History, Memory and Representation* [London, 1999]).

Given this received history, Benigni's transmutation of his beloved father from Fascist soldier into Jewish victim is not so surprising, and neither is his erasure of Italian soldiers from scenes of Holocaust deportation. Although Benigni's well-intentioned film denounces the Italian Fascists, it also removes them from the genocide equation and brackets off the Final Solution as a wholly German event. Ultimately, *Life Is Beautiful* tells us less about Fascism and the Holocaust than about the role that fantasy and memory play in the production of national histories.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

It can be said that this is the end of the Anglo-Protestant period (roughly between the reigns of Elizabeth I and Elizabeth II). Princess Diana's funeral significantly represented this passing. This culture has its heroes and fiends, but certain current historiographies tend to denigrate this past in order to substantiate their own. Unfortunately, at the end of periods, "inside antagonists" and "agitating outsiders" tend to feast by cannibalizing the people of a previous era by objectifying them into malleable characterizations. Such is the example of Sonya O. Rose in her article "Sex, Citizenship, and the Nation in World War II Britain" [*AHR* 103 (October 1998): 1147–76].

Her re-imagined neo-Marxist interpretation of wartime British history seeks to dishonor a whole people in order to create mythical sexual heroes. Her attempt to revision George Orwell, J. B. Priestley, and other people's commentaries as "nation-defining projects" that include sexual control as "deeply constitutive of bourgeois notions of respectability" in order to create a rabid white nationalism is defective (1162, 1163). While the color bar was an issue, the sexual issue for the concerned British was a tension between the continuity of their own and religious boundaries, which Rose ignores in substance. Similar concerns can be found today among South American Spaniards and Indians, African tribes, Persians and Arabs, and Asian nationalities.

Rose exploits a major sexual taboo of the times (black men and white women) with salacious effect. She makes heroes of the sexually promiscuous, but this does not honor women or substantively validate the significance of black men in wartime Britain. Her anachronistic valuing of history and placement of power interests dissipates an understanding of those times. Her sexual solipsism is merely a power revisionism that uses history for a brief encounter.

DAVID R. GIBB
Evanston, Illinois

Sonya O. Rose does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

ERRATUM

In the review essay by Roy Rosenzweig, "Wizards, Bureaucrats, Warriors, and Hackers," *AHR* 103 (December 1998): 1543, the name of Mark Horton was mistakenly spelled "Holton." Our thanks to Jim Reeds of AT&T Labs for pointing this out.

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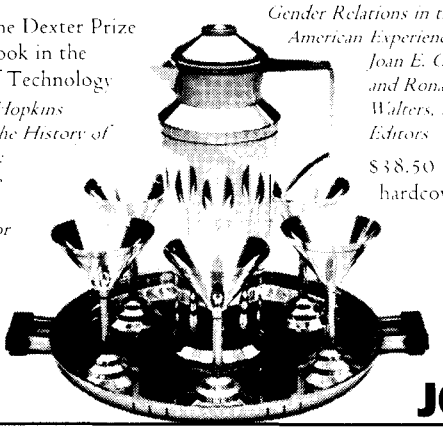
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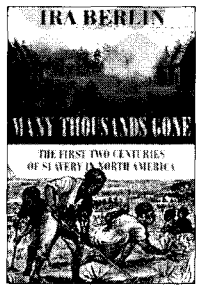
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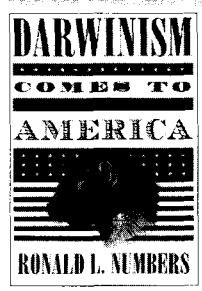
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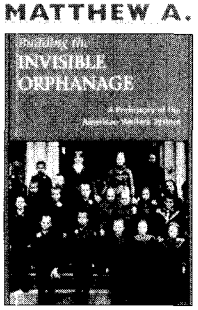
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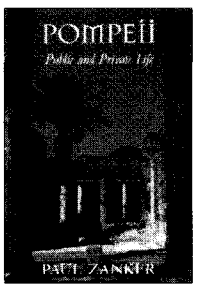
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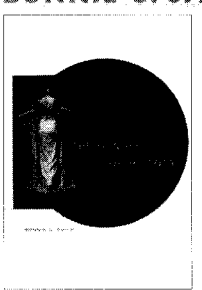
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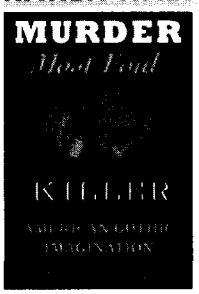
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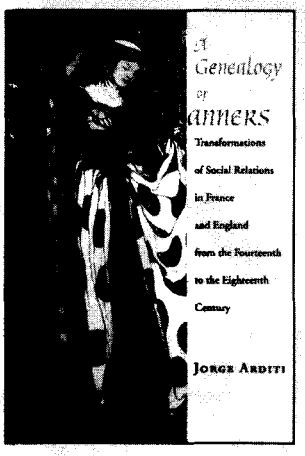
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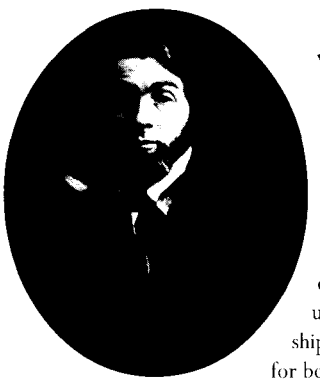
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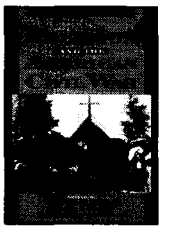
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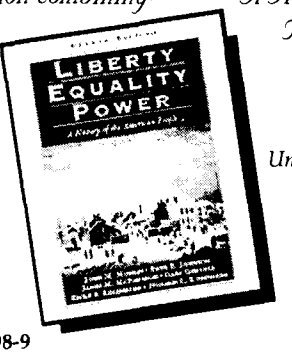
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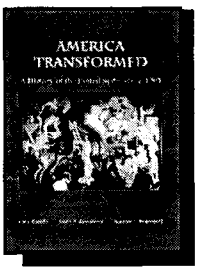
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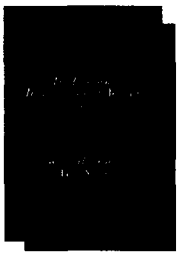
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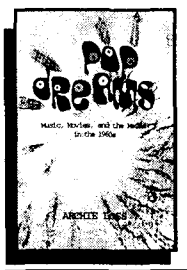
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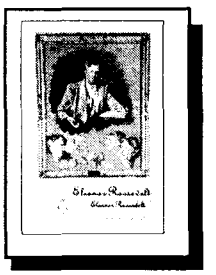
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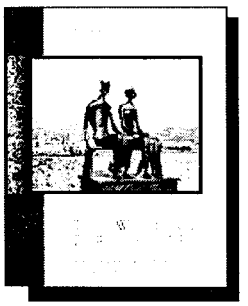
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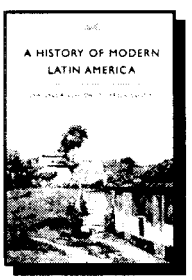
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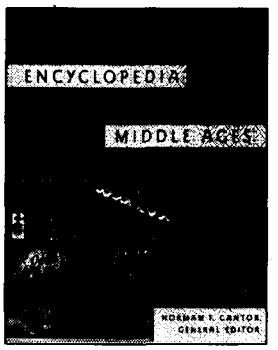
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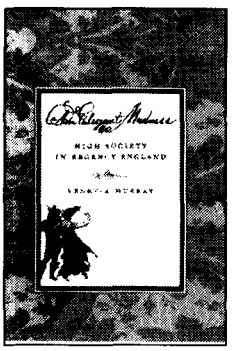
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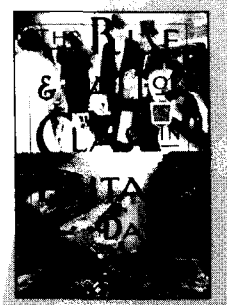
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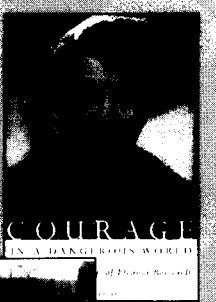
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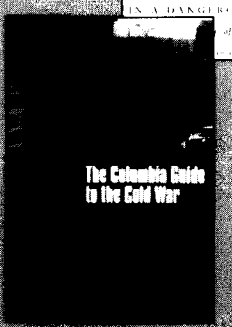
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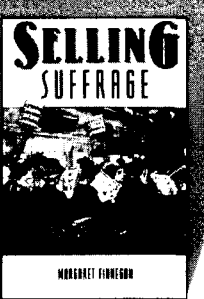
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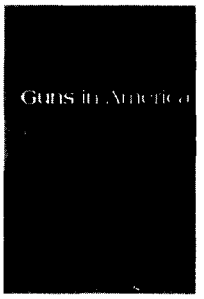


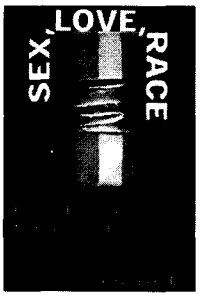
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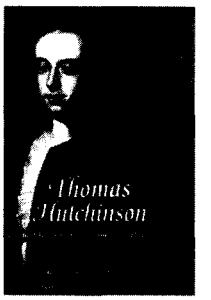
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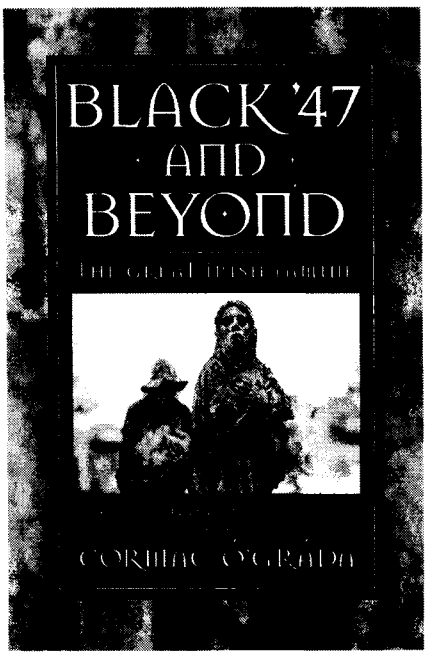
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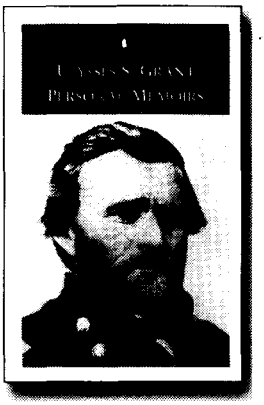
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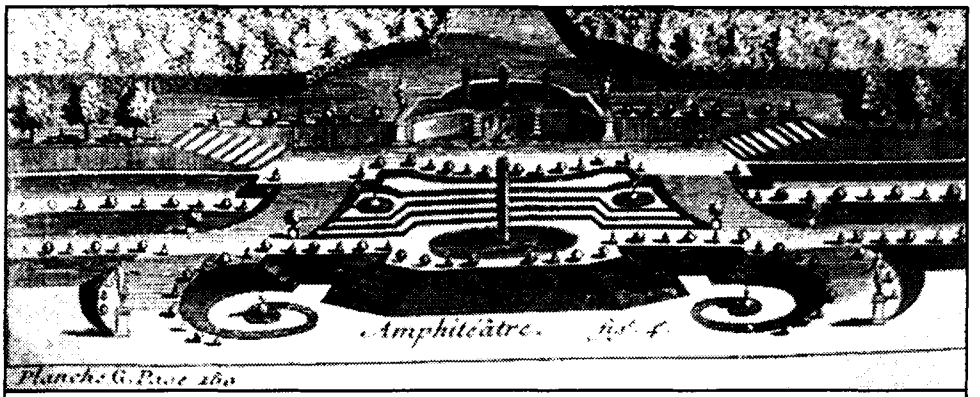
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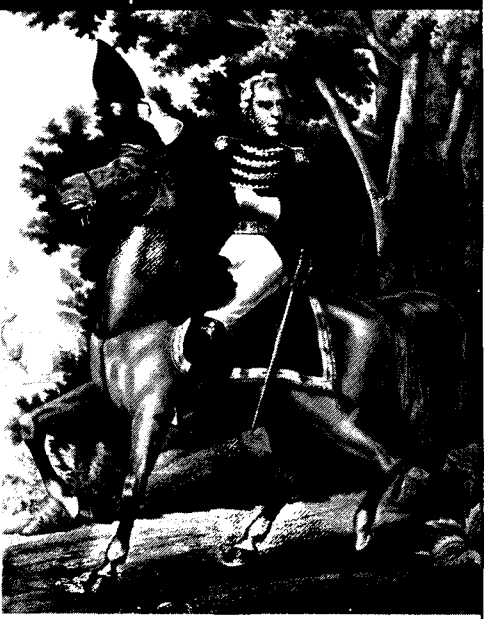
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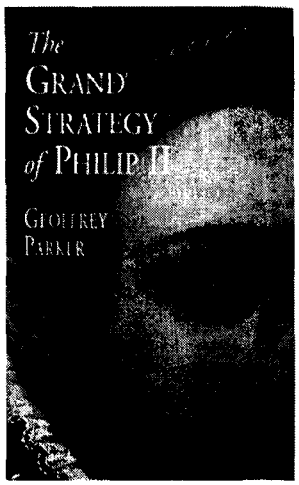
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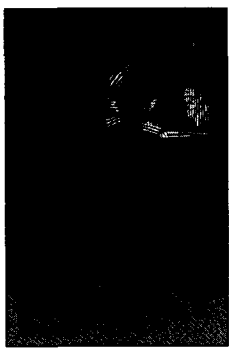
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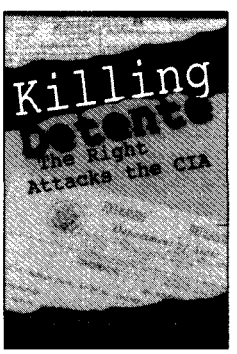
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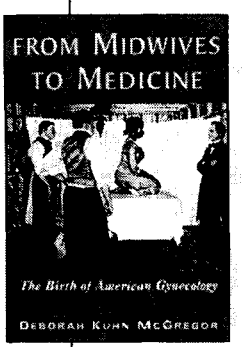


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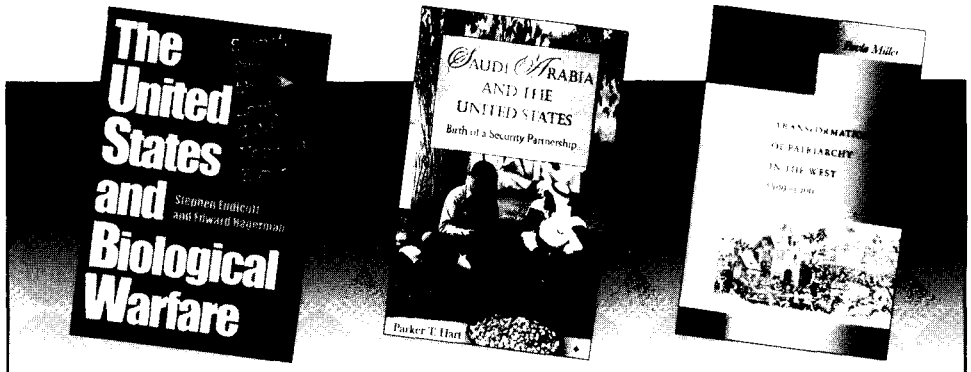
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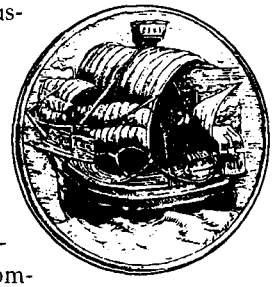
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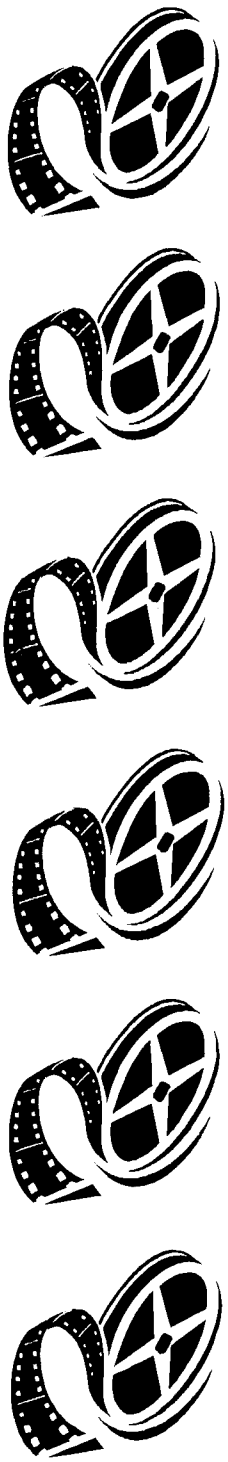
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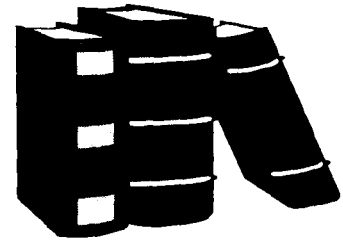
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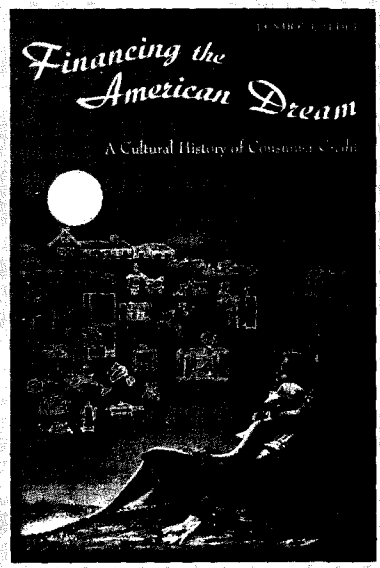


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